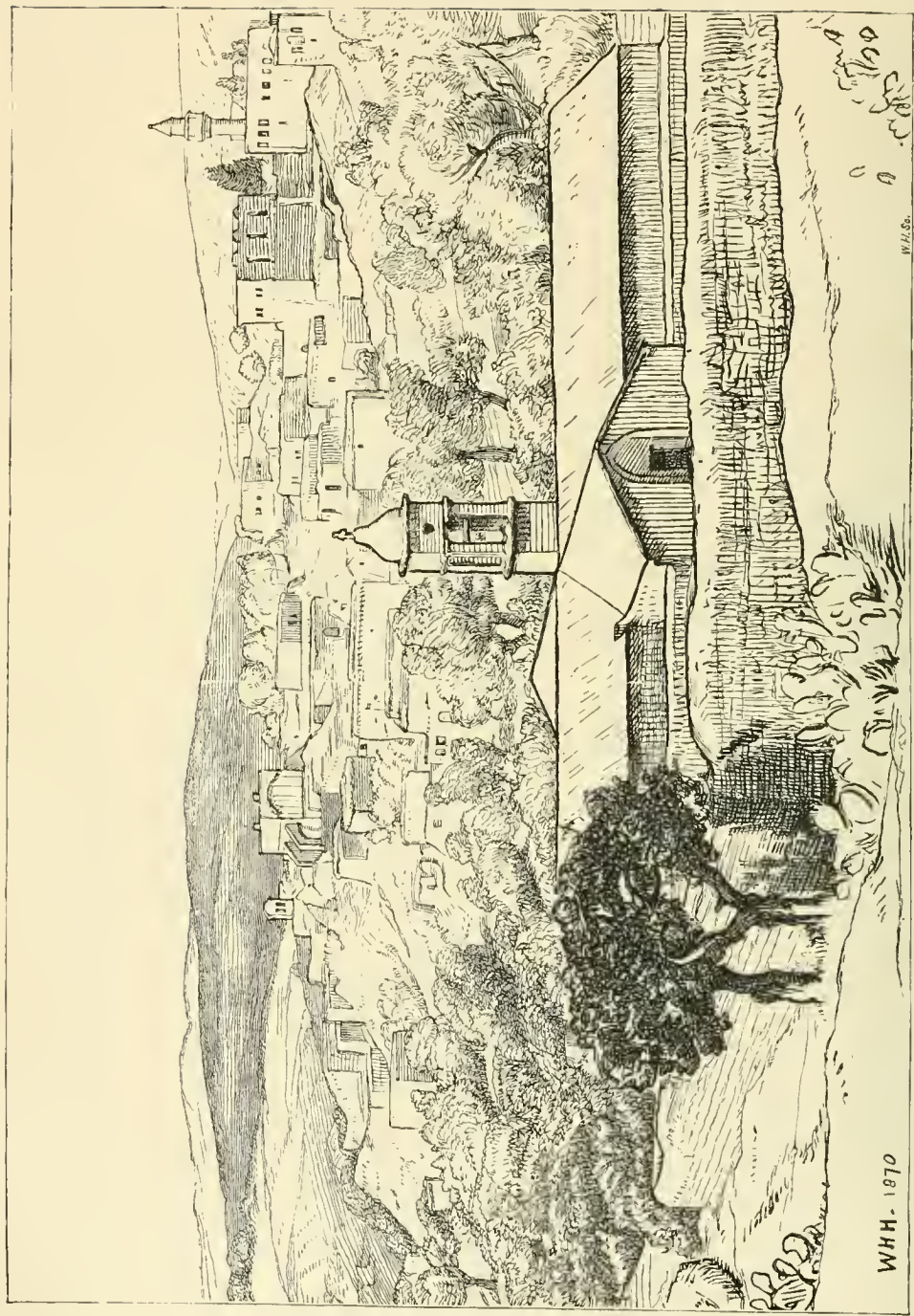




(Drawn by W. HOLMAN HUNT.)

NAZARETH.

- 1. Mountains beyond the Plain of Esdraelon.
- 2. Latin Convent and Church on *their* site of the Annunciation.
- 3. Greek Church on *their* site of the Annunciation.
- 4. Joseph's Workshop.
- 5. Wau connected with the Virgin's Well.

THE
BIBLE EDUCATOR.

EDITED BY THE

✓
REV. E. H. PLUMPTRE, M.A..

VICAR OF BICKLEY, PREBENDARY OF ST. PAUL'S, AND PROFESSOR OF EXEGESIS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, KING'S
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INTRODUCTION.

HETHER we regard the ever-growing interest in questions of religious opinion manifested at the present time in well-nigh all classes of society, or the vast additions which have recently been made to our knowledge of matters bearing directly or indirectly on the interpretation of various portions of the Bible, or the large amount of indefinite doubt fostered by writers not intentionally hostile to revealed truth, or the open hostility which not a few who are possessed of high intellectual powers show to the faith of Christendom, the present seems a time pre-eminently demanding that honest doubts should be dealt with in a calm and intelligent spirit, and that difficulties which seem great only because of the thick mists of surrounding ignorance which envelope them should, by the advancing light of knowledge, be reduced to their true proportions.

It is in view of these considerations, and in the spirit which seeks to help the honest doubter to a firmer faith, and to enlighten that ignorance which is easily misled, that *THE BIBLE EDUCATOR* has been projected. It is the firm conviction of its conductors, that for those whose minds have been disturbed with fears as to the results of the searching criticism to which sacred books and the faith which they contain are now being subjected, the best help to render their belief sure and steadfast will be an intelligent knowledge of what is written in the oracles of the Living God. To help them to the attainment of such a knowledge, to place at their service all that will tend to elucidate the text of Holy Scripture, all that modern study and research have done to clear away difficulties and to throw light upon what may have hitherto been obscure, will be one of the chief objects of *THE BIBLE EDUCATOR*.

It will be the aim of those who take part in this publication to bring this knowledge within the reach of many thousands who have been hitherto shut out from it. The success of the *POPULAR AND TECHNICAL EDUCATORS* has shown that a work constructed more or less on the same model would be the best adapted to the greatest number of readers.

The whole work, when completed, is meant to be a storehouse of Scriptural information, so arranged as to enable the reader either to pursue any single line of investigation, or to find what he wants as to any special subject that may excite his interest.

The names of those who have promised to contribute to this undertaking will be a sufficient guarantee that the work will not be a mere compilation at second-hand from other popular manuals, but will be characterised by the exercise of an independent judgment on the subjects treated of, and, where necessary, by original research. While the work is intended for those who wish to be students of the Written Word, though they cannot claim, in the ordinary sense of the term, the character of scholars, those who will bear the chief part in it, and who have won their reputation by labours more or less distinguished, will do their best to show that they sympathise with the thirst for knowledge in whatever form it shows itself, and to help those whom they are glad to recognise as their fellow-students to see their way clearly, and to surmount the difficulties which they meet with in it. The range taken in inviting contributors will be a sufficient proof that the work will be free from any tendency to a narrow or sectarian spirit, and that the authority of Holy Scripture, as the record of God's revelation of His will, be treated with the reverence of those who see in it "a lamp unto their feet, and a light unto their path."

It is not intended to treat otherwise than incidentally of the doctrines that are derived from Scripture. The conductors are free to confess that they do not see their way to formulating a system of undenominational Christianity such as men have sometimes dreamt of in the course of recent controversies on educational and other

matters. The moment we begin to define terms, and to deduce conclusions, we come into contact with the questions which have vexed men's minds, and been the subjects of hot debate from the earliest period of the history of Christendom. The members of each religious community have within it those who offer themselves as guides to the attainment of truth in things pertaining to the faith; and each seeker must be left, using his own reason, and praying for Divine illumination, to such guidance as is within his reach. The contributors of **THE BIBLE EDUCATOR** have, many of them, in the sphere of work assigned to them, the responsibility of giving such guidance individually, and have not shrunk from it.

It is felt, however, that while it is difficult, perhaps to the extent of being impossible, to state with formal precision the articles that make up what has been called "our common Christianity," there is, notwithstanding that difficulty, a large element of belief which is common to that wider Church which includes "all who profess and call themselves Christians;" and that the more students of Scripture are led to recognise its existence, without endeavouring to define its limits, the firmer will be the foundations of their own faith, and their tolerance of diversities of opinions in others more large-hearted. The reverential study of the books of Scripture seems to present a common ground, on which men who differ in their inferences from it may yet meet in concord. It has been seen, in the working of the Old and New Testament Companies for the Revision of the Authorised Version of the Bible, that such co-operation on terms of mutual confidence and respect is possible and helpful.

The educational problems of our time will soon compel us to try the experiment on a wider and more momentous scale. We address those of whom we assume that they are so far interested in the truths which the Bible contains that they do not wish the education given to their children to be altogether secular. In what form and by what persons that instruction in the Bible, which is thus admitted to be desirable, shall be imparted is, we all know, one of the great questions of our time. It is not our present purpose to pronounce an opinion on this side or that of the controversy now at issue. But it is clear that whatever may be the result of the controversy, whether Biblical instruction retains the place in our national education which it at present occupies, or is left to the influence of home, and to the efforts made by each religious society for members of its own body, that those who teach, and those who learn, may gain much from any help that is given them towards an intelligent and reverential study of what the Bible contains. Children must be raised above the dull mechanical act of reading or repetition, and taught to understand what they read, to picture to themselves the old scenes of Egypt or of Syria, the manners and customs of Eastern life, so far as they enter into the narratives of Scripture or affect its phraseology, to realise the great ethical, and therefore religious, truths which are recognised throughout its pages.

THE BIBLE EDUCATOR will, it is hoped, be the means of giving a wide diffusion to this kind of knowledge Brought, as it will be, within the reach of all teachers, and of very many among the homes of working men, it will help, as the case may be, either to supplement the religious teaching given in school, or to supply its place. The numerous volunteers in the work of education, to be found in all religious communities, who take so large a share in the work of Bible classes and Sunday schools, are among those for whom we are most anxious to provide what they need to help them in their work.

Enough has now been said to bring the nature of the work in which we have engaged, and the principles on which it will be conducted, before the public whom we address. It remains only to express the hope that it may help to strengthen the faith of those who may be led by it to a more diligent study of the oracles of God, to give utterance to the prayer that writers and readers may alike profit by the guidance of that Eternal Spirit who alone can give a right judgment in all things, purify what is base, and illumine what is dark.

THE EDITOR.



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* * * A Preface and a Complete Index to all the Subjects treated of, and to all the passages of Scripture referred to in the text of this and the succeeding Volumes, will be given at the end of the Work.



THE BIBLE EDUCATOR.

THE OLD TESTAMENT.—I.

THE PENTATEUCH.

BY THE VERY REV. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

THE books of the Old Testament were divided by the Jews into three classes, entitled *The Law*, *The Prophets*, and *The Writings*. Of these the latter, called by our Lord "the psalms" (Luke xxiv. 44), were used chiefly for liturgical purposes in the Temple service, or for private edification. The other two formed the regular course of Sabbath reading in the synagogues (Acts xv. 21), for which purpose the Pentateuch was divided into sections, each of which was followed by a passage from the Prophets selected as best explanatory of its meaning. Read together in this systematic way, we find the two constantly associated by our Lord, who usually calls them "the law and the prophets" (Matt. v. 17; vii. 12; xxii. 40), but occasionally "Moses and the prophets" (Luke xvi. 29, 31; see also xxiv. 27; John v. 46; Acts xv. 21).

Each of these classes holds a distinct place in the development of God's purposes of mercy to mankind. Taking the first few chapters of Genesis as introductory to the whole, and intended to explain to us man's present position in the world, the rest of the Old Testament gives us the history of the various stages in the preparation for the fulfilment of God's promise of restoration for mankind. That promise was the sole comfort of our first parents on their expulsion from Paradise. Deprived of all besides, they carried with them at least the hope that their fall was not irretrievable; for with their sentence the Almighty had also given them the assurance that the woman's seed should crush the serpent's head. With the working out of this promise the rest of the Bible is concerned. In the Pentateuch we have the formation of the Jewish nation, from the call of Abraham to its consolidation by the law given on Mount Sinai, and the discipline it underwent in the wilderness. In the Prophets, under which title the Jews understand both the historical books called *The Early*, and the prophetic writings called *The Later Prophets*, we see that nation settled in Palestine, long struggling there for existence, but slowly growing in power, till Samuel, Saul, and David raised it to empire; then gradually declining, and finally going into captivity, to return only as a dependency upon the Persian monarchy. In this stage the promise of a Deliverer assumed form and substance, and what was at first scarcely more than an

indefinite hope, grew into settled shape under the more full and exact teaching of Isaiah and his fellows. The third class, or *Writings*, to a great extent contemporaneous with the works of the later prophets, differs from them in being chiefly subjective and emotional. It gives us the thoughts and feelings of pious Jews, their voices of praise and of distress, of hope and of doubt, as the purposes of God slowly unfolded themselves. To this class the Jews also attach the later histories, Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel (so considered by the Jews), Chronicles; the narratives of Ruth and Esther; the poem of Job; the didactic books, and generally whatever is not contained under the two former heads, regarding the whole collection probably as illustrative of the great purpose of Jewish history rather than as directly occupied with it. As mentioned above, the Psalms form the most important portion of *The Writings*, and occasionally are used as equivalent to the whole collection.

The Pentateuch is so called from a Greek word signifying *The five-fold book*, or *Book in five volumes*. The names of the several books, Genesis, Exodus, etc., are also Greek, while in the Hebrew they are distinguished solely by the opening words of each. Thus Genesis is called *In the beginning*; Exodus, *These are the names*, or simply *The names*; and so on. Though finally adopted by the Jews, who in the days of the Rabbis called the Pentateuch *The five fifth parts of the Law*, this division is probably not original. A threefold division is more naturally suggested by the contents, Genesis being occupied with the early history of the world, the three next books with the wanderings in the wilderness, while Deuteronomy consists of discourses delivered by Moses shortly before his death. The earlier Jewish division is into fifty-four sections called *Parshiyoth*, each subdivided into smaller paragraphs called *Sedarim*. But whenever adopted, the five-fold division has had great influence upon the arrangement of the rest of the Scriptures, for the Psalms are also divided into five books, and five of "The Writings"—namely, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther—were classed together under the name of *Megilloth* or *Rolls*, and attached to the Pentateuch, which in many editions of the Hebrew Bible they immediately follow. The proper name of the Pentateuch is *The Torah*, or *Law*: so "the book of the law"

(Deut. xxxi. 26; 2 Kings xxii. 8; 2 Chron. xvii. 9, &c.); "the law of Moses" (2 Chron. xxv. 4; Neh. viii. 1, &c.); less frequently it is called "the book of the covenant" (2 Kings xxiii. 2, 21; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30). In the New Testament it is called "the law," and in the Epistle to the Romans is usually distinguished from natural law by the addition of the article.

The great question debated in modern times, concerning the Pentateuch, has been that of its authorship. Are there reasonable grounds for believing that Moses was the writer, or must its composition be referred to a later date? Let us clear the subject first.

Its Mosaic authorship, then, by no means implies that Moses made use of no earlier documents: on the contrary, the book of Genesis is on the very face of it a compilation. Nor does it imply that we have the Pentateuch exactly as it left the hands of Moses. The Jews, from whom we received the book, have always asserted the contrary, affirming that Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue re-edited (as we should say) the more ancient books in the Bible, and after the fashion of those days inserted in the text many explanations and remarks, which in the present day would take the form of notes. Nor, again, does it imply that Moses made use of no other hand in its composition. The book of Jeremiah is none the less his, though for some reason he penned no single word of it, but left that entirely to the scribe Baruch. One of the most ancient versions, the Peshito Syriac, affirms that Moses made similar use of Joshua, and that the latter not merely arranged, but also completed the Pentateuch, referring certainly to the account of the death of Moses, which must have been added by a later hand, but not excluding the idea that he had a substantial share in the composition of the Book of Deuteronomy. Similarly, the Talmud says that Joshua wrote the last eight sections of this book. But while we find Joshua associated with Moses at a very early date in the preservation of these records, the writing of the earlier portion of them is expressly assigned to the lawgiver himself. In Exod. xvii. 14, God says to Moses, "Write this as a memorial in *the book*, and put into the ears of Joshua, that I will utterly wipe out the remembrance of Amalek." Elsewhere we find Moses penning similar records (Exod. xxiv. 4; xxxiv. 27; Numb. xxxiii. 2); finally the complete book of the Law is entrusted to the keeping of the Levites, who were to lay it up by the ark, and read it every seventh year to the people (Deut. xvii. 18; xxxi. 9-11). The statement, then, of the Pentateuch itself is that Moses, learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, carried the art of writing with him into the wilderness, and himself kept a contemporaneous record of events; but it does not certainly appear whether Joshua could at first write or not; for the matter is entrusted to his ears—*i.e.*, to his memory. But at the end of the long sojourn in the wilderness, though not till then, the Levites generally could read and write; and as Joshua was connected with Moses in the keeping of the records at so early a

date, we may feel sure that Moses had taken no less pains with him than with the Levites generally. There is little doubt, moreover, that Aaron and others of the higher nobles, equally with Moses, possessed a knowledge of this art. The word translated "officers" in Exod. v. 6-19 literally signifies "scribes," so that the Hebrews even then had a learned class. But it would not be till towards the close of the long sojourn at Kadesh-barnea, that the aged Moses would devolve upon Joshua duties long performed by himself.

But it is objected that this carries back the art of writing to a too early date. For while in the Book of Genesis we find no trace of writing, except it be in Judah's signet-ring, engraved probably with some device, in the Pentateuch not merely can Moses write, and the priests (Numb. v. 23), but ordinary people (Deut. vi. 9; xi. 20; xxiv. 1, 3). Equally common is the reference to the art of writing in the book of Joshua (viii. 32; x. 13; xviii. 9; xxiv. 26), and then we hear no more of it till the time of David, when the prophets appear as a learned class; and finally it is early in the reign of Ahab that its use becomes general. There is, however, one curious exception to this statement. Miserable as was the state of Israel during the days of the Judges, it was not a time of such entire ignorance as is supposed; for the young man of Succoth, whom Gideon caught, "wrote down" for him the names of the threescore and seventeen chief men of that city (Judg. viii. 14).

Granting, however, the exceptional prevalence of the art of writing in the days of Moses, can it be satisfactorily accounted for or not?

Now, first, Moses and the Israelites had long dwelt in Egypt, where not merely hieroglyphics, but the cursive hieratic character had been in use for centuries before the exodus. Not merely inscriptions on temples, but papyri now in our museums prove the existence of a learned class, who wrote not only works on history, philosophy, and theology, but even novels; so that students of Egyptian literature now readily admit that a knowledge of writing was widely diffused in the age of Moses among the more cultivated part of the people. As regards the great mass, the matter has indeed been sometimes overstated. The giving a wife, on dismissal, a writing of divorce, the inscribing of texts upon door-posts, and other similar commands, imply only the existence of a literary class. In Spain, to this day, people make use of others to write their letters and contracts, and can find such persons ready with table and writing materials in the market-places. As late as the time of Ezekiel we still find the professional scribe, in attendance upon higher officers, dressed in a linen tunic, and with his inkhorn at his belt (Ezek. ix. 2, 11). Observe also that it is not till the end of the sojourn in the wilderness, after the halt of thirty-eight years' duration at Kadesh-barnea, that we find commands implying a general use of writing; and nothing is more probable than that a man so wise and far-seeing as Moses should have trained the priests and Levites in the learning which he undoubtedly possessed, especially as they would remain with him at head-quarters,

while the rest of the tribes were more or less scattered over the wilderness of Paran, in search of pasture for their cattle.

But, secondly, the art of writing is of the very highest antiquity among the Semitic nations themselves. All the words connected with the art, "to write," "book," "ink," are Semitic, and not Egyptian, and as Ewald remarks (*Gesch. Isr.*, i. 77), are common to all branches of the family, so that they must have been their common property before the original stock broke up into distinct branches. The names of the letters too are Semitic, and were carried by Cadmus—i.e., the Oriental—and the Phœnicians to Greece, whence all European nations have received them. Weber has even shown that the Hindoos borrowed their alphabet from the Semites, thus carrying back the invention of letters to a most remote antiquity. But though the Phœnicians taught the art of writing to the nations of Europe, they did not invent the alphabet; for the names are all derived from pastoral occupations, and not from maritime affairs. *Alph*, the Greek Alpha, is an ox; *Gimel*, a camel; *Vau*, a tent-peg; *Cheth*, a cattle-fence; *Lamed*, an ox-goad; and though *Nun* is a fish, and *Tzade* a fish-hook, no letter is named from any part of a ship. It is certain, too, that the Canaanites at a very early age possessed the art of writing. The Kheta, generally understood to be the Hittites, appear in early Egyptian monuments as a nation of scribes. In exact accordance with this we find a Hittite town, captured by Joshua, called Kirjath-sepher, "Book-town," or as the LXX. render it, "the city of scribes" (Josh. xv. 15). In verse 49 it is called Kirjath-sannah, which Fürst renders "city of writing;" while its other name Debir probably means "parchment," or the city where that material was prepared. There is little doubt that the Canaanites, as far as civilisation and the arts which minister to refinement and luxury are concerned, had attained to a far higher level than the Israelites; yet the latter carried with them into the wilderness the art of engraving on jewels, of embroidery, and of working in gold and silver. Settled in the land of Goshen, on the confines between Egypt and the Semitic races, and aided at first by all the influence of Joseph, the powerful minister of a monarch of the twelfth dynasty, when Egypt was in the very height of prosperity, it is unreasonable to suppose them destitute of arts which undoubtedly flourished in both the regions between which Goshen lay. Nor must we measure the state of civilisation to which they had attained in Egypt by the semi-barbarism into which they relapsed in Palestine, and from which Samuel rescued them.

There is therefore no antecedent improbability in Moses being able to write such a history as the Pentateuch; nor in the priests and Levites generally forming a learned caste at the end of the long sojourn in the wilderness.

The ground, therefore, is now clear for direct evidence; and of this the most important is the fact, that the whole of the rest of the Old Testament constantly implies the existence of the Pentateuch, and from time to time refers to it. So fully is this the case in the book of

Joshua, that it is not denied, but traversed by the assertion that it really is a part of the Pentateuch, and was compiled at the same time. But it is even more remarkable that in the book of Judges, which describes the miserable state of things resulting from the Israelites having only partially conquered the land; when there was no settled government or unity among the tribes; when the Mosaic constitution was practically in abeyance, and the country so overrun by marauders that Deborah's words describe almost its normal state, that "the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through byways"—even in this book we find all the main points of the law presupposed. There is an ark in a tent at Shiloh, to which men go for counsel; the Levites are dispersed throughout the land; the ephod is the priestly garment; the people are circumcised; the theocratic idea, chiefly urged in Deuteronomy, is so fully recognised that Gideon refuses to be king; and whatever remains of a national organisation still exist are all in accordance with the Mosaic institutions.

With Samuel came a reform, and from him, as its second founder, the nation started upon a path of rapid upward progress. But everything now, and when David consolidated the new order of things, was too expressly modelled upon the institutions of Moses for the existence of at least the first four books of the Pentateuch to be doubted. Either, therefore, Samuel compiled the Pentateuch to suit his purpose, or he found it laid up among the archives of Shiloh, and derived from the study of it there those ideas which guided him in his course as Israel's greatest statesman. As regards Deuteronomy, its authorship will be considered in the introduction to that book.

But Samuel's task, arduous and almost hopeless as it must appear to any one who studies the state of Israel during the triumphant domination of the Philistines after the battle of Eben-ezer (I Sam. iv.), would have been impossible had he possessed no groundwork on which to rebuild the shattered institutions of his people. The history sets him before us as a general fighting for the very existence of the nation, as a judge administering the law uprightly, as a statesman founding a system of national education, and consolidating the institutions of the country upon the Mosaic basis. To such a one an appeal to the Pentateuch would have been a source of enormous strength, if the nation already acknowledged it as the national code; but a forgery, and that upon so large a scale, would have been as useless as impossible. Nor can we understand the intense grief of the people at the destruction of Shiloh, the slightest allusion to which in after-times called up the most passionate emotions (Ps. lxxviii. 60—64; Jer. xxvi. 6, 9), unless it had long been the national sanctuary.

The question, however, of forgery will be best settled by internal evidence; for only in the midst of books, and with the stores of a large library at his command, can a forger hope to give his work local colouring, and keep it true to the habits, manners, and facts of a past age. Samuel, writing for an emergency in the fallen state of the nation, would have made his work refer to that

emergency. He would have written for a temporary and not for a permanent purpose. The Philistine supremacy would ever have been kept in view. And who, besides, would forge a book like the Judges, which tells how, for four hundred years, the Israelites all but entirely failed in the mission for which Moses had formed them? The time of rest and plenty promised by Moses never came till the days of David.

We proceed then to the internal evidence, simply repeating that from the time of Sammel the existence of the Mosaic institutions is undoniable.

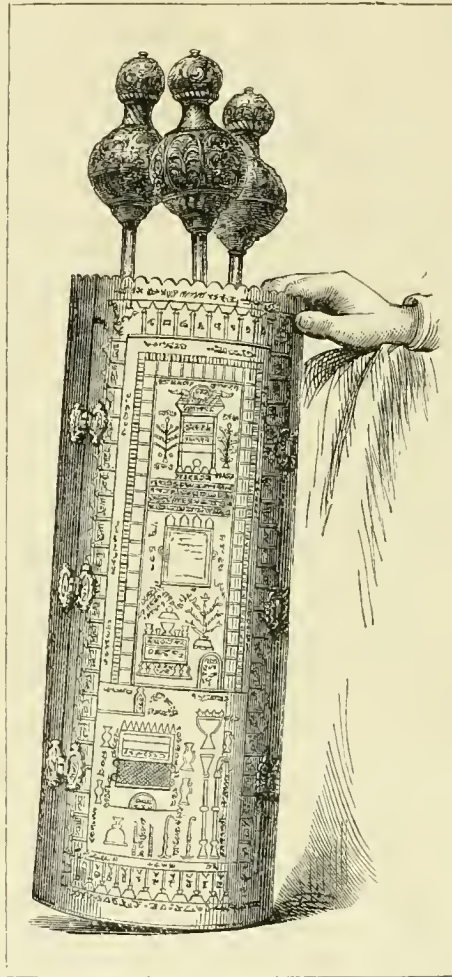
Now in the present day our knowledge of Egypt, and of ancient history generally, has been so enlarged that no scholar any longer doubts the personal existence of Moses, or the fact of the Exodus. The discussion, therefore, is narrowed to a single point. Is the Pentateuch a contemporaneous record, or one written long afterwards, giving us a traditional and not an historic account of what took place? The entire discussion occupies an immense range of ground, involving a close examination of every point contained in the five books. But there are certain salient points upon which it really depends, and which briefly are as follow:—

First, there is the connection with Egyptian history. Upon this point it must suffice to give the results arrived at by those who have made Egypt the object of special study. They produce ample proof that Abraham's descent into Egypt, the sale of Joseph as a slave, his subsequent appointment as chief governor of the land, the history of Moses, and the Exodus, all fit into Egyptian history; and supposed difficulties of manners and customs disappear upon a more exact knowledge of the records preserved for us upon the magnificent buildings erected by those ancient dynasties, and in the papyrus rolls written in their days.¹

¹ Those who wish to make a special study of this subject, will find a valuable introduction to it in Canon Cook's "Essays on Egyptian History and Egyptian Words," attached to Vol. I. of the Speaker's "Commentary."

But an even more convincing argument is drawn from the words used in the Pentateuch. Premising that the writer of the Pentateuch was employing a language certainly moulded in Palestine—for he uses the term *seawards* as meaning *westwards*, whereas the sea is to the north of Egypt, and other similar expressions drawn from the physical conformation of the country—he,

nevertheless, whenever Egyptian matters are concerned, employs words capable of explanation only by referring them to Egyptian roots. In the history of Joseph, besides the proper names, such as Potiphar, *one devoted to the palace*; Potipherah, *one devoted to the sun* (he was priest of Heliopolis, the Sun-town); Asenath, *favourite of Neith*, the Egyptian Minerva; Zaphnath-paaneah, *the food of life*; besides these, the words for the river, the meadow, or rather the reed-grass upon which the kine fed; the cry *Abrek*, translated in our version "Bow the knee," but really meaning "Rejoice thou," and others, are distinctly Egyptian. So, too, are the customs. The cupbearer hands the king the newly expressed juice of the grape (Gen. xl. 11), for the Egyptians did not drink fermented wine till the days of Psammetichus; he balances the cup on his open hand, instead of holding it (*ibid.*); the wheat bears seven ears on one stalk; then we have the Egyptians eating separately, their dislike to shepherds, Joseph's divining bowl of silver, the ceremonies of embalming and mourning, and much besides. No foreigner could have



ANCIENT "BOOK" OR ROLL IN ITS CASE.

been so constantly accurate, even if he had possessed an adequate knowledge of the more remarkable of these customs. But it is when we come to the Exodus that the narrative abounds with Egyptian words. The name of Moses is itself Egyptian, and means *drawn out*. He calls his son Gershom. Now Gesenius, in attempting to explain this name by Semitic roots, could do so only by accusing the writer of a double error. In Egyptian it means *one who dwells in a foreign land*. Then the *ark*, the *bulrushes*, the *pitch*, the *flags*, the *river's brink*, the word used for the princess *washing* (Exod. ii. 5)—in fact, every detail in the history of

Moses' infancy is pure Egyptian. When we come to the plagues the case is equally strong. A Palestinian would have devised plagues such as he was acquainted with in his own country. Really they are natural occurrences of Egypt, only greatly intensified. Thus the river, which under certain circumstances turns to a dark red colour, is in the plague changed into blood. The very names for the rest were unknown in Palestine, but are pure Egyptian. The *frogs, lice, flies, ashes of the furnace, the boils and blains, the breaking out of the boils, the flux and spell* (rendered *rie* in our version), the *boiling* of the one and the *growing up* of the other, are all words belonging to the Egyptian language. So are the names of the treasure-cities, *Pithom* and *Raamses*, the *taskmasters*, the *magicians*, and even the words for the *passover* and *leaven*.

Plainly, therefore, the account of the Exodus was written by one thoroughly conversant with the Egyptian language, manners, and customs. But there was no communication between Palestine and Egypt after the Exodus till the time of Solomon. Recent systematic travels in the wilderness of Sinai prove also that the geographical statements of the Pentateuch are so exact, that the writer must have had thorough local knowledge of its features. Where, except in Moses himself, shall we find one who combines both these branches of knowledge?

Can it then, finally, be argued that the Pentateuch was compiled out of contemporaneous documents? This theory would grant the substantial accuracy of the narrative, and even the Mosaic authorship of large portions of it.

It may be enough, therefore, upon this point to make two observations.

First, the Egyptian words occur indiscriminately in Jehovistic passages (those which call the Deity *Lord*) and Elohistie (those in which he is called *God*). It is inconceivable that two writers living in different ages, and with so little in common as each to ignore the name by which the other called the Deity, should both have had such exact knowledge of Egypt, and of the Peninsula of Sinai.

But, secondly, if the Pentateuch had been a compilation, there would have been some indications of arrangement in it. A compiler is by nature an arranger, and what moves him to his work is a sense of incompleteness and disorder in the records of the past; but no traces of such arrangement are discoverable in the Pentateuch. Laws moral, social, political, ritualistic, follow in no order, except that of time, interspersed with historical narratives. The Pentateuch is a succession of unconnected pieces, and apparently, with the exception of notes incorporated into the text by the men of the Great Synagogue, they have come down to us as they

were written from time to time by Moses, and laid up in the ark.

No scholar now doubts the vast abilities of Moses, or that he was the leader of the Exodus, and the organiser of the Israelites in the wilderness. Their departure from Egypt, and their conquest of Canaan, are as historically certain as the enterprise of William the Conqueror and the battle of Hastings. And while it would be too much to affirm that the Pentateuch is in all points just as it left his hands, yet we may safely assert that the balance of proof is decidedly in favour of its Mosaic authorship, and of the substantial authenticity of our present text.

For the benefit of our readers we have attached to this article a specimen of Phœnician writing, engraved from a seal now in the British Museum, and brought originally from Mesopotamia. The symbols upon it belong to an Assyrian form of worship, the owner having been a priest. The letters containing his name are arranged in five columns, and must be read downwards as follows:—

L	B	S	Z	L
A	R	R	I	M
K	G	S	M	R
D	B	A	Q	D
B	R		R	
N	D		B	



L is a preposition signifying ownership. We may render the inscription therefore thus, "This is the seal of Akdban, son of Gebrod, a prince who sacrifices to the (is priest of) Merod." The word *SARSA*, which forms the third line, is the same as that

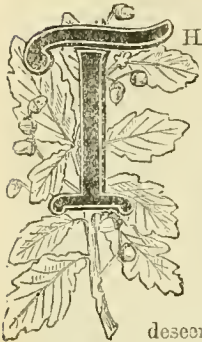
applied to Potiphar in Gen. xxxvii. 36, and fully explained there in the margin. In the Hebrew it is spelt *Saris*.

The topmost letter of the first column is Lamed, *the ox-goad*, our L. The second is Aleph, *the ox*, and represents the head of that animal roughly drawn, with the two horns and ears. It is our A. The third, Caph, means *the hollow of the hand*. It is the Greek Kappa and our K, only turned downwards. Our letter still very nearly resembles the old form, the straight line at the back having been added to distinguish it from the crescent moon. Next follows Daleth, *a door*, but apparently very little like one. But stop: these letters are older than houses, and we must not introduce modern notions into such ancient matters. It is the door of a tent, and therefore triangular (the Greek Delta is an exact triangle). So the next letter, Beth, *a house*, is really a tent, with the cord by which it was secured, and at the end of it the peg to fasten it in the ground. The last letter in the column, Nun, *a fish*, had in the earliest writing a wriggling shape like that of an eel, but like our N it has had its lines stiffened. The last letter I will notice is the fourth in the fourth line. Its name is Qeph, or Koph, and represents the back of the head and neck. It very well exemplifies the way in which that which originally was a picture came to be represented by a mere conventional form.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.—I.

BY W. CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

INTRODUCTION.



THE wild flowers which year after year adorn the face of Palestine in the early spring, with colours so varied and glowing that they surprise the Western traveller, are in striking contrast to everything else around them. The red-flowered anemone, the white daisy, and the yellow marigold, which cover the undulating downs of Hebron in the beginning of the year, are the lineal descendants and the exact counterparts of those which cheered the eye of Abraham when, an exile from his fatherland, he pitched his tents in the Land of Promise. The tulips, poppies, and anemones, which abound in the pastures of Bethlehem, are similarly like and related to those which David saw when he watched his father's flocks there. The mountains around the Sea of Galilee are adorned with the same "lilies" which supplied the Saviour with such an apposite illustration, when he addressed to the crowds his Sermon on the Mount. All around has changed. The inhabitants of the land have come and gone, again and again, leaving traces behind them in the ruins which abound in mountain, plain, and desert alike. Palestine is a land of ruins, and these ruins tell the story of the successive possessors of the soil, of the Canaanite and Israelite, the Roman, the Christian, and the Mohammedan; yet the bright and beautiful plants of the mountains and the valleys have remained unchanged through all these changes. One or two intruders have established themselves among the native vegetation, but without affecting the general aspect, except in one case, that of the Prickly Pear (*Opuntia vulgaris*, Linn.), which is now very abundant in Palestine, as it is in all the countries surrounding the Mediterranean. A native of hot, dry places, it will maintain a vigorous life all the year round in the most barren soil, or on the surface of bare rocks, when it can push its roots into a crack. Its growth is encouraged because its prickly-jointed stem is admirably adapted for hedges, while its well-known sweet juicy fruits are extensively eaten, and greatly esteemed for their cooling properties. Its gaudy yellow blossoms cover the terminations of the branches in the early summer, and the fruit ripens towards the end of July, after which it is abundant in all the markets. So naturalised has this plant become in the East, that it is often taken by travellers for a native, and it has been unwittingly introduced by more than one painter into pictures of Bible subjects. It is, however, like all the other members of the natural order *Cactaceæ*, to which it belongs, with the exception of a single species, a native of America, whence it was introduced early in the sixteenth century into Europe, where it was cultivated under the name of Indian Fig, while on the

African shores of the Mediterranean it was called the Christian's Fig, having been brought from Spain by the Moors.

Confining attention to the indigenous plants of Palestine, and taking advantage of the fact that these plants have remained the same throughout all the changes that have taken place during the historic period, I propose, in the series of articles on the "Plants of the Bible," to place before my readers short sketches of the existing vegetation of the Holy Land, directing special attention to, and describing at greater length, those plants mentioned in the Sacred Volume, as they turn up in the order we follow. I shall proceed according to the natural system of classification adopted by botanists, and grouping the plants that are closely allied, shall compare or contrast them with those familiar to us, and thus endeavour to give the non-scientific reader an intelligent acquaintance with them.

In this investigation it must be remembered that the names of plants employed in the Bible were those in use among the people, and that there is, consequently, the same want of precision as in the popular use of names at the present day, and the same difficulty in identifying the particular species of plants intended. Many of the terms are general, and the attempted correlation of such terms with particular plants is, of course, based on problematical grounds, and always more or less doubtful. To the general reader not a little obscurity was inevitably introduced into the authorised version of the Bible, from the translators being ignorant of the plants of Palestine, and from the low state of botanical science in Britain at the beginning of the seventeenth century. One example will show the difficulties thus presented to the English reader. The various forms of the Hebrew *עץ* (*et*), which it is fair to suppose refer to the same plant, are rendered in different passages as "oak," "elm," "teal," and "plane," and in one place simply by the general word "tree."

The reference to the botanical knowledge of Solomon, as an illustration of his wisdom, implies a systematic acquaintance with the plants of Palestine, for "he spake of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall." But no other record exists of this knowledge; indeed, no work has come down to us from the Jews which throws any light on the vegetation of their country during the long time it was in their possession. They could not fail to notice the plants which so remarkably changed the whole aspect of the country in spring, and we consequently find that many of the metaphors and illustrations which give a beauty to passages in the Old Testament, and a power to the teaching of our Lord and his disciples, are derived from phenomena connected with the life and organisation of familiar plants. William Coles, in his "Art of Simpling" (1657), says truly: "There are in Scripture

several expressions and similitudes, either concerning plants or derived from them, which cannot thoroughly be understood without this art;" and he quaintly adds, "If a divine were a good herbarist, he might be much more accurate in the interpretation of Scripture than many in our dayes are." No change has taken place, in the two centuries that have elapsed since Coles wrote, to affect the general accuracy of his statements; nor, indeed, was it possible, for our precise knowledge of the plants of Palestine is but of recent date.

The plants of the Bible were made subjects of investigation by the schoolmen; their ignorance of the plants themselves was more than compensated for by their lively imaginations, and visionary speculations. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the science of botany entered on a new life. This was due to the introduction of a scientific system of classification, in place of the alphabetical arrangement hitherto used, through the labours of Tournefort in France, but chiefly of the illustrious Ray in England, as well as to the new direction given to botany, as it gradually became a science of observation, and was delivered from the baseless absurdities as to the signatures, temperatures, and imaginary virtues of plants, the influence on them of the moon and stars, &c.—subjects which formed the chief burthen of the old herbals. One of the latest productions of this old school is the "Scripture Herbal" of W. Westmacott, published in 1694. "To render it acceptable and useful," the author says, "to the meanest, as well as to the most accurate philosophical reader, I have inserted also the Aristotelian qualities of every plant, whether hot, cold, moist, or dry, to which and occult qualities all the effects and operations of herbs, accumulated and set down in our common herbals, are attributed; and, to please others, have not forgot to place each plant under that planet which is said to have influence and dominion over it." The nature of this work, the defects of which are due to the then state of science, and its excellences to the author's persevering research, is well exhibited in its long title, which is sufficiently curious and characteristic of the science of that day, to deserve printing at the foot of the page.¹

Rauwolf laid the foundation of all our exact know-

ledge of the plants of the Bible. In 1573 he sailed for the East, and spent three years in Palestine, Syria, and other neighbouring countries. He collected a very fine herbarium, which, after passing through several hands, was at last purchased by the University of Leyden, where it is still preserved in four large volumes. This collection supplied the materials for the "Flora Orientalis" of Gronovius (1755), in which over 330 species of plants are described.

The first scientific attempt to illustrate the plants of Scripture was made by Olof Celsius, who was professor of divinity in the University of Upsala. For fifty years he prosecuted the studies necessary to fit him for the production of his great work. He made himself a distinguished Oriental scholar, and he took every opportunity to become acquainted with collections of plants brought from Palestine, visiting for this purpose the principal seats of learning in Germany and Holland, and examining among others the collections of Rauwolf. His "Hierobotanicon" (two volumes, 8vo, 1745, 1747) is a mine of knowledge on Bible plants, in which all that had been previously written is thoroughly digested and examined, and the valuable linguistic and botanical materials he had through so many years accumulated are clearly expressed. The pursuits into which Celsius was led in the studies for his great work, induced him to devote special attention to natural history, of which, indeed, he was the restorer in Sweden. An accidental encounter with Linnæus in the Botanic Garden at Upsala discovered to him the remarkable attainments of this then unknown student, and led to so close a friendship that he received him into his own house, at a time when Linnæus was in pecuniary difficulties from the narrow circumstances of his parents. The generous help thus given to the young naturalist, and the professor's continued interest in him, enabled Linnæus to devote himself to his favourite pursuits, and in the course of time to lay the foundations of modern natural science.

The local investigation of the Flora of Palestine is a work of comparatively recent years. There were some precursors even in the last century, and chief amongst them was the enthusiastic Hasselquist, who, incited by the lamentations of his teacher Linnæus as to the existing ignorance regarding the natural history of Palestine, resolved, notwithstanding his bad health and his poverty, to visit the Holy Land. Obtaining a travelling scholarship and other pecuniary assistance, he set out in 1749. Battling against enfeebled health, he succeeded in collecting a large series of plants, and in 1752 arrived at Smyrna on his way home, where he died at the early age of thirty. Linnæus published his travels, and gave a list of the plants he collected, amounting to 601 species.

The first of the recent exact botanical explorers is Aucher-Eloy, who between 1830 and 1835 made large collections in Palestine and other Eastern countries; after him Kotschy made various expeditions between 1836 and 1862. In 1846 Boissier visited Palestine, and by his critical investigations of the plants he himself

¹ "ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΑ, sive Historia Vegetabilium Sacra: or a Scripture Herbal; Wherein all the Trees, Shrubs, Herbs, Plants, Flowers, Fruits, &c., Both Foreign and Native, that are mentioned in the Holy Bible (being near Eighty in Number), are in an Alphabetical Order, Rationally Discoursed of, SHEWING, Their Names, Kinds, Descriptions, Places, manner of Propagation, Countries, various Uses, Qualities, and Natural Principles, &c. Together with their Medicinal Preparations, Virtues and Dose, Galenically and Chymically handled, and Performed according to the newest Doctrines of Philosophy, Herbarism, and Physick. The whole being Adorned with variety of Matter, and Observations, not only Medicinal, but Relating to the Alimental and Mechanical Uses of the PLANTS. Fit for Divines, and All Persons of any other Profession or Calling whatsoever, that use to Read the Holy Scriptures, wherein they find not only Physick for the Soul, but also with the help of this Herbal (may the better understand the Bible, which also yields them) safe Medicines, for the Cure of their Corporal Diseases. The like never extant before. By William Westmacott, of the Borough of Newcastle under Line, in the County of Stafford, Physician. Adoro Scripturæ Plentudinem. Tertul. London: Printed for T. Salusbury, at the King's-Arms next St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street. 1694."

collected, and of those he obtained from other botanical travellers, he has greatly advanced our knowledge of the plants of this region. The great work on which he is now engaged—"Flora Orientalis," the first volume of which was published in 1867, and the second in 1872, completing the polypetalous orders—will when finished leave nothing to be desired in the way of an exact knowledge of the species of plants now existing in Palestine. Dr. Hooker has published some valuable notices of these plants, arising out of his observations during a visit to Palestine. In 1864 Mr. B. T. Lowne accompanied Canon Tristram in one of his expeditions, and brought home a large and fine collection of plants. He has not yet published the results of his labours, except in so far as they relate to the vegetation of the shores of the Dead Sea. Finally, Mr. W. A. Hayne, in the spring of 1872, made collections in Moab, a hitherto little-known district botanically, and he has already published the general results. The plants collected by many of these botanists have been distributed, and the sets contained in the Herbarium of the British Museum will be of important service in the preparation of these papers.

This notice of the scientific labours and literature connected with the plants of the Bible may be closed by a reference to some recent works prepared by botanists and others at home. Chief among these may be mentioned "The Scripture Herbal" of Lady Calcott (1842). Her own researches while suffering from a fatal illness, and the assistance she received from botanists, make her work one of real value. "The Plants of the Bible," by Professor Balfour, and that portion of "The Natural History of the Bible" (1868), by Canon Tristram, devoted to Botany, are important contributions to the subject; while the numerous memoirs of the late Dr. Royle, and the series of articles contributed by him to Kitto's "Cyclopædia," have great value from his eminence as a botanist, and his extensive acquaintance with Indian plants.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

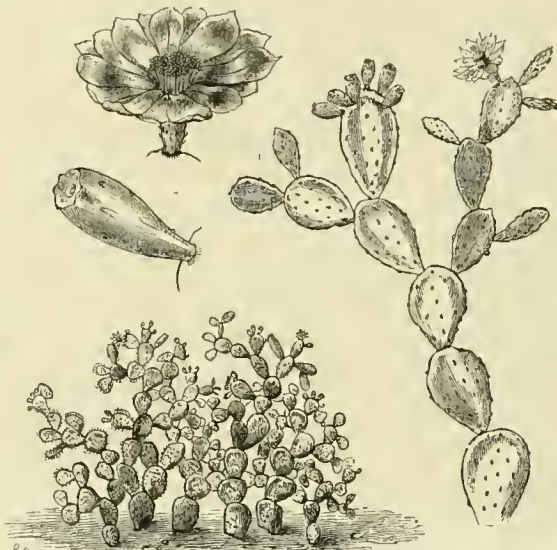
Palestine may be divided into three botanical provinces.

I. The province of the shore plain, the plants of which belong to the flora of the Mediterranean basin. The mountains which run down from the Lebanon range to the sea reduce this plain to a mere shore-line to the north of the Ladder of Tyre. Southwards from this headland the plain gradually expands, being eight miles wide at Cesaræa, twelve at Joppa, and twenty at

Gaza. It is interrupted by Carmel, which rises so abruptly from the sea as to leave scarce room for a road round its base. The soil of this shore region is light and sandy; it is very fertile where it is well watered, as in the north, but it is generally bare and parched; and to the south of Carmel for some distance inland it is more or less covered with loose drifting sand, which sometimes rises into mounds from fifty to two hundred feet high. The vegetation of this littoral region is the same as that of the islands and of both shores of the Mediterranean from the Straits of Gibraltar eastward, but somewhat modified by the local conditions of a wet and moist winter and an almost tropical summer.

II. The mountainous table-land, which constitutes the greater part of Palestine. This region is an ex-

tension southwards of the great mountain-ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. It is divided into two parallel tracts by the Jordan valley. That to the west of the Jordan, in Palestine proper, begins with the mountains of Galilee, whose summits are rounded, and covered more or less completely with forests of oak, terebinth, maple, &c., and the intervening valleys are well watered and fertile. To the south of the plain of Esdraelon, which intersects this tract of table-land, the hills are rocky and more barren; they gradually become lower, until beyond Hebron they at last melt away into the



THE PRICKLY PEAR (HALF THE ACTUAL SIZE).

desert. This elevated region presents a continuous line when seen from the sea, but a nearer inspection shows the line to be broken by numerous valleys, the courses of which are filled with water only during the rainy season. The eastern boundary toward the Jordan is more continuous, and the valleys which penetrate it are short and steep. Beyond Jordan the table-land, comprising the mountainous regions of Bashan and Moab, has much the same characters as on this side. The Jordan boundary is well defined; eastward and southward the mountains gradually die out towards the desert. The plants of this mountainous table-land belong to what has been called the Oriental region, characterised by the presence of cedars, oaks, and planes among the trees, and of spine-bearing species of *Caryophyllaceæ*, *Astragalus*, *Compositæ*, and *Plumbaginææ* among the herbs. This is a Northern flora, finding its limits southward in Judea and Moab, and stretching northward into Russia and Middle Europe, and even counting several species indigenous to Britain.



NABLOUS (page 12).

(By permission, from "The Palestine Exploration Fund" Series of Photographs.)

III. The valley of the Jordan is a singular depression in the great table-land of Palestine, about 150 miles in length from Dan to the south of the Dead Sea, and with a tolerably uniform breadth of about twelve miles. It is bordered, as we have already seen, by high cliffs cut into by deep ravines. The unnatural depth of the valley gives it an almost tropical heat. The plants, unlike those of the mountain region, have a Southern relationship, their affinities being with the vegetation of Arabia and Egypt.

The same picturesque variety characterises the two great works of God, Nature and Revelation. The Bible is not a lesson-book of theology and morals:

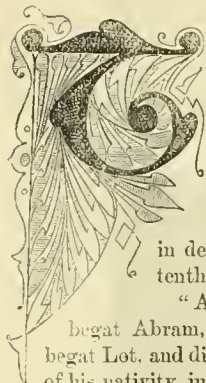
on the contrary, it consists of thrilling history and engaging biography, of stately argument and sacred song, of simple parable and friendly letter. So throughout Nature, and with that portion of the outer world with which we have specially to deal in these papers. The plants which cover the earth are not grouped together so as to exhibit their systematic classification, like what we find in the symmetrically arranged plots of a botanic garden; they are scattered with apparent disorder, but with marvellous beauty, over the world—buttercups and daisies, oaks and pines, harebells and dandelions. *Classification*, therefore, will form the next subject of consideration.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—I.

THE PATRIARCHS.

ABRAHAM.

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.



HE lofty range of mountains which culminates in Ararat slopes down southward into the great plain of Mesopotamia. Somewhere in the northern and upland regions of this district lay Ur of the Chaldees.¹ Here, about 2000 B.C., Abraham was born; his father Terah being tenth in descent from Noah, as Noah was the tenth in descent from Adam.

"And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran." "And Haran begat Lot, and died before his father Terah in the land of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees." "And Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah." "And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot the son of Haran his son's son, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife; and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan; and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there. And the days of Terah were two hundred and five years, and Terah died in Haran."

Whether the premature decease of Haran weakened the ties that bound Terah to Ur, or whether he shared in his son Abraham's faith, and was thus disposed to migrate with him, we cannot tell. We only know that when the proposal of migration was made, he not only acquiesced in, but promoted it. Under Terah's guidance the entire household removed to Haran. It may have been the attractiveness of this "cultivated district at the foot of the hills,"² "this beautiful stretch of country which lies below Mount Masius between the Khabour and the Euphrates"³ which prevailed, or the failure of the purpose to proceed may have sprung from the infirmities of age; however, it was here Terah remained and died. And here, too, Nahor and his family remained, taking so firm a hold, and spreading out so quickly and widely, that his descendants grew up into a community, broken up indeed much earlier, but at one time "as powerful as that of Israel."⁴ But Abraham had heard a voice from heaven saying to him, "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, into a land that I will shew thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee. And in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed. So

Abraham departed, as the Lord had spoken unto him, and Lot went with him: and Abraham was seventy and five years old when he departed out of Haran."

Stephen, before the Jewish council, declared that "the God of glory appeared unto our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran: and from thence, when his father was dead, he removed him into this land wherein now ye dwell." Accepting this statement, and assuming that the narrative in Genesis implies that Abraham did not leave Haran till Terah's death, as Abraham was then 75 and his father 205 years old, Terah must have been 130 at the time of Abraham's birth, who could not therefore have been the first-born, and must have been sixty years younger than his eldest brother. That this eldest brother was Haran appears more than probable from one of his daughters having married Nahor before her father's death. Josephus and Jerome, embodying the universal Jewish tradition, inform us that the daughters of Haran were Milcah and Sarah. If Iscah was thus, as has been generally believed, but another name for Sarah, as we know that she was ten years younger than Abraham, her father must have been by many years his senior. When Abraham was challenged by Abimelech, he said of Sarah, "And yet indeed she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother." If Haran were the eldest son, born when his father was seventy, and Abraham the youngest, born of a different mother, and Sarah were Haran's daughter, what Abraham said to Abimelech would be in accordance with the Jewish mode of speaking of family relationships. Lot, who is called the brother as well as the nephew of Abraham, would be literally his brother-in-law. Otherwise it is difficult to see how the ages and the intermarriages can be made to harmonise. Adopting the above-stated order of birth among the three brothers, we understand how it was that Nahor's granddaughter, Haran's great-granddaughter, married Abraham's son. It is difficult otherwise to perceive how Isaac and Rebekah could have stood upon anything like the same level. †

On the other hand, it is alleged that the natural interpretation of the expression in Gen. xi. 26 is that Abraham was the eldest son, born when his father was seventy. The circumstance of Terah's death being related before that of Abraham's departure does not necessarily imply that the death preceded the departure, it being the practice of the narrator in the Book of Genesis to finish what he has to say about one individual before taking up the thread of the story as to another. Considering the circumstances in which it was made, Stephen's statement, it is thought, cannot be taken as authenticating anything more than what was the current Jewish tradition and belief, which ought not, in point of authority, to be set up against anything

¹ Ewald's *History of Israel*, vol. i., pp. 282, 283. See also Stanley's *Jewish Church*, vol. i., p. 5; Smith's *Dictionary*, art. "Ur."

² Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 129.

³ Smith's *Dictionary*, art. "Haran."

⁴ Ewald, p. 310.

which the original record affirms or implies. There is nothing in that record giving countenance to the idea that Abraham was the youngest son, or that Iscah was another name for Sarah. Why not take Abraham's declaration to Abimelech as literally true—i.e., that Sarah was his father's daughter by a different mother. Why not give to the entire narrative in Genesis the first and most natural interpretation that would occur to any reader? Influenced by such reasons as these, Lange, Keil, Delitzsch, Kurz, Hengstenberg, Ewald, Alford, and others, have taken the primary announcement, "And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran," as indicating the order of birth among the sons. If they be right, one striking conclusion would follow—that Abraham left his father at Haran sixty years before Terah's death. Notwithstanding the high authorities already quoted in favour of this view, we confess our adherence to the older and more general belief.

The following table exhibits the leading incidents in the life of Abraham, and his age at the time when that is either specified in the record or can be fixed:—

Age.	Incident.	Record.
70 (?)	Call from God at Ur of the Chaldees . . .	Acts vii. 2—5.
75.	Call repeated at Haran . . .	Gen. xii. 1—4.
	Migration from Haran to Canaan . . .	xii. 4, 5.
	Halt at Sichem—third Divine manifestation between Bethel and Hai . . .	xii. 6, 7.
	The tent and the altar . . .	xii. 8.
	Journey to Egypt—intercourse with Pharaoh . . .	xii. 10—20.
	Return to Bethel—separation from Lot . . .	xiii. 1—13.
	Fourth Divine manifestation . . .	xiii. 14—17.
80 (?)	Settlement at Mamre (Hebron) . . .	xiii. 18.
	Rout of the invaders . . .	xiv. 1—16.
	Interviews with Melchizedek and the king of Sodom . . .	xiv. 17—24.
	Fifth Divine manifestation—the covenant of faith . . .	xv.
85.	Flight of Hagar . . .	xvi. 1—14.
86.	Birth of Ishmael . . .	xvi. 15, 16.
99.	Sixth Divine manifestation—covenant of circumcision . . .	xvii.
	Seventh Divine manifestation—the three angels . . .	xviii. 1—14.
	Sodom and Gomorrah—Abraham's intercession . . .	xviii. 16—33.
	Destruction of the Cities of the Plain . . .	xix.
	Sojourn at Gerar—intercourse with Abimelech . . .	xx.
100.	Birth of Isaac . . .	xxi. 1—5.
	Casting out of Ishmael—eighth Divine manifestation . . .	xxi. 8—21.
	The covenant with Abimelech—Deersheba . . .	xxi. 22—34.
125 (?)	The great temptation—Mount Moriah . . .	xxii. 1—14.
	Ninth Divine manifestation—the oath and the blessing . . .	xxii. 15—18.
137.	Death and burial of Sarah . . .	xxiii. 1, 2.
	The cave of Machpelah . . .	xxiii. 3—20.
140.	Mission for Rebekah—marriage of Isaac . . .	xxiv.
	Marriage with Keturah—its issue . . .	xxv. 1—4.
175.	Death and burial of Abraham . . .	xxv. 7—9.

From the date fixed by the verses referred to in the table, it appears that the flight of Hagar took place ten years after the entrance into Canaan. The journey from Haran, the halt at Sichem, the brief residence between Bethel and Hai, would not occupy more than a year; and unless the famine, which drove Abraham

down into Egypt, sprang from the failure of more than a single crop, and unless his residence in that country was protracted beyond a period of twelve months, all that occurred thereafter and prior to the settlement at Mamre might easily have happened within four years. This, of course, is conjectural. But it is more than conjectural, that Sarah's proposal as to her maid arose from the intimation made for the first time in the fifth Divine communication that it was to be his own son who was to be Abraham's heir. That communication appears to have been made immediately after the rout of the invaders. This rout, we conclude, occurred not more than a year before the flight of Hagar. From its being said of the three Amoritical brothers that they were "confederate with Abraham," as well as from their prompt answer to his call, it is evident that a strong bond of friendship existed between them and him. If we assign the settlement at Mamre to the eightieth year of Abraham's life, this would leave an interval of four years' peaceful residence at Mamre for the formation and cultivation of this bond.

"And Abraham took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls that they had gotten (the slaves they had acquired) in Haran; and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan; and into the land of Canaan they came." Starting from Haran, it took Laban seven days to overtake Jacob at Mount Gilead, but he had no herds or baggage to retard him, and he was pursuing in swift march a fugitive. It might have taken Abraham and Lot double the time had they followed the same track. But we have some reason to believe that, after crossing the Euphrates, Abraham skirted the northern border of the great Syrian desert, passed through Damascus, and then followed the ancient road from that city to Egypt. This road brought him close to the valley that runs eastward and westward between Mounts Ebal and Gerizim. The "Plain of Sichem" lay at the eastern opening of this valley into the Plain of Muknah. Here the first halt was made. The oaks of Moreh that clothed the base of Gerizim offered inviting shade and shelter. Beneath the wide-spreading branches of some patriarch of this grove the tent of Abraham was pitched. He was now in Canaan. How favourable must have been his first impressions of the land! Travellers of our time who have visited the scene of Abraham's first resting-place, about the identity of which there is no uncertainty, vie in praising its singular attractiveness. Stanley pronounces it to be "the most beautiful, perhaps it might be said the only very beautiful, spot in Central Palestine." It seems to have stirred even the somewhat phlegmatic Robinson into something like enthusiasm. "It came upon us suddenly," he says, "like a scene of fairy enchantment. We saw nothing to compare with it in all Palestine." The writer may be permitted to echo their applause. For many days he had been looking up at the cold grey hills of Judah, and down into the stony, waterless valleys and river-courses. For eye and ear what greater surprise and refreshment than when

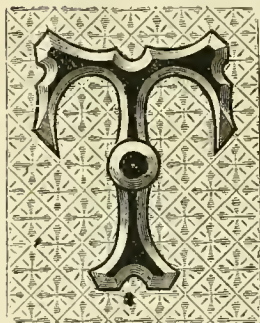
riding up from the Well of Jacob into that lovely nook in which the modern town of Nablous (the ancient Sichem) lies embosomed; for ear, the novel sounds of many bubbling brooks, and for eye, the rich verdure of a varied and luxuriant vegetation. There may have been no town or village there when Abraham encamped at the opening of the valley. The gardens of olive and fig tree, and cactus and pomegranate, that now half conceal the buildings of Nablous, were then unplanted. But even then those bubbling, sparkling fountains of pure water would be playing, and the grass, and the flowers, and the trees of Nature's own planting, would be clothing it with a beauty not less attractive than that which it now presents. Is it likely that Abraham lived for days at the base of Gerizim, and never climbed to its inviting summit, known to all Syrian travellers as affording one of the widest prospects of all the surrounding land? What more pro-

bable than that it was while he stood upon that height, and gazed upon that prospect, that the Lord appeared to him, and said, "Unto thy seed will I give *this* land"—the first appearance of the Lord to him in Canaan, and the first specific indication of the land that was to be his seed's inheritance? "And there builded he an altar unto the Lord, and called upon the name of the Lord;" the first recorded act of religious worship since that of Noah on emerging from the ark—very simple in outward form and circumstance. A few stones piled up—perhaps a green sod laid upon them; on that rude altar some produce of the earth, some firstling of the flock, offered up in sacrifice; Abraham before it, bowing in lowly adoration, calling upon the name of the Lord. Strange if that first altar was raised, and that first sacrifice offered, on or near the one and only spot on earth on which the paschal lamb continues to be slain.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.—I.

BY REV. W. F. MOULTON, M.A., PROFESSOR OF CLASSICS, WESLEYAN COLLEGE, RICHMOND.

CHAPTER I.



HERE are probably few readers of the English Bible who are not aware that the sacred volume in their hands is but one of various translations of the Scriptures into our language. We have only to look at the opening pages to become acquainted with this fact. The title-page presents the Holy Bible as "translated out of the

original tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised." "Your Highness," say the translators in their dedication to King James, "out of deep judgment apprehended how convenient it was, that out of the original sacred tongues, together with comparing of the labours, both in our own, and other foreign languages, of many worthy men who went before us, there should be one more exact translation of the holy Scriptures into the English tongue." Whilst the existence of earlier translations is thus acknowledged on the first pages of our Bibles, the translations themselves are represented in the Book of Common Prayer; in which the Psalms, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and many other passages of Scripture scattered through the various offices, are found to differ, sometimes materially, from the Authorised Version of 1611.

This version, then, was not the result of a single effort: it represents the last stage of a growth. The object of the present series of papers will be to trace the

progress of this growth, and then to inquire by what means, and amid what influences, it has arrived at its present maturity.

It is not desirable, however, that the history of the English Bible should be treated as identical with the history of the authorised version. Such a limitation would render it necessary to pass over some most interesting attempts to make the Scriptures known to our countrymen, because these attempts, important in themselves, left no mark on the great work whose history we are tracing.

These isolated efforts, however, can receive only subordinate attention. Our main inquiries must be:—To whose labours are we indebted for our English Scriptures? In what proportion has each labourer added to the value of the treasure? The work must have our chief consideration, not the workman. In the case of some men, indeed, the life and the labour can with difficulty be separated; but, as a rule, we must leave others to trace the course of the reformer, the divine, or the martyr, contenting ourselves with following the translator and his translation.

What is an English Bible? This simple question has received different answers. If the English language is the language of the people called English, it has been spoken in this country for the last 1,400 years. We are carried back to the invasions of Britain in the fifth century; for the tribes usually known by the name of Saxons called themselves English (*Ænglisc*). According to this view, "Utan tobrecan heora bendas, and aweorpan heora geocen of us," and "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us," are alike specimens of English. Certainly the former sentence would not suggest Psalm ii. 3 to the ordinary English

reader; but, on the other hand, when the key is once supplied, he may easily discover that almost all the unfamiliar words are closely connected with the language of his daily life. For our present purpose it is not of much consequence to decide whether the speech of our forefathers, between A.D. 450 and A.D. 1100, should be called English or Anglo-Saxon: if the former name reminds us of the essential unity of the language spoken in this land since Roman times, the latter has the advantage of avoiding all ambiguity. At all events, the early translations into this language are too important to be passed over, even though it may seem unlikely that they can have exercised much influence upon succeeding versions.

The earliest portion of Anglo-Saxon sacred literature now extant is the Paraphrase of Cædmon, a monk of Whitby, who lived in the seventh century. The venerable Bede relates of Cædmon that "he sang the creation of the world, the origin of man, and all the history of Genesis, and made many verses on the departure of the children of Israel out of Egypt, and their entering into the Land of Promise, with many other histories from Holy Writ; the incarnation, passion, resurrection of our Lord, and his ascension into heaven; the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the preaching of the apostles; also the terror of future judgment, the horror of the pains of hell, and the delights of heaven."¹ That which has come down to us under Cædmon's name may have received considerable alteration at the hands of later poets and reciters; but the relics agree with Bede's description. The following extract from Thorpe's prose translation will illustrate the merits of Cædmon as a paraphrast of Scripture:—

"Then the chief began the Powerful King to tempt, earnestly proved what the man's fortitude were; with words austere he with his voice addressed him:—Go thou, with utmost haste, Abraham, journeying set thy steps, and with thee lead thine own child. Thou shalt Isaac to

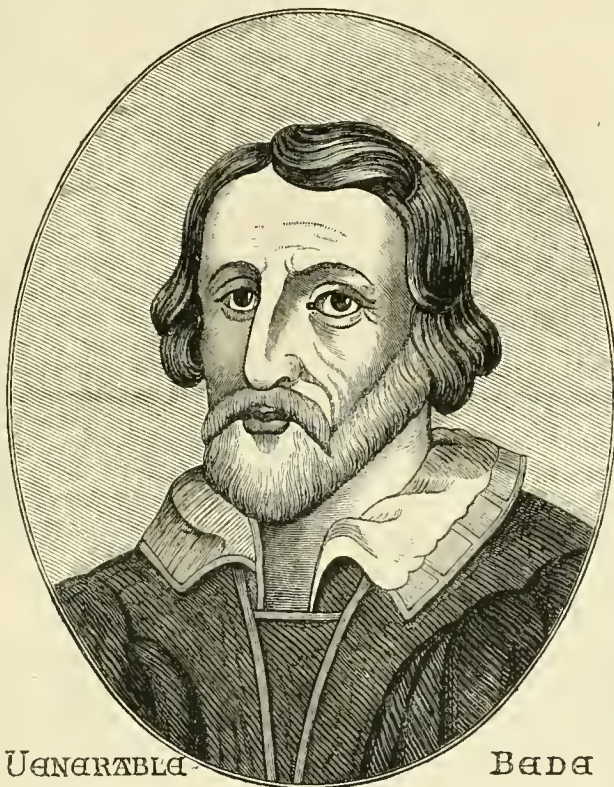
me sacrifice, thy son, thyself, as an offering, after thou mountest the steep downs (the ring of the high land, which I from hence will show thee) up with thine own feet; there thou shalt prepare a pile, a bale²-fire, for thy child, and thyself sacrifice thy son with the sword's edge, and then with swart flame burn the beloved's body, and offer it to me as a gift. He delayed not the journey, but soon began to hasten for the way. To him was the Lord of angels' word terrific, and his Sovereign dear. Then the blessed Abraham his night-rest gave up, the Preserver's behest despised not, but

him the holy man girded with a gray sword, showed that of the Guardian of spirits dread in his breast dwelt."

Important as this paraphrase is, as the earliest Anglo-Saxon work presenting Scripture in any form, it has, of course, no claim to rank among translations. The first translators of whom we have any information are Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne (who died A.D. 709), and Guthlac, a hermit of Crowland, near Peterborough; to each of these is ascribed a version of the Psalter, now probably lost. The last work in the laborious life of Bede was a translation of the Gospel according to St. John into the language of the people. His devotion to this labour of love, and his eager-

ness to complete it, are touchingly described by his disciple Cuthbert, in his well-known letter to his "fellow-reader Cuthwin," on the death of their "father and master, whom God loved."³

The next translator is a royal personage, the great Alfred (A.D. 849—901). In the preface to his translation of Gregory's "Pastoral Care," the king gives expression to his wish that "all the free-born youth of his people, who possess the means, may persevere in learning, so long as they have no other affairs to prosecute, until they can perfectly read the English Scriptures."⁴ How far he himself was able to minister to the fulfilment of this noble wish, by providing versions of Scrip-



¹ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, translated by Dr. Giles, page 218. (Bohn.)

² A funeral pile.

³ See the preface to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 21. (Bohn.)

⁴ Pauli, *Life of Alfred the Great*, p. 159. (Bohn.)

ture for the use of his people, we cannot say with certainty. According to William of Mahnesbury, Alfred began a version of the Psalms, but the work was interrupted by his death. One monument of Alfred's devout zeal is too characteristic to be passed over, especially as very possibly we have in it the earliest extant portion of Scripture in Anglo-Saxon prose. At the head of his "Book of Laws" he places the Ten Commandments, not indeed rendered with verbal accuracy, but differently arranged and somewhat abridged. The following literal translation is given by Mr. Thorpe in his edition of the "Ancient Laws and Institutions of England":—

"ALFRED'S DOOMS.

"The Lord spake these words to Moses, and thus said : I am the Lord thy God. I led thee out of the land of the Egyptians and of their bondage.

"1. Love thou not other strange gods above me.

"2. Utter thou not my name idly, for thou shalt not be guiltless towards me, if thou utter my name idly.

"3. Remember that thou hallow the rest-day. Work for yourselves six days, and on the seventh rest. For in six days Christ wrought the heavens and the earth, the seas, and all creatures that are in them, and rested on the seventh day : and therefore the Lord hallowed it.

"4. Honour thy father and thy mother, whom the Lord hath given thee, that thou mayest be the longer living on earth.

"5. Slay thou not.

"6. Commit thou not adultery.

"7. Steal thou not.

"8. Say thou not false witness.

"9. Covet thou not thy neighbour's goods unjustly.

"10. Make thou not to thyself golden or silver gods."

The Decalogue is followed by an abridged version of the twenty-first, twenty-second, and part of the twenty-third chapters of Exodus, faithful in the main, but with certain alterations (e.g., in xxi. 2, "a Christian" for "a Hebrew") which occasionally give the document an incongruous appearance. After Exod. xxi. 13, we read, "These are the dooms which the Almighty God himself spake unto Moses, and commanded him to keep : and after the only begotten son of the Lord, our God, that is, our Saviour Christ, came on earth, he said that he came not to break nor to forbid these commandments, but with all good to increase them : and mercy and humility he taught. Then, after his passion, before his apostles were dispersed throughout all the earth, teaching, and while they were yet together, many heathen nations they turned to God. When they were all assembled, they sent messengers to Antioch and to Syria, to teach the law of Christ. But when they understood that it speeded them not, then sent they a letter unto them. Now this is the letter which all the apostles sent to Antioch, and to Syria, and Cilicia, which now, from heathen nations, are turned to Christ." Then follows a free version of the epistle (Acts xv. 23—29), of which we may quote the concluding part (as rendered by Mr. Thorpe). "It seemed to the Holy Ghost and to us, that we should set no burthen upon you above that which it was needful for you to bear : now that is, that ye forbear from worshipping idols, and from tasting blood or things strangled, and from fornications ; and that which ye will that other men do not unto you, do ye not that to other men."

THE ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.—I.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

INTRODUCTORY.



BEFORE introducing to the reader the particular names of the different animals mentioned in the Bible, it will be well to make a few prefatory remarks on the zoology of the sacred volume. The importance of natural history in its bearing on the Bible—that book containing so many allusions to various animals—will be apparent to all.

Who, for instance, has not often had his curiosity excited—but perhaps not always satisfied—as to the particular creatures designated by the terms "unicorn," "belemoth," "leviathan," and "coney?" Although very many books have been written on the subject of Biblical zoology, and a vast amount of learning has been expended on elucidating

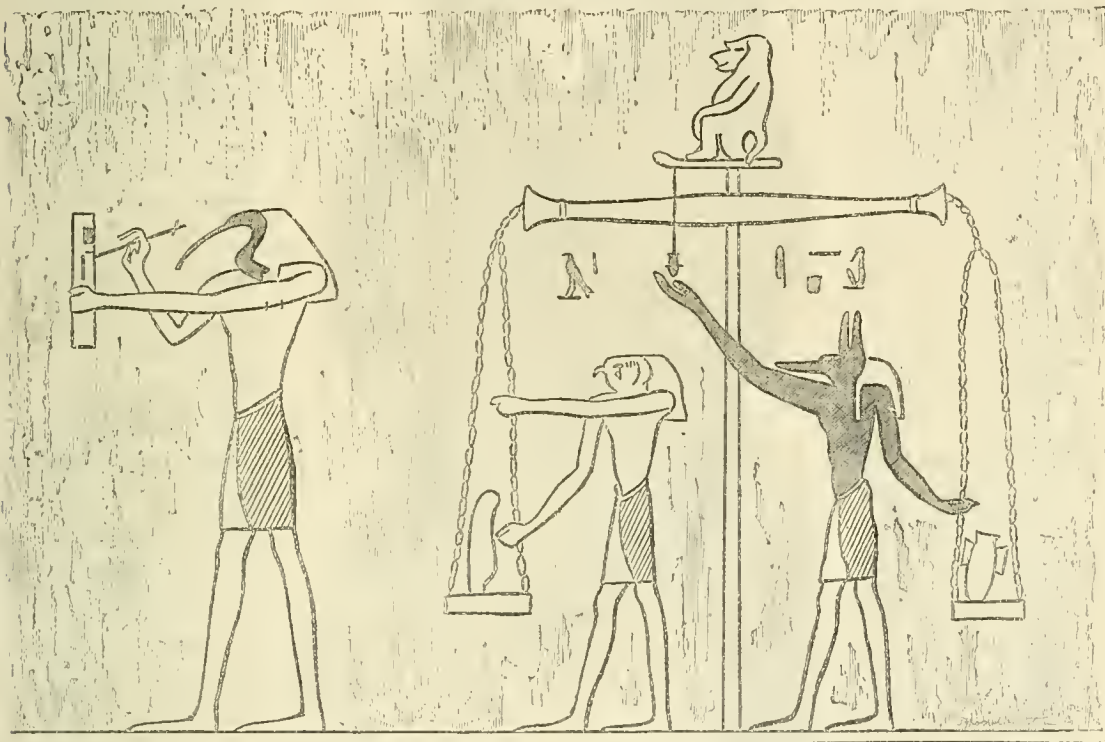
allusions, it is only recently that we have been made acquainted with the actual animal inhabitants of Palestine. To Dr. Tristram, a well-known and experienced naturalist, who with two coadjutors a few years ago spent nearly a twelvemonth in the Holy Land making extensive collections in every branch of natural history, we are especially indebted for a large amount of valuable information. Not that we would for a moment pass over without a tribute of well-earned praise the names of Hasselquist, Bochart, Shaw, Maundrell, Seetzen, Irby and Mangles, Hemprich and Ehrenberg, Robinson, Burckhardt, Niebuhr, &c., all of whom have worked with honest diligence to contribute to our knowledge of the natural history of the Bible ; but these for the most part have seen Palestine only as passing travellers who had not the necessary time and opportunities at command. It is from residents that we must expect anything like complete information, and we shall look forward to new records with great interest. The animals of which mention is made in the Bible belong principally to the countries of Palestine and Egypt ; we have also notices of some

that occur in the peninsula of Sinai, as well as of a few foreign importations. The allusions are various: sometimes there is mention made merely of the name of an animal, as in the list of clean and unclean animals; at other times the descriptions are graphic, grand, and poetical, as in the case of behemoth and leviathan. Of course it will be readily understood that identification is often uncertain, and sometimes impossible.

The zoology of Palestine has been influenced to a very great extent by the physical character of the country, for that, it has been well remarked, presents on

us at once to the most brilliant types of the bird-life of Asia and South Africa. We are told that as many as eighty species of mammals are known to occur in Palestine, a number which, considering the size of the country, is very large; it is probable that there are even more existing there.

Some animals once found in Palestine are now extinct. The lion, once far from uncommon, is no longer found there; the auroch or wild bull, the *reem* of the Hebrew Bible (so unfortunately translated "unicorn" in our version), has long since disappeared, and no species of urus or bison now roams on the hills of



FROM AN EGYPTIAN PAINTING IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

a small scale an epitome of the natural features of all regions, mountainous and desert, northern and tropical, maritime and inland, pastoral, arable, and volcanic. In no other district, not even on the southern slopes of the Himalaya, are the typical fauna of so many distinct regions and zones brought into such close juxtaposition. The bear of the snowy heights of Lebanon and the gazelle of the desert may be hunted within two days' journey of each other; sometimes even the ostrich approaches the southern borders of the land; the wolf of the north and the leopard of the tropics howl within hearing of the same bivouac; while the falcons, the linnets, and the buntings recall the familiar inhabitants of our English fields, and the sparkling little sun-bird (*Cinnyris osea*), and the grackle of the glen (*Amydrus Tristramii*) introduce

Bashan and Lebanon; wolves, jackals, and hyenas are often heard around the villages or in the burying-places, but none of the large carnivora will venture, unprovoked, to attack the traveller. "The leopard skulks only in the densest coverts on the sides of Carmel and Gilead, or in the few forests of Galilee, while the bear has retired to the fastnesses of Hermon and Lebanon."

Wild goats and gazelles occur on the cliffs and valleys, the latter in great numbers in some districts, while the dreaded wild boar is still, as in Biblical times, the terror and scourge of the husbandmen. The hyrax or *shôphan* of the Hebrew Bible—the "coney" of our version—still finds refuge amongst the "stony rocks." Several kinds of hares occur, while mice, rats, jerboas, marmots, and other rodents are numerous.

and bats are seen in the clefts and ravines of almost every valley.

We will now proceed at once to notice each of the animals mentioned in the Bible, beginning with the Quadrumanous order of the Mammalia.

APES.—Of the Quadrumana not a single representative occurs in Palestine. Apes are mentioned in 1 Kings x. 22 and 2 Chron. ix. 21 as amongst the commodities imported by Solomon from some foreign country. "Once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks." In the passage in the Chronicles it is said that the ships "went to Tharshish," bringing gold, &c. The Hebrew word *kophim* is not of Semitic origin, neither are the names used to express ivory and peacocks. This navy was stationed at Ezion-geber, a port on the Red Sea, not far from the modern Akabah, and we are told that this same navy brought gold from Ophir, also algum-trees and precious stones. Tarshish, or Tharshish, was probably Tartessus in Spain; and it cannot be supposed that the fleet sailed down the Red Sea, and round the Cape of Good Hope, and along the western coast of Africa for the purpose of reaching the south of Spain. The probable explanation is that the compiler of the Chronicles misapprehended the expression "ships of Tharshish," and supposed that

it meant ships to go to Tarshish, "whereas, although this was the original meaning, the words had come to signify large Phœnician ships of a particular size and description destined for long voyages, just as in England 'East Indiaman' was a general name given to vessels, some of which were not intended to go to India at all." Where Ophir was has long been a question, but it seems almost certain it was somewhere in India, for the peacock is not indigenous to any other country. The gold, ivory, apes, and peacocks were no doubt Indian exports, and this is confirmed by the fact that none of the Hebrew words for these commodities are of Semitic

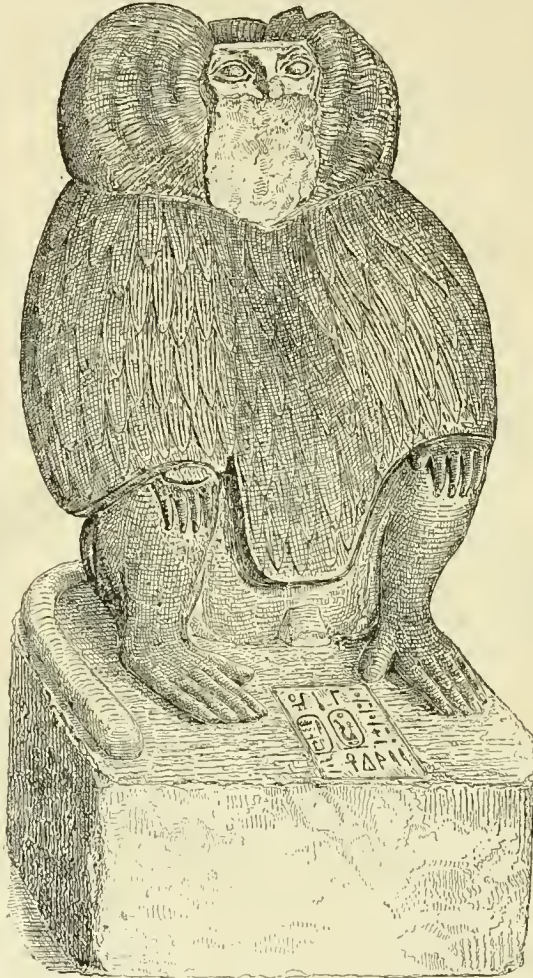
origin: all come from the Sanskrit; thus *keph* is the Sanskrit *kapi*; *shen habbin* (ivory) means "the tooth of the elephant," *habbin* is almost certainly a corruption of the Sanskrit *ibha* (an elephant); *tukhi-im* (peacocks) is even at this day represented by *togēi*, the name used for this bird on the Malabar coast. Of course it would be impossible to say what species of monkey was im-

ported by Solomon; but as "algum" (sandal) wood in great abundance was also brought by Solomon's ships from Ophir, and sandal-wood (*Santalum album*) is a native of the mountainous parts of Malabar, there is reason to believe that the apes were imported from some part of Southern India or Ceylon, the monkeys of which regions are, with few exceptions, confined to the Wanderoo group; hence it is not improbable that the species imported by Solomon would belong to that family.

The baboon (*Cynocephalus hamadryas*), whose figure is so frequently depicted on the Egyptian monuments, would most likely have been known to the Hebrews during their sojourn in Egypt. This creature held a conspicuous place among the sacred animals of that ancient land; it was particularly sacred to Thoth, the lord of letters. No other species of quadrumanous animal has been found represented on the Egyptian monuments. The Cynocephalus is not, now, a native of Egypt;

it is found among the mountains of Arabia and Abyssinia.

The accompanying woodcut (p. 15) from the Egyptian monuments, represents part of a scene relating to the future judgment. Anubis and Horus superintend the balance, in which the actions of the dead are weighed and decided. In one scale is a jar containing perhaps the heart and brain of the deceased; in the other is an ostrich feather, one of the emblems of truth; on the summit of the balance is seated a Cynocephalus, the emblem of the deity Thoth, who is to be seen near the balance registering on a tablet the deeds of the dead.

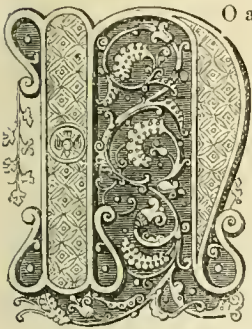


THE CYNOCEPHALUS, AN EGYPTIAN MONUMENT
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

MUSIC OF THE BIBLE.—I.

BY JOHN STAINER, M.A., MUS. DOC., MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD; ORGANIST OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

INTRODUCTION.



Art is exercising such a strong influence over the human race, at the present time, as the art of Music. It has become so thoroughly a part of our existence that we rarely pause to consider to what an extent we are, as it were, enveloped in its sweet sounds, or how irremediable its loss would be to us. As a natural result of this, much interest has

of late years been shown in every research which might tend to throw some light on its early history. The various musical instruments depicted in sculpture, or on coins, or sometimes luckily found in ancient tombs, have been carefully examined, with excellent results. Also, the broad basis on which the study of History now stands, has allowed opportunities of comparing the music and musical instruments of ancient nations, and of classifying them into different families. It will be at once seen what important results must arise from this, for, in company with customs, words, and even modes of thought, musical instruments may pass from one nation to another, whether their intercourse has been that of peaceful neighbours or of tyrannic foes.

But notwithstanding all that has been done towards elucidating the mysteries of the birth of Music, no precise data can be obtained on this point. The stories common among the ancient Greeks about the discovery of the lyre by Mercury, formed of strings stretched across a tortoise-shell (*testudo*); of Orpheus, and his transmitting his knowledge of music to Thamyris and Linus; of Terpander, and his improvements in the art—are all very pretty, and sometimes also not a little amusing, when it is found that learned men find in them ample grounds for serious discussion; but, as a matter of fact, nothing is known as to the origin of music. Nor is it a subject for regret that so lovely, so ethereal an art should hide its head in obscurity; it has come down to our time in rich profusion, like some noble stream, and all that we can discover, if we attempt to retrace its course, is that on all sides, and at all times, welling springs have found their way into its bosom, each of which has its claim to our gratitude as administering to our plenty, but of no one of which can we say, this is the fountain-head of our art. The origin of music is inseparable from the origin of language, and whatever views are held with regard to the one, will hold good of the other; but, without entering into any digression on this subject, it may be said that *singing* is really little else than a highly beautiful *speaking*. It is true that the voice is modulated and regulated in the

former by rules, the practice of which has become now a complicated art; but, on the other hand, is there not music, and that of the most touching kind, on many a speaker's lips—on those of the earnest preacher, the anxious mother, the loving friend? And this is not the less *music* because it has not been successfully analysed, or because its laws are not published cheaply in a tabulated form. May we not say then that vocal music would naturally grow out of sweet talk, and may we not give to vocal music priority of existence over instrumental? But, alas! the early history of the human race discloses more of mutual strife and bloodshed than of peace, and from the natural and indissoluble link between music and rhythm we soon find music, especially as practised on instruments of percussion, an ingredient of war. It would answer two purposes: instruments of brilliant tone, such as trumpets and horns, would excite and rouse the feelings, while drums and rattles would enforce the rhythmical stepping and close movement of large bodies of men. And, again, the known effect of music upon the emotions would soon enlist it to the cause of religion, and music therefore seems amongst all nations to have been as much a part of worship as of war. The division of the Music of the Bible into three kinds—namely, as used in worship, war, and social intercourse—naturally suggests itself, and it would be an exceedingly good division, if only there existed sufficient materials for its story. But, unfortunately, direct information on the subject is most scanty; for often that which seems at first sight a plain statement of facts, will on examination turn out far otherwise. For instance, we are told that Jubal was “the father of such as handle the harp and the organ.” This reads thus in the Lutheran version: “Und sein Bruder hiesz Jubal, von dem sind hergekommen die Geiger und Pfeifer” (“And his brother was named Jubal, from whom descended fiddlers and pipers”). On turning to the Septuagint version, we shall find that no less than three totally distinct words are used in different parts of the Bible to translate the word we render “organ.” We must, therefore, look to the nations with which the Jews came into contact as the best source of information. We shall soon in this manner find valuable matter. For instance, Laban is said to have regretted the suddenness of Jacob's departure, because it deprived him of the opportunity of sending him away with music. “Wherefore didst thou flee away secretly, and steal away from me; and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret and with harp?” (Gen. xxxi. 27.) *Kinnor*, or *chinnor*, is the word here used for “harp,” and it is the only stringed instrument mentioned in the Pentateuch. Laban being a Syrian, we shall be justified in believing this to be a Syrian instrument, and not, as sometimes stated, of Phœnician origin. This

text also shows that music was used for home festivals; but it must not be expected that, as an art, music could reach a very high standard amongst nomadic tribes, whose roof was never more substantial than a tent, whose temple of worship the canopy of heaven.

The intercourse between Abraham and the Canaanites in all probability influenced future Hebrew music; then follows Jacob's residence with Laban, alluded to above, which probably caused his posterity to carry a certain amount of Syrian music, or musical instruments, into Egypt. But, again, a stay of four centuries in so civilised a country as Egypt must have largely added to their knowledge of the art, and it seems not unfair to suppose that whatever system of notation the Hebrews adopted was learnt from the Egyptians. The strong love of poetry amongst the Jews is shown by frequent allusions in Holy Scripture, even as early as the Pentateuch; but where did they learn to set their inspired songs to tunes? In all probability in Egypt; and, unpleasant as it may sound to say so, the glorious song of Moses was most probably sung to some simple Egyptian chant, well known and popular. It may be said, "Why ascribe all the *invention* of the art to the neighbours of the Jews, and deny to the Jews the power of forming their own melodies and their own instruments?" The reply is simple—pastoral duties and a pastoral mode of life, as a matter of fact, do not tend to foster constructive art in such a manner as the concentration of highly-educated men in large cities; and whereas the Jews, during their stay in Egypt, could have but small opportunities of inventing or elaborating a system of music, the Egyptians themselves had, not only then, but for centuries previous to the immigration of the Hebrews, the most favourable opportunities. Their learning was notorious, and it is an accepted fact that music was a recognised branch of their learning. But to continue, the wandering in the wilderness could not conduce to artistic progress, nor did more favourable opportunities present themselves after the establishment of the Jews in the promised land under Joshua, for they then passed through some five centuries of almost constant warfare with neighbouring nations. And it must not be forgotten that Solomon had to employ foreign workmen for all delicate work, and probably, therefore, for the construction of musical instruments. We read, "And the king made of the almg trees pillars for the house of the Lord, and for the king's house, *harps also and psalteries for singers*: there came no such almg trees, nor were seen unto this day" (1 Kings x. 12). Then, again, after the time of Solomon the troubled state of divided Israel was most unsuited to the cultivation of native art; while, on the other hand, the constant intercourse of the Jews with the Assyrians, and their forced residence among them while in captivity, must have modified existing music, or have given it some fresh ingredients.

It may be said therefore, on the whole, that the internal condition of the Jews offered at any time but a poor nursery for art, but that their external relations rendered an incorporation of the arts of their neighbours

inevitable; and these neighbours were that Semitic race which after the deluge had spread itself on the borders of the Tigris and Euphrates, and had peopled Syria, Phœnicia, Arabia, Egypt, Chaldea, and Mesopotamia. It is of course possible to push this argument too far, and to deny that the Jews possessed any national music. This would be wrong, because it is more than probable that whatever they adopted from their neighbours would be moulded by them into a shape most pleasing to them, and in time would assume peculiarities of style which would distinguish it from its parent stock. Only it is now impossible to say what those peculiarities were.

It might be supposed that much assistance in treating of the music of the Bible might be obtained from an examination of the music now in use in the synagogues of the Jews; but the most that could be discovered from such a source would be partial traditions of the music of the *second* Temple; and undoubtedly the music of the second Temple not only fell far short of that of the first in point of efficiency and number of executants, but was also tinctured with the foreign associations of the returning Jews. Such instruments as had been lately adopted would most likely be used on the restoration of their worship, and it is not improbable that the vocal music would be also modified. Some of those instruments might have been introduced, the Chaldaean names of which appear in the book of Daniel. But this is not all: a comparison of the music used in modern synagogues shows that even since the dispersion of the nation their art has been influenced by that of the people amongst whom they have settled. An important fact bearing on this is noticed by Carl Engel (in his valuable work on National Music), namely, that "in the synagogal hymns of the Sephardic Jews, who were expelled from the Spanish Peninsula at the end of the fifteenth century, distinct traces of the characteristics of Moorish music are still preserved." Similarly, it will be found that in every case the modern music of the Jews varies remarkably according to the music of nations in which they have formed colonies, whether those colonies be in Germany, Holland, France, or Portugal. But it will be found that in many of the most carefully preserved melodies there is a decided east of Asiatic tonality. If the traditions of the second Temple existed anywhere in a tolerably pure state, they might have been found amongst the descendants of those Jews who migrated to Egypt about 200 years before Christ, to avoid the tyranny of the Seleucides, and who built a temple near Heliopolis.

That there should be a sad lack of national monuments relating to the Jews is not surprising, when it is remembered that Jerusalem stood about seventeen sieges, each of which was accompanied by more or less destruction, and that too at the hands of victors who seemed to take a malicious delight in effacing the national characteristics of those they conquered. So successful have they been, that there remains not one *Jewish* bas-relief to tell the shape of their musical instruments, and only on a few coins of late date drawings of instruments, of a not very intelligible character,

are known to exist. This being the case, the reader will sometimes have to content himself with the opinions, often contradictory, of learned men. We propose now to give a short account of every instrument mentioned in Holy Scripture, stating what is known as to its construction, origin, and uses. For this purpose we will divide them, as a modern orchestra would be divided, into stringed instruments, wind instruments, and instruments of percussion; and it may be interesting to point out sometimes the relation they bear to kindred instruments of our own time. If this account of Hebrew instruments be followed by a notice of Hebrew vocal music, it is hoped that the reader will have gained some useful knowledge of the music of the Bible.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF THE BIBLE.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS.

The first instrument mentioned in the Bible is the *kinnor*, translated "harp" in our version. Jubal was "the father of such as handle the *kinnor* and *ugab*" (Gen. iv. 21). Authorities are divided as to whether the *kinnor* was a harp or a lyre. There is strong evidence to show that it was a trigon, or three-cornered harp, specimens of which are depicted on some Egyptian bas-reliefs, and which must have been known to the Romans and Greeks. Nicomachus mentions the trigon as having been adjusted by Pythagoras after discovering the ratios of consonant harmonies. The simplest forms of the trigon would be as follow¹ (Figs. 1, 2, and 3):—

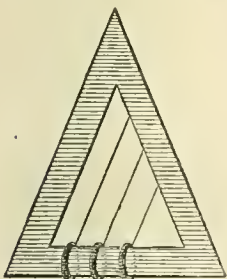


Fig. 1.

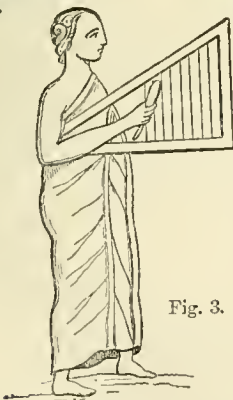


Fig. 3.

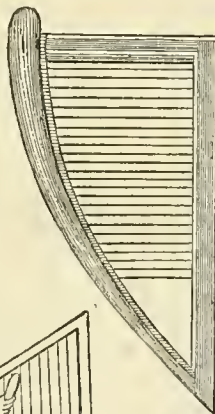


Fig. 2.

But it is probable that one of the characteristics of the instrument was that there existed only two sides of wooden frame, the third side being formed by the longest string, as shown in the following illustrations (Figs. 4, 5, 6), which were copied from tombs at Thebes and Dekkeh:—



Fig. 4.

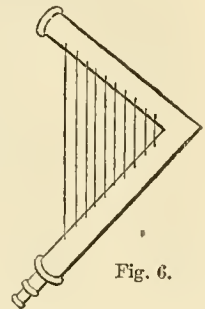


Fig. 6.

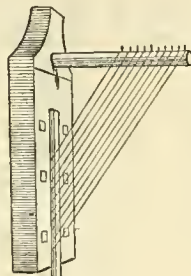


Fig. 7.

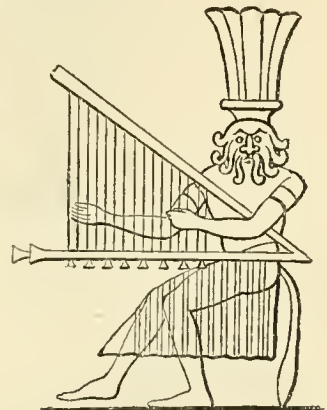


Fig. 5.

It will be observed that the instrument is not placed upon the ground, but is held under the arm, or is rested on the shoulder. The termination of one of the sides with the head of a bird (probably a goose) would be forbidden among the Jews, who might not make an image of any animal or beast. The next illustration (Fig. 7) shows a very curious instrument in the museum at Florence.

Some authors assert that this instrument had nine strings, others ten. The *kinnor* had, according to Féti², nine strings of camel-gut, but according to Dr. Jebb³ only eight strings. The latter author grounds his decision on the fact that the *kinnor* is associated with the word *Sheminith* (see 1 Chron. xv. 21), just as *Alamoth* is with *nebel*, and that *Sheminith* is undoubtedly connected with the number 8, being rendered in the Septuagint ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃς, "on the eighth." Dr.

² *Histoire Générale de la Musique*, vol. i., p. 384.

³ *A Literal Translation of the Psalms*. (Longmans.) Dissertation II.

¹ As given by Blanchinus, "De tribus generibus instrumentorum musicæ veterum organice, Dissertatio." Romæ, 1742.

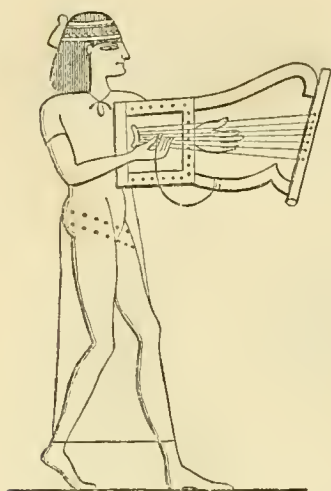


Fig. 8.

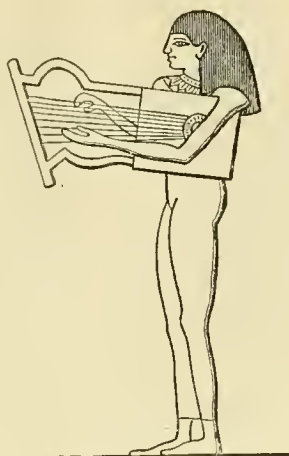


Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.

Jebb thinks Josephus' right in saying that the *kinnor* was played by a *plectrum* (πλήκτρον), or small staff of quill, bone, or ivory, which the ancients often used instead of the tips of their fingers; but Josephus is wrong in saying that the *kinnor* had ten strings and the *nebel* twelve, for the latter is undoubtedly the ten-stringed instrument, and the *kinnor* had not more than eight or nine strings. But David apparently used no plectrum (see 1 Sam. xvi. 23). But if the *kinnor* is to be identified with the instruments depicted in the above illustrations from Egyptian monuments (Figs. 8, 9, 10), it must of course be considered a kind of lyre.

It was sometimes played in an upright position, as shown in the above illustration (Fig. 10). The arguments in favour of the *kinnor* being a lyre are based upon certain representations, the most important of which was discovered by Sir Gardner Wilkinson² in a tomb at Beni Hassan. It is a painting representing the arrival of a company of strangers in Egypt. The discoverer suggests that these strangers are no less

than Joseph's brethren. He describes them thus: "The first figure is an Egyptian scribe, who presents an account of their arrival to a person seated, the owner of the tomb, and one of the principal officers of the reigning Pharaoh. The next, also an Egyptian, ushers them into his presence; and two advance, bringing presents, the wild goat or ibex, and the gazelle, the productions of their country. Four men, carrying bows and clubs, follow, leading an ass on which two children are placed in panniers, accompanied by a boy and four women; and last of all another ass laden, and two men (Fig. 11)—one holding a bow and club, the other a lyre, which he plays with the plectrum. . . . The lyre is rude, and differs a little in form from these generally used in Egypt."

The authenticity of the above picture, as representing the arrival of the sons of Jacob, would set the question of the shape of the *kinnor* at rest for ever; but, unfortunately, it remains only a probability.

The other representation which has been brought forward as evidence as to the shape of the *kinnor*, is a bas-relief in the British Museum, on which is shown an Assyrian in charge of captives who are playing on lyres

¹ ἡ μὲν κινύρα δέκα χορδαῖς ἐξημίση τυπτεται πλήκτρον, ἡ δὲ νάβλα, ἡ δέκα φθόγγους ἔχουσα, τοῖς δ' αὖτε τοῖς κροῖεται.

² *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii., p. 296.

(Fig. 12). If Layard is right in supposing these to be Jewish captives, it is certain that the *kinnor* was a lyre, because it was their *kinnors* which they mournfully hung up in the trees overhanging the "rivers of Babylon." "We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof" (Ps. cxxxvii. 2).

But M. Fétis gives very good reasons for believing that these captives are not Jews, but Barabars or Berbers, for they are, he says, performing on the *kissar*, or Ethiopian lyre. Here is a *kissar* (Fig. 13). This illustration shows one of the specimens given by the Viceroy of Egypt to the South Kensington Museum. It has only five strings, but these are of camel-gut (as were those of the *kinnor*), and a plectrum made of horn is used by itself, or with the fingers, or alternately, by the player. Engel says that the *kissar* is certainly one of the most ancient stringed instruments known.

Considering the great likeness between the outline of the *kissar* and the *kinnors* in some of the illustrations, it is not surprising that some authors have confused them. There is, however, one more reason why they should not be *kinnors* in Fig. 12—namely, the outer part of the framework is terminated at each end with the head of a bird or snake, which, as has been before remarked, would not be found on Jewish instruments.

The reader must now be left to balance the evidence as to the construction of the *kinnor*. Two very elegant Egyptian lyres are depicted in page 22—one from the Leyden collection, the other from that at Berlin (Figs. 14, 15.)

The *kinnor* was made of wood—David made it of



Fig. 12.

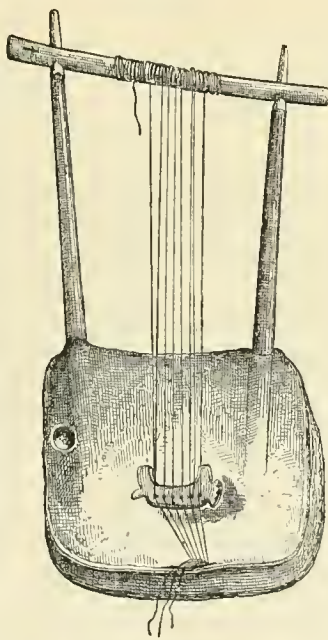


Fig. 13.

berosh, but it is recorded that Solomon made some of *almug* wood for use in the Temple (1 Kings x. 12). Whatever be the exact wood signified by *almug*, the value of it was evidently very great.¹ The *kinnor* was one of the instruments mentioned by Laban the Syrian (Gen. xxxi. 27)—a fact which goes far to prove its Syrian origin, although it seems to have been considered Phœnician by some of the ancients. The name is traced to a Syrian root, *kinroth*. The

instrument was used on joyous occasions—on the bringing back of the ark (1 Chron. xvi. 5), the account of which shows the importance attached to proficiency on the part of the performers. "And he appointed certain of the Levites to minister before the ark of the Lord, and to record, and to thank the Lord God of Israel . . . Jeiel with psalteries and harps; but Asaph made a sound with eymbals; Benaiah also and Jahaziel the priests with trumpets continually before the ark of the covenant of God." Again, in 1 Chron. xxv. 3, the *kinnor* was ordered to be used by high and important families, as an accompaniment to their prophecy. The sons of Jeduthun are mentioned as prophesying with a *kinnor*. It was also the instrument carried by wandering female minstrels, Bayaderes, whose character was bad, if one may judge from the allusion to them in Isa. xxiii. 16, where the prophet utters thoughts of indignant irony against Tyre. "Take a *kinnor*, go about the city, thou harlot

¹ Josephus speaks of *kinnors* made of *electrum* (ἤλεκτρον), a mixed metal, not amber—the meaning this word also had. Probably the pegs only or other small details were made of this metal.

that hast been forgotten; make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered." The people under Jehoshaphat, returning with joy to Jerusalem after overcoming the Moabites, made joyful sounds "with psalteries and *kinnors* and trumpets" (2 Chron. xx. 28). The carrying of the *kinnor* by the captives in Babylon has before been alluded to. It

was also the instrument which, touched by the hand of the youthful and God-beloved David, drove away the wicked spirit of Saul: "And it came to pass, when the

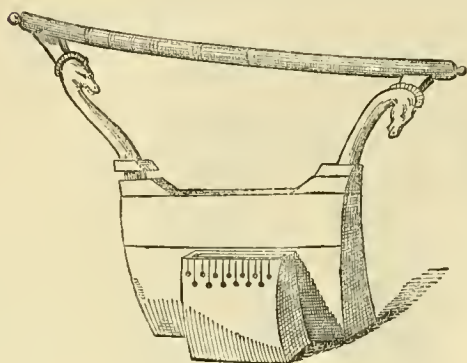


Fig. 14.

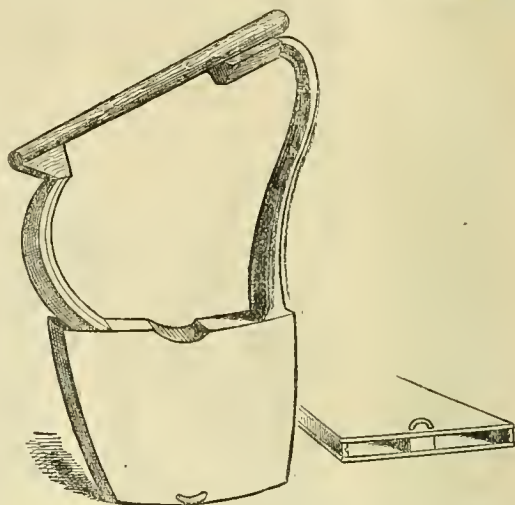


Fig. 15.

evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took a *kinnor*, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him" (1 Sam. xvi. 23).

It was also the instrument which, touched by the hand of the youthful and God-beloved David, drove away the wicked spirit of Saul: "And it came to pass, when the

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.—II.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

LION.

AMONG the larger carnivora the lion will first claim our attention. To this animal frequent allusion is made in the Old and New Testament. It had several Hebrew names: the most common were *ari* or *aryeh*, a lion in general; *kepheer*, a strong and fierce lion, from a root meaning "to be strongly bound together" (very expressive of the great muscular animal); *laish*, a strong lion; *lâbi*, a roaring lion. It appears probable that the short-maned Persian lion was the variety most commonly found in Palestine, though the long-maned lion might also have occurred; the lion so frequently represented in the hunting scenes on the Assyrian monuments is evidently the short curly-maned variety. The Persian lion, it is said, has not the courage of his African relative. According to Olivier (*Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Egypte et la Perse*, iv.), when he would seize his prey "he has recourse to cunning rather than force, he crouches among the reeds which border the Tigris and Euphrates, and springs upon all the feeble animals which come there to quench their thirst; but he dares not to attack the boar, which is very common there, and flies as soon as he perceives a man or woman, or even a child. If he catches a sheep he makes off

with his prey, but he abandons it to save himself when an Arab runs after him. If he is hunted by horsemen, which often happens, he does not defend himself, unless he is wounded and has no hope of safety by flight. In such cases he will fly on a man and tear him to pieces with his claws, for it is courage more than strength that he wants." Although we should imagine that the want of courage has been somewhat exaggerated by Olivier, the Persian lion is, no doubt, a less dangerous animal than the African variety, and this will help us to understand easily those passages in the Bible which record instances of shepherds attacking lions single-handed.

The lions of Palestine had their lairs in forests, which have now long since disappeared with the animals themselves, in the brushwood of the Jordan banks—their favourite haunts—in thickets and caves of the mountains. "Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan" (Jer. xlix. 19)—driven out from his lair by the overflow of the river. "The lion is come up from his thicket" (Jer. iv. 7). "A lion out of the forest shall slay them" (Jer. v. 6). "The lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and strangled for his lionesses, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with ravin" (Nah. ii. 12).

In the brushwood and reedy coverts of the Jordan

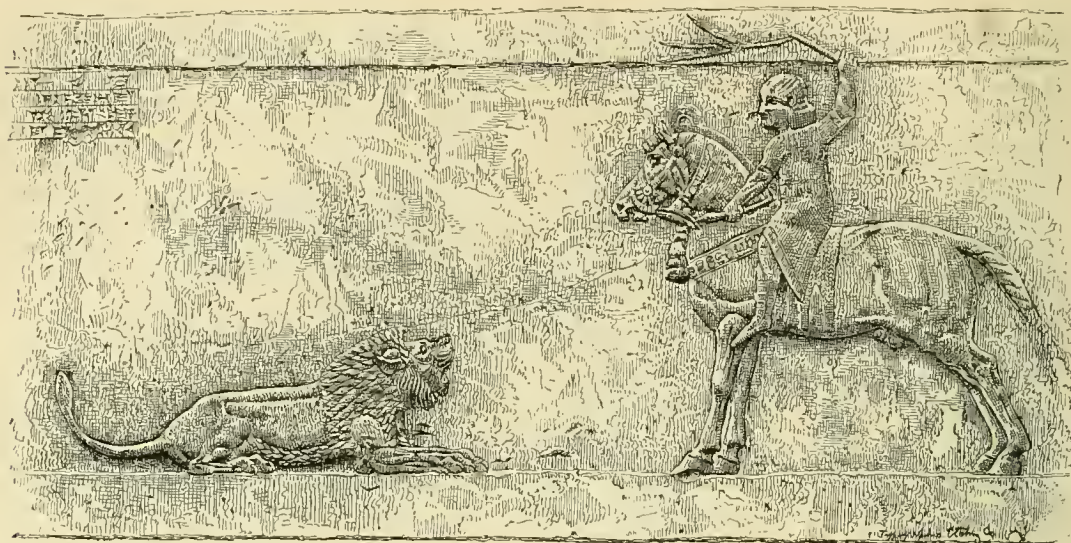
banks lions were found as late as the end of the twelfth century, at least if the words of Phocas, who travelled in Palestine at that time, are reliable. He particularly mentions the reedy coverts "which numbers (*φύλα*) of lions are accustomed to inhabit." That lions were once common in Palestine is evident from the numerous allusions in the Bible, while recently, lions' bones have been found by Dr. Roth in the gravel of the Jordan. Lions are seldom or never found now west of the Euphrates, although they occasionally cross the river. Dr. Tristram tells us that not many years ago a lion's carcass was brought into Damascus, and that between the Lower Tigris and Euphrates these animals still abound. While Mr. Layard was making his excavations below Babylon, he frequently saw marks of their footsteps among the ruins at Niffer. Dr. Tristram tells us that lions are found far higher up in the jungle of the Khabour, or Chebar, on the Upper Tigris, above Mosul and Nineveh, where Mr. Layard mentions an Arab being attacked by one, and escaping with the loss of his mare. The numerous hunting scenes on the monuments brought to this country from Assyria and Babylon, and now arranged in admirable order in the British Museum, testify to the abundance of lions in these countries in ancient times. "From the earliest period the lion was considered the noblest of game, and was included among the wild beasts preserved in the paradises or parks attached to royal residences. On the monuments of Nineveh the triumphs of the king over this formidable animal are deemed no less worthy of record than his victories over his enemies. History and tradition too have celebrated the prowess of Ninus and Semiramis in their encounters with the lion; and paintings representing their feats adorned the palaces of Babylon." (Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 427.) It is curious to observe that the peculiar prickles often found at the extremity of the lion's tail did not escape the notice of the Assyrian sculptors. The lion was a formidable foe to the flocks of Palestine, sometimes attacking them in spite of the assembled shepherds. "Like as the lion and the young lion roaring on his prey, when a multitude of shepherds is called forth against him, he will not be afraid of their voice, nor abase himself for the noise of them" (Isa. xxxi. 4). Amos of Tekoah, himself a herdsman, gives a graphic description of a shepherd taking out of the "mouth of a lion two legs or a piece of an ear." Not only did the lion lay waste towns and villages (2 Kings xvii. 25, 26; Prov. xxii. 13), but it sometimes attacked and devoured men (1 Kings xiii. 24; xx. 36). Lions were captured either in pitfalls or by nets. In the former case deep pits were dug, and their mouths covered over with reeds and branches of trees. A number of men would start the lion from his hiding-place by shouts and loud noises, and drive him in the direction of the pitfalls; when taken he was killed by spears or arrows. Frequent allusion to the use of pitfalls in hunting is made in the Bible, especially in the Psalms. Ezekiel refers to the lion being taken alive by the net and pitfall. "Then the nations set against

him on every side from the provinces, and spread their net over him: he was taken in their pit; and they put him in ward in chains, and brought him to Babylon" (Ezek. xix. 8, 9); or, as some translate this latter passage, "they put him in a cage with nose-rings." The roar of the lion is very frequently mentioned in the Bible, and there are four different Hebrew words which express it: one term, it is said, alludes to the loud roaring of the lion when seeking his prey, another expresses his cry when he has caught it, another his growl when disturbed at his meal, another refers to the noise of the young lions. Among the ancient Jews, as among all Oriental nations, the lion was the symbol of power, strength, and royalty. In the Old Testament the lion was the achievement of the tribe of Judah, while in the book of Revelation it was the emblem of Christ, who prevailed to open the book and to close the seven seals thereof" (Rev. v. 5). On account of the lion's fierceness it was regarded as an appropriate metaphor for a cruel enemy (Ps. vii. 2; xxii. 21; 2 Tim. iv. 17). In 1 Peter v. 8 the lion is represented as a fit emblem of the great spiritual adversary. Lions are subject to great variation, and it is probable that the so-called maneless lion of Guzerat is merely, as it were, an accidental variety. It is probable, therefore, that lions with long shaggy manes, as well as short-maned varieties, occur in Syria and Mesopotamia. The ancient Egyptians used to tame lions and employ them for hunting purposes, and their monarchs are said to have been accompanied in battle by a favourite lion.

Since the above was in type, Mr. George Smith has visited the Louvre, and examined the Assyrian collection there. He writes:—"In the Assyrian hall, guarded by the great winged bulls at either entrance, are also some sculptures of Assur-bani-pal—the Sardanapalus of the Greeks. One of them exhibits an adventure which happened to him when hunting. This monarch and his attendants had gone forth in chase of the king of beasts, when—probably while they were beating for their game—a lion rushed out of the cover, and sprang towards the king. Assur-bani-pal, who had dismounted, met the enraged animal single-handed, and taking hold of him by the ear, ran his spear through the body, and dispatched him. The scene is depicted with great spirit, and the inscription over it reads as follows:—'I, Assur-bani-pal, by my courage on my feet, a powerful lion of the desert by his ears grasped, and in the service of Assur and Ishtar, the goddess of war, with my spear I pierced through his body.'" The British Museum contains similar sculptures from Kouyunjik (whence those in the Louvre were obtained), one of which is almost identical with the one to which Mr. G. Smith has called attention. Not only was the "powerful lion" (*urmah izzu*) seized by the ear; he was sometimes seized by the tail, as one of the inscriptions records.

LEOPARD.

The leopard is frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. Its cunning and insidious habit of concealing itself until some favourable opportunity for plunder presents itself, are alluded to both by Jeremiah



HUNTING THE LION. (ASSYRIAN.)

—“A leopard shall watch over their cities” (v. 6)—and by Hosea—“As a leopard by the way will I observe them” (xiii. 7). Its beautifully marked skin is alluded to in the well-known text, “Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?” Its extraordinary swiftness and activity are referred to by Habakkuk, who, speaking of the Chaldean cavalry, says, “Their horses also are swifter than the leopards” (i. 8). Daniel

in his vision takes the leopard as a fit emblem of the rapid conquests of Alexander (vii. 6).

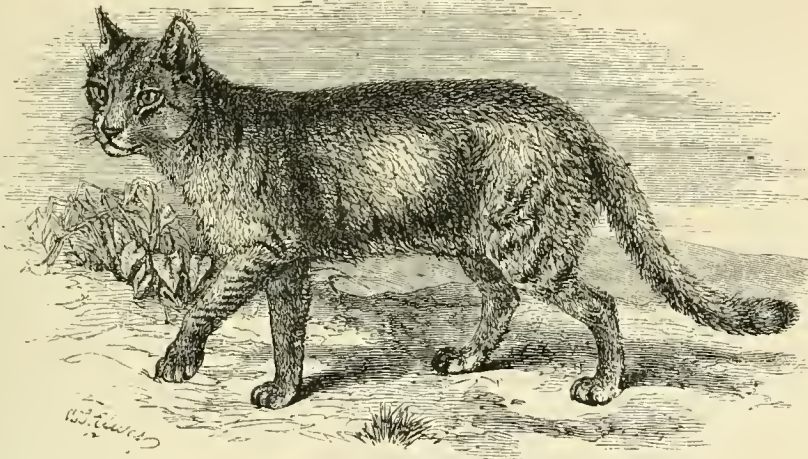
Leopards still exist in Palestine, though it is probable they were far more abundant formerly. The Hebrew name of the leopard is *nâmer*, and the modern Arabic *nîmr*, which means “spotted,” the same word being found in all the cognate languages. From the resorts of these animals in certain localities places



HUNTING THE LION. (ASSYRIAN.)

derived their names, as Beth-nimrah, or Nimrah, a fenced city near the Jordan built by the children of Gad (Numb. xxxii. 36). The "Nimrim" spoken of by Isaiah (xv. 6) and Jeremiah (xlviii. 34) was in the land of Moab. Of this place Dr. Tristram says, "This is a rich verdant spot at the south-east end of the Dead Sea, which still bears the Arabic name of Nimeirah, and where too we found traces enough of the leopard." Of the other Nimrah or Beth-nimrah Dr. Tristram makes the following interesting remark:—"It is curious to trace the change of names in the history of this place—the 'house of leopards' of old; as the country became more densely peopled, and the leopards disappeared, it had changed to the Beth-abara, or 'house of the ford' of the Septuagint and the New Testament, when John the Baptist baptised beyond Jordan. With the present

The cheetah (*Gueparda jubata*), or hunting leopard of India, is also found, though sparingly, in different parts of Palestine; a few, we are told, still haunt Mount Tabor and the hills of Galilee; they are more common in Gilead. Doubtless this animal would be included under the Hebrew name *nâmer*. In India, as is well known, the cheetah is employed in the chase; each animal is hooded and carried to the field in low cars, to which it is chained. As soon as a herd of antelopes is seen, the cheetah is unchained and his hood removed. The hunter points in the direction of the game, and cautiously, and in a crouching attitude, the leopard steals along, so as to get near to the herd unperceived. He then suddenly springs with five or six rapid bounds upon his quarry, which he soon kills. The huntsman approaches and caresses him, wins him from his prey by



THE SYRIAN CAT.

desolation of the land the leopard has resumed its sway, and roams undisturbed; the ford has become disused and almost forgotten, and the Beth-abara of the Roman period has to-day regained its old appellation, and is the Nahr-Nimrim—i.e., 'the stream of the leopards'—of the modern Arabs. Deservedly is it so named, for in its thickets the leopards lurk; and though I did not see the animals themselves, their fresh footprints were clear and unmistakable on the moist ooze." The leopard is still so numerous in the forests of Gilead "as to be a pest to the herdsmen, who, with their inferior weapons, are somewhat loth to encounter it in the chase, for a wounded leopard is the most terrible and cruel of beasts." Dr. Tristram observed their traces about the Dead Sea, and on Mount Tabor, though throughout Galilee, we are told, they are rare. While Dr. Tristram and his party were in the country a magnificent pair of leopards were killed on Mount Carmel, the skins of which were purchased by the pasha for £20, leopards' skins being much prized by the Turkish officials as saddle-cloths, and also as coverings for the shoulders of a certain class of dervishes.

giving him pieces of meat, then places the hood on him, and leads him back to the car. If the herd got away before the cheetah is near enough for an attack, he attempts no pursuit, but returns to his car chagrined and mortified. Dr. Tristram informs us that the cheetah is never domesticated or kept for hunting by the Syrians as by the natives of India; at least, he could find no trace of such use of it even among the sheikhs, who are learned in falconry; but Dr. Thomson, in *The Land and the Book* (page 444), published in 1860, speaks of an adventure with a panther, which proved to be a tame one, "so far as *nimrs* can be tamed, brought up by the aga to hunt gazelles." He continues—"The aga told me that these *nimrs* require seven years to complete their growth, and a constant course of careful training all that time to make them good hunters." He then describes the *nimr's* mode of pursuit in accurate language.

It may be added that the term "panther" is merely a synonym of the leopard. Other representatives of the *Felidae*, or cat family, occur in Palestine, as the *Felis chaus* (Güldenst.), which was several times seen by Dr.

Tristram's party, and once taken in a trap at Jericho; the *F. caracal*, not seen by Dr. Tristram, but said to exist in the east of the country (this animal derives its name of caracal from two Turkish words, *kara*, "black," and *kulach*, "ear," the back of the ears at the base being of a deep black colour); the *Felis pardina* (Oken), or Southern lynx, probably occurs, for Dr. Tristram was occasionally shown what he took to be battered skins of these animals. All these three last-named animals are, properly speaking, lynxes. Another kind of *felis* which Dr. Tristram likens to a "small wild cat," but which has not been identified, was shot by one of the party in a wood near Carmel.

CAT.

It is curious that there is not one single reference to this animal, now so widely distributed and so familiar, in any of the canonical books of the Bible. The cat is mentioned only in Baruch (vi. 22) as one of the animals that sat on the idols of Babylon. "Upon their bodies and heads sit bats, swallows, and birds, and the cats also." The tame cat is now quite common in Palestine, but whether it was kept as a domestic animal in the times of the ancient Jews must remain uncertain. It is well known that the cat was a favourite amongst the Egyptians, and that they paid it absurd reverence. It was deemed a capital offence to kill one, and when one died it was at once embalmed and conveyed to Bubastis, the city sacred to the moon, of which divinity the cat was a symbol. The Jews, there cannot be a doubt, must have been acquainted with this animal when they were in Egypt, but there is not a word to show that they ever employed it. Some people have supposed that the Egyptians used cats as retrievers on their fishing and fowling expeditions, and that they taught them to take to the water. The cat, it is well known, has a great dislike to wet her feet, and a strong natural hatred to the water; and though, of course, long and patient training may in time overcome every dislike, and the cat be taught to take to the water as a retriever, still there is not one particle of evidence that has ever been adduced, either from written documents or ancient monuments, to show that the Egyptians ever employed their cats in this way, and taught them to take to the water. It is not doubted that a few instances of cats taking to the water are on record, but these are exceptional. In the plates in vol. iii. of Sir G. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* representing fowling scenes are two cats; one is supposed to be seizing the

game in a thicket, probably on its own account; the other, in another plate, is standing up on its hind legs with its fore-feet on its master's knee, begging apparently, as Sir G. Wilkinson says, "to be let out of the boat into the thicket." If this cat had been trained to take water, why does she not jump at once out of the boat?

It is supposed that the domesticated cat of the ancient Egyptians was identical with the *Felis maniculata* of Nubia, to which also our cat is by some supposed to be closely related. It is most curious to observe that no mention of the domesticated cat occurs in the writings of the ancient Greeks or Romans; in vain have we sought for any reference to show that the cat was so employed. The Greek word *αιλουρος* and the Latin *felis* both stand for "the wild cat," and for some kind of marten or a polecat, though the Greek term is used by Herodotus, and the Latin one by Cicero, in reference to the Egyptian cats. Our English word *cat*, the French *le chat*, the German *katze*, *kat* of the Danes, *cath* of the Welsh, *gatto* of the Italians, are all evidently akin to the Latin *catus*, a late Latin word. It seems, therefore, probable that Northern and Western Europe received the domestic cat through Roman civilisation, the Romans themselves having obtained it from Egypt, just as there is every reason to believe the Romans first imported rabbits from Spain or its outlying islands, not earlier than A.D. 230. Had the domestic cat been known to the classical writers, mention must have been frequently made of an animal which plays so large a part in fable. The names of several of our English animals, as *cow*, *dog*, *horse*, are referred to Sanscrit roots; and it is interesting to remark that though *mouse* is evidently the Sanscrit *mush* or *musha* (from a root meaning "to steal;" hence the little *stealing* animal), the Sanscrit for *cat* is *mārjāra*, from the root *mrij*, "to clean," and has no relationship with *catus* and *cat*. We have been informed by Professor Max Müller that the cat is comparatively recent in India as in Europe. There is no common Aryan name for it as for *mouse*.

Besides the *Felis chaus*, which is rather a lynx than a cat, there occurs in Palestine another wild long-tailed species, the Syrian cat (*Felis Syriaca*), which, Dr. Tristram says, "more nearly resembles the wild cat of Europe." Mr. George Smith, of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum, tells us that he has not recognised any cat among the cuneiform names of animals.

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.—I.

BY THE EDITOR.



WHAT is known as the argument from undesigned coincidences is familiar enough to all who are in any degree students of the evidences of Christianity. It has been argued with great force and clearness, that if in two books, or sets of books, manifestly independent of each other—such, for instance, as the

Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Paul, or the historical books of the Old Testament and the writings of the Prophets—we find an agreement in such points of minute detail as were not likely to attract the notice of any writer trying to pass off a spurious document as genuine, we may fairly look upon that agreement as going far to prove that the facts of the narrative

are true, and that the prophecies or epistles were written by those whose name they bear. These coincidences may often, at first sight, appear to connect themselves with the facts of Scripture so far only as they stand on the same level as those of ordinary history. But if it is found that the natural and the supernatural elements of the history are closely interwoven, that it is altogether impossible to draw a hard and fast line dividing them, that the facts which seem natural—i.e., not above experience—rest upon and imply those that are supernatural as the ground on which they stand, and cannot be explained without them, then the support which this line of argument gives to the one set of facts must be admitted to extend also to the other, and the argument from coincidences not only supplies interesting illustrations, but strengthens our belief in the divine authority of the writings with which they are connected.

The argument thus described has been handled with great effect in some works that have become deservedly popular. In Paley's *Hore Paulinæ* and Mr. Birks's *Hore Apostolicæ* it is applied to vindicate the genuineness and authenticity of St. Paul's Epistles, with a partial extension, in the latter, to the narrative of the Gospels. In the *Scriptural Coincidences* of the late Professor Blunt it is carried, in almost every case with an ingenuity which is at once interesting and convincing, over the whole of the sacred volume. Admirable and deservedly popular as it is, however, it is far from being either systematic or exhaustive. Other writers have brought fresh coincidences to light. There are, probably, many more, to which attention has not yet been called, waiting to reward the diligence of the thoughtful inquirer.

References to the works just named must, of course, occur in any thorough treatment of the subject; and from time to time the coincidences which they suggest will be brought, with due acknowledgment, before our readers. It is no part of our plan, however, merely to reproduce what is easily accessible already; and the greater part of what it is now in contemplation to print in this series of papers will consist either of the results of original research, or, where borrowing from others will bring together in a more popular and intelligible form, facts and suggestions which are at present to be found scattered here and there in books addressed to the narrower circle of scholars.

There is, however, another use to be made of the undesigned coincidences of which we are now speaking, over and above their value as elements of direct or indirect evidence as to the genuineness of documents, or the truth of history. In not a few instances we shall find that it throws light on the character, the genius, the training of the inspired writer, and so helps us in part to follow the path on which he was led forward by the illuminating Spirit. Direct quotations by one writer from another—as, for instance, by writers of the New Testament from those of the Old, or by an Apostle from an Evangelist—stand, of course, on a different footing. They tell their own tale clearly enough. What is now referred to are the traces that will be found, on careful

inquiry, that special books, or special facts of the older Scriptures, were prominent in the thoughts of the writers of the New Testament; that the writings of an earlier Psalmist or Prophet were, in like manner, the germs of what was more fully wrought out by those who followed them; that they were what we should call favourite topics of meditation, permeating their whole frame of mind, fashioning and moulding their language. Where such traces are found in any one book of the sacred Volume they will, at least, bring to those who search them out a clear insight into the growth and meaning of the writings into which they enter. Where they are found in different books ascribed to the same writer, they will serve further as circumstantial evidence of identity of authorship. I propose taking as the first, and, if I mistake not, a very striking illustration of what I mean, the coincidences of this kind that are brought to light on a comparison of the first and the last books of the great storehouse of writings which we know as the Bible.

I. THE BOOK OF GENESIS AND THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN.

(1.) The opening words of the Gospel of St. John are, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the counterpart of those of the history of creation in chapter i. of the Book of Genesis. "*In the beginning* God created the heaven and the earth." The Apostle had that before him as opening the history of the material universe. It was a protest against all theories of the eternity of matter, against all speculations, which identified the Creator and the creature, or looked on the latter as the work of an inferior or opposing Power. The Evangelist himself was going to set forth in a few pregnant words what he had been taught as to the yet wider universe of God, which included spiritual as well as material existences; and in order to bring the two into direct connection with each other, he, too, opens what he has to say with like words. "*In the beginning* was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (John i. 1). As the first step in the history of the visible world had been that recorded in the words, "God said, Let there be light, and there was light," and the division of that light from darkness (Gen. i. 3, 4); so the evangelist goes on to speak of the Eternal Word as being also in very deed "the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" of that spiritual light shining into the spiritual darkness which did not "comprehend" or grasp it (John i. 5, 9). The greater part of the contents of the Gospel give, of course, not the thoughts of the Apostle, but the acts and words of the Lord Jesus, and stand, therefore, outside the range of the present inquiry. One passage, however, is worth noting, as occurring in the same chapter, and as being recorded by St. John only, in which, in the first days after his own call to the discipleship, he had heard words that had impressed themselves on his memory, and could not fail to direct his thoughts to the whole narrative, the whole book, of which they formed a part. "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and

the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man" (John i. 50). Whatever interpretation may be given of those words, in whatever way we may believe the promise to have been fulfilled, they must have directed the thoughts of the apostle at once to the mystery of the ministry of angels in working out God's purposes of redemption, and to the whole history that told of the lonely wanderer who came to the spot which was afterwards to be known as Bethel, the "house of God," and "lay down in that place to sleep. And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it" (Gen. xxviii. 12).

(2.) So far we have seen that the writer of the Gospel that bears the name of St. Johu was profoundly impressed with the teaching of the Book of Genesis. We may proceed to inquire whether traces of a like familiarity, as of one who made it day and night the subject of his meditations, and had its words and images constantly in his thoughts, are to be found also in the Revelation of St. John. And here we note, to begin with, that the titles by which the Lord reveals himself to the disciple are those which would have a special meaning, and bring a special illumination to one who had been prepared for them by meditating often and intensely on the history of creation. "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." "Fear not; I am the first and the last" (Rev. i. 8, 17). They made known to him that the Master whom he had known and served, who loved him as with a brother's love, was not only a prophet; not only the Son of David, the Christ; not only, in any lower sense, the Son of God, as one of many sons; but was one with the Creator of all things, existing beyond the remotest past which man's mind could conceive of, living on into the remotest future; not only "in the beginning," but himself also "the beginning" (Rev. i. 8), or, as it is elsewhere, "the beginning of the creation of God" (Rev. iii. 14), bearing that name "Almighty," the El Shaddai, which had been specially made known as the divine title to Abraham (Gen. xvii. 1), and to Jacob (Gen. xxxv. 11), which, as distinguished from the new name, Jehovah, was specially characteristic of that older patriarchal dispensation (Exod. vi. 3). Taken in connection with the fact that at a later stage of the Apocalyptic visions he sees Him who was "faithful and true. . . . and he had a name written, that no man knew but himself; and he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood, and his name is called the Word of God" (Rev. xix. 11—13); and with the almost certain and generally accepted tradition that the Apocalypse was written many years before the Gospel, we may see, with little doubt, in this revelation of a new truth and a new name to the Apostle, the starting-point of the faith which was afterwards to stand so prominently forward in the Gospel, and was to be, in later ages, the basis of the theology of Christendom.

(3.) More striking still, as illustrating what has been

maintained as to the connection between the two books, is the way in which the imagery of the Apocalypse is, as it were, pervaded with the thoughts of the paradise history of Gen. ii. and iii. That history had not been prominent in our Lord's teaching. Once only, in the words of comfort spoken to the penitent thief, had the word "paradise" passed from his lips in any recorded utterance (Luke xxiii. 43). Once only had He referred to that primeval record as setting forth the true sacredness of marriage (Mark x. 6—8); but in the Revelation the ideas of that history meet us with striking prominence. The promise to the Church of Ephesus is, "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God" (Rev. ii. 7). When the whole series of prophetic visions has reached its culminating point, he mingles with the glory of the New Jerusalem, which had been suggested by later prophecies, like those of Isaiah and Ezekiel, that of a restored paradise. There is the "pure river of water of life, clear as crystal," such as men might think of as having flowed through the groves of Eden. There, on "either side of the river," is the "tree of life," bearing "twelve manner of fruits, and yielding her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations" (Rev. xxii. 1—3). There, there shall be no more the "curse" which had fallen on the primeval paradise, and turned its fair beauty into a desolate wilderness (Rev. xxii. 3). And there also the new name, the "Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last," is proclaimed again, as if to connect the beginning of the world's history with its final and glorious consummation.

(4.) The Apocalypse references to the paradise history of Gen. ii., iii. are, however, far from being exhausted. This is not the time or place to enter on a detailed interpretation of the mysterious symbols of the vision of Rev. xii., but it is clear that they could only have been what they are because the mind of the seer was filled with the imagery of that ancient record. What has been called the *Proteangel*, the first message of glad tidings, had been conveyed in the words "I will put enmity between thee" (the serpent) "and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel" (Gen. iii. 15). Whatever meaning we may attach to these words, whatever other fulfilment they may have had, we cannot be wrong in thinking that they were present to St. John's thoughts when he wrote of "the great dragon: that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world" (Rev. xii. 9); and so, for the first time in our canonical Scriptures (whatever may have been the case as regards Jewish traditions), set the seal of his authority to the identification of the serpent-templer with the mysterious personality of evil, who appears as the enemy, the accuser, the devil, the wicked one, in the later Scriptures. Still more strikingly parallel is the language that follows, which states that the "dragon . . . persecuted the woman which brought forth the man child. . . . was with the woman, and went to make war with the

remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ" (Rev. xii. 13, 17). The whole history of the conflict between the Church and the world, all the sufferings and persecutions endured by the saints of God as identified with Christ, and therefore as part of the true "seed of the woman," are brought before us as wrapped up in the language of that earlier Messianic prophecy; while the special personal fulfilment of its promise in the Lord Jesus Christ is yet distinctly asserted in the words that "the woman" (the representative at once of Eve, of the Church of Israel, of humanity) "brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne" (Rev. xii. 5).

(5.) If the promise of John i. 51 contained an unmistakable reference to the history of Jacob's vision at Bethel, we must admit, with as little hesitation, that in no part of the Scripture is the ministry of angels, as agents in fulfilling God's purpose for his Church, establishing the kingdom of Christ, and so "ascending and descending on the Son of man," brought so vividly before us as it is in the Revelation. The angels of the

seven churches, in Rev. i., ii., iii., the four angels of chap. vii. 1, the "seven angels which stood before God" of chap. viii. 2, the "many angels round about the throne," whose "number was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands," of chap. v. 11—all these must have appeared to the seer (assuming his identity with the Evangelist) as the accomplishment of that wondrous promise which he had heard almost in the first hour of his conversion.

Enough has been said, it is believed, to 'prove' (1) the prominence of the history of the early chapters of Genesis in the thoughts both of the writer of this Gospel and of the Revelation that bears the name of the beloved disciple, and (2) the consequent probability that they were both the work of that disciple and that any theory of distinct authorship has, at least, to take into account the difficulty which this coincidence presents. It will be the object of another paper to carry the inquiry further, so as to include the Epistles of St. John, and the other words of the Pentateuch, to show that they also bear the application of the same test, and present coincidences no less interesting and suggestive.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.—I.

BY THE REV. DR. GINSBURG.

IN attempting to give a picture of the manners and customs of the Jews we shall begin with the infant Hebrew. Having greeted his arrival, we shall watch him during his tender years, notice the care bestowed upon him by his parents, gradually follow the different stages of his education, and examine his moral and social duties till he has reached the age of manhood. We shall then try to follow him through the successive experiences of his mature life, observe the manner in which he attempts to obtain a wife, attend his marriage, visit his domestic establishment, partake of his hospitality, listen to his joys and sorrows, contemplate him in his advanced years, and finally follow him to the grave when "he is gathered to his people."

BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND SCHOOLS.

One of the most remarkable and most significant features in the Bible, as far as children are concerned, is the fact that it has no less than nine different expressions to denote a child. These nine words are by no means synonymous, but describe the various possible stages of the child's life, from its birth to manhood, thus showing the tender care with which the Hebrew parent watched and marked every period in the child's growth and development. There is (1) the word *ben*, "son," feminine *bath*, "daughter," which is the general term for a child of any age. Then we have (2) the more characteristic and specific *yeled*, the "newly-born child" (Exod. ii. 3, 6, 8), indicating by its name the fact of its arrival,

(3.) A further stage of the babe's existence is expressed by the name *yonek*, "suckling" (Ps. viii. 2; Jer. xlv. 7; Lam. iv. 4; Joel ii. 16). (4.) As still denoting the nursing period, but expressive of the age when the child is about to be weaned, is the name *olel* (Lam. ii. 20). (5.) *Ganul*, "the weaned," the fifth name (Isa. xi. 8), marks the period when it becomes independent of its mother. Equally expressive are the remaining four names which describe the successive stages of the child's life, from the time he begins to run about to his development into maturity. Thus (6) *taph*, "the quickly stepping," is the name of the little one who has ceased to be carried by the mother, and who makes short and quick strides to keep up with the pace of his parent (Jer. xl. 7; Esther iii. 13). (7.) *Elem*, "the strong," the seventh appellation, describes him when he has developed his strength, and is ready to assist his parents in their labours, though not prepared for independent action (1 Sam. xx. 22). (8.) *Naar*, "the free" (from *naar*, "to shake off," "to become free"), the eighth name, describes the grown-up youth, who, though still assisted by his parents, is no more at their side, but has attained to that age when he can walk about freely and defend himself (Gen. xxxvii. 2; Judg. viii. 20; 1 Sam. xx. 33); and (9) *bachur*, "the matured," "the ripe," the ninth name, describes him when he has attained his majority, is marriageable, and fit for military service (Isa. xxxi. 8; lxii. 5; Jer. xviii. 21). We cannot, therefore, do better than follow in our description of the Hebrew youth the different stages of his life thus marked out in the Bible.

1. Immediately after the birth of the child it was washed, rubbed with salt, and wrapped in swaddling clothes (Ezek. xvi. 4; Luke ii. 7). Though Arab mothers to this day rub their newly-born babies with sand or earth, which might seem to favour the opinion that the employment of salt mentioned in Ezekiel was simply dietetic, designed to dry and *constrict* the skin, yet there can hardly be any doubt that it was also used symbolically. Its seasoning and cleansing efficacy rendered it an "outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace." Hence the Jewish symbolical usage passed over into the Christian Church, and gave rise to the custom of putting salt into the mouth of the baptised infant, with the words, "Accipe sal sapientiae in vitam aeternam." The announcement of the birth of a child was the occasion of especial rejoicing if it happened to be a son, since the possession of a large number of sons was, and still is, regarded in the East as a great blessing. Indeed, to have a number of girls is considered a great calamity, and daughters are not mentioned when a father speaks of his family. A striking illustration of this I had in my recent journey in Moab. The old sheikh who acted as our protector told me that he had four wives. I then asked him how many children he had, to which he replied five. This rather puzzled me. The following day, when accidentally speaking to him about daughters, he said that he had six of them, whereupon I reminded him that he told me the day before he had only five children. To which he replied that it was so, and when I said that five sons and six daughters are eleven, he emphatically remarked, "We do not count daughters when speaking of children." The joy, therefore, experienced by the parents at the birth of a son is proportioned to the disappointment when a daughter is born. Hence the messenger who announced the arrival of a male child was hailed as one bringing joyful news. This will show the force of the prophet's imprecation, "Cursed be the man who brought tidings to my father, saying, A man child is born unto thee; making him very glad" (Jer. xx. 15).

2. On the eighth day the child, if a boy, was circumcised, and received a name (Gen. xvii. 12; Luke i. 59, 60). This rite the Jews solemnly observe to the present day. Except when the child is ill, and it is questionable whether it will be able to undergo the operation, it always takes place on the eighth day, even if the eighth day happens to be a Sabbath (John vii. 23), in the presence of a number of relations and friends, who not only join in the religious service connected with the ceremony, but partake of a joyful repast. Twenty-two days after circumcision—that is, when the child was thirty days old—if it was the first-born, the father had to redeem it by giving to the priest thirty silver shekels of the sanctuary—*i.e.*, between eleven and twelve shillings—as the maximum. If the child was sickly, the priest could estimate it at less than this sum (Numb. iii. 47, and xviii. 16). The priest had to come to the house, as the mother could not appear with the infant in the sanctuary because

her days of purification according to the Law (Lev. xii. 2—4) were not as yet accomplished. When she was ritually purified, the mother brought the baby to the priest into the Temple, to be presented publicly to the Lord (Luke ii. 22). The Jews still observe the law of redemption to this day. When the first-born male is thirty days old, the parents invite to their house their friends and a *cohen*—that is, a descendant of Aaron—to a repast. Having offered grace and some introductory prayers, the priest looks at the child and the price of redemption presented unto him, and asks the father which he would prefer, the money or the child. Upon the father's reply that he would rather pay the price of redemption, the priest takes the money and swings it round the infant's head in token of his vicarious authority, saying, "This is for the first-born, this is in lieu of it, this redeems it! and let this son be spared for life, for the Law of God and for the fear of Heaven! May it please Thee, that as he was spared for redemption, so he may be spared for the Law, for matrimony, and for good works. Amen." The priest then lays his hand upon the child's head, and blesses it as follows: "The Lord make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh," etc. It is to this that the Apostle Peter refers when he says, "Ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold," etc. (1 Pet. i. 18).

3, 4. The period during which the child is a *yonek* and becomes an *olel*, or ready to be weaned, is not mentioned in the Bible. The Talmud, however, gives us the information which enables us both to determine it and to explain the expressions describing the child at this age. This ancient authority informs us that it was not only incumbent upon every mother to nurse the child herself, but to nurse it at least up to two years of age (*Kethuboth* 59b); and we know from the book of Maccabees that children were nursed up to three years (2 Maceab. vii. 27), which is still not unfrequently the case in the East. This explains such passages as Jer. ix. 21; Lam. iv. 4, where the *olelim* are described as playing in the streets, and are represented in great famine as asking for bread. Bearing in mind the distinction between the two different stages of the child's nursing life denoted by *yonek* and *olel*, we shall also be able to understand the proverbial phrase in 1 Sam. xv. 3; xxii. 19, which is approximately rendered in the authorised version, in the first instance "infant and suckling," and most inconsistently in the second instance "children and sucklings," thus obliterating its identity. The phrase describes the period of infancy intervening between the birth and weaning of the child, or that stage of its existence in which it is utterly dependent upon its mother for nutriment. Hence the collocation of the two expressions in Jer. xlv. 7; Lam. ii. 11; Ps. viii. 2. Up to this age children of both sexes when very small were carried in the arms or on one haunch, and when a little bigger were carried on the shoulders, seated astride or hanging down both their legs in the front, and holding the heads of those who carried them, as is done by the Egyptians to this day. This explains the remarks in Isa. xlix. 22; lxvi. 12.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.—I.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—ST. JAMES.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

"What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? can faith save him?"—Chap. ii. 14.

"Ye see then how that by works a man is saved, and not by faith only."—Chap. ii. 24.

THESE words have been productive of great controversy in the Church. At first sight, they seem directly to contradict St. Paul's famous doctrine, "justification by faith only." Is this really the case? We will examine carefully whether St. James and St. Paul signified the same thing when they spoke of "faith," "works," "justification," and "law." Now the argument of St. James, in the first part of chap. ii. of his Epistle, is, *faith cannot exist without love*. In the second division of the same chapter he goes on to show *faith cannot exist without works, and that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only*. But St. James does not understand by faith what St. Paul does. In St. James's mind faith signifies sometimes the feeling of confidence (chaps. i. 6; v. 15); sometimes belief in Christ (chap. ii. 1); but the belief in the latter case is little more than a mere historical belief which evil spirits may and do possess. At most, the "faith in Christ" understood by St. James is but a dead intellectual orthodoxy, while in St. Paul's mind "faith in Christ" included all this, and far more; in his conception of faith confidence passed into loving trust, into a leaning upon the grace of God, manifested in the atoning death of Christ. It presupposes a feeling of deep humility, a persuasion of one's own utter personal unworthiness. With St. James, as it has been well said, the prominent idea of faith is an orthodox creed; with St. Paul, a spiritual life. By works St. James signifies not mere dry works of the law, not merely a rigid keeping of religious observances, a lifeless ritual, but deeds of love and charity, of unselfish kindness; in a word, an active, earnest, self-denying life. St. Paul, on the other hand, without altogether excluding deeds of unselfish love, still in *his* idea of works prominently brings forward ceremonial observances and usages, viewing works generally from the stand-point of self-satisfaction and pride, so often occupied by a self-righteous Jew. Justification in the Epistle of St. James bears the same signification which it does in St. Paul's teaching—viz., acquittal from guilt; and as the result of this acquittal, the being accounted righteous before God. But St. Paul's explanation searches far deeper into the true meaning of justification. He sets out by carefully setting aside any supposition "that this acquittal from guilt" can be won by a fulfilment of the law, *for no man can fulfil it*. He shows, too, how incapable even is a good conscience to give a man peace or rest—this rest, the peace with God, can only be attained through faith in Jesus Christ. Justification in this high sense, according to Paul, is the gift of the free grace of God, who, for Jesus' sake, looks on and accepts

the sinner as though he were righteous. Lastly, while to St. Paul the notion of "the law" suggests principally the Mosaic law, with its ritual and its ceremonial observances, in St. James's mind "the law" possessed a higher and deeper meaning. In his epistle he employs the term "law" almost as a synonym for "Gospel" (the word "Gospel" is never used in the epistle): his law is always the moral, never the ceremonial. Thus we see that in these two great Christian masters no opposition in doctrine really exists, for they are speaking, as Professor Lightfoot terms it, a different language.

The position of St. James in the early Church was a singular one. Though so closely connected by human ties with Jesus, he seems to have been a disbeliever in the Lord's mission till the very close of his ministry (John vii. 5). In the fragments which we possess of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, we find related a special appearance of the Lord to St. James after his resurrection from the dead. "James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour in which the Lord had drunk the cup until he saw Him risen from the dead. Jesus, therefore, took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to James the Just, and said to him, 'My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of man has risen from the dead.'" (*Gospel according to the Hebrews*, quoted by Lightfoot in commentary on Galatians, p. 260.)

Convinced, probably, by this appearance of the risen Lord, St. James at once appears to have taken that foremost place in the Church of Jerusalem to which his earthly relationship to Jesus gave him special claim. A rigid observer of the law—probably an ascetic, if not a Nazarite—he was peculiarly fitted to win over the people of Israel to the faith of the Crucified; and to these children of the old covenant he addresses his epistle. Bred up in the midst of the Pharisee tone of thought, surrounded from childhood by all the sacred traditions and fancied privileges of the chosen people, in intimate communion from the first with Jesus, and yet a disbeliever in His divine mission, he was won over at last by a special appearance of the Risen One. The jealous Hebrews, while listening with suspicion to the other preachers of Christ, would surely receive with respect the testimony of James the Just, the Lord's brother. Different from St. Paul, whose missionary work led him to address the superstitious, fickle Galatian, the polished and sceptical Greek, the proud and contemptuous Roman, and whose first thought was to teach these varied peoples, who believed in nothing, the glorious beauty of the knowledge of a God, a Father, a Redeemer, and how from *loving faith* in this God all good and noble works must spring; different from this, St. James had to argue with men whose great error had been their persuasion that they had found a way to salvation in a bare

historic belief, in a ritual rather than in a life—who dreamed of heaven as the reward of orthodoxy rather than of holiness.

If the date of the epistle were known, it would, without doubt, throw much light on the question of the seeming contradiction between St. James's teaching and St. Paul's; but there is no internal evidence in St. James's writing which enables us with any certainty to fix this date. Two points, however, deserve notice, which go far to support the theory already advanced—viz., that St. James is no way referring to any teaching of St. Paul. (1.) Had St. James been aware of his brother apostle's publication of his famous doctrine "justification by faith only," which was first distinctly put forward in the Epistle to the Galatian Church, and which writing is placed by some A.D. 54, by others A.D. 57, St. James would surely have made some allusion to a great doctrine at once so widely received, and which, at first sight, he seems so distinctly to contradict. (2.) In the Epistle of St. James there is no notice whatever respecting the duties of Jewish Christians with regard to the observance of the ceremonial law. Now, considering the fierce hostility which this question gave rise to, the absence of all allusion to the points discussed in the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem we read of in Acts xv., leads to the conclusion that St. James wrote *before* A.D. 50, the date of the council in question. Everything seems to point to the supposition that this epistle was written very early in the history of the Apostolic Church, most likely between A.D. 45 and 50, and *before* the great doctrine of St. Paul had been publicly preached to the Christian Church.

But while after a careful consideration of the two epistles—the one addressed to Jews, the other to Gentiles—we come to the deliberate conclusion that the one was never intended as a refutation, or in any way a contradiction of the other, we cannot help seeing how wide-spread has been the persuasion, how deep has been the conviction among Christians that St. James contradicts St. Paul, and refutes his teaching.

It was not so at first. Nor was it until after his martyrdom that St. James was made to assume a position of hostility to St. Paul. The fall of Jerusalem, which took place very soon after the apostle's death, brought about a great change in the position of Jewish Christians. The Temple was razed to the ground, and men who hitherto had felt themselves bound to observe the law and its services, now felt themselves freed from this obligation. But a stubborn party seems to have arisen, who, declining all compromise, separating themselves from their brethren, still maintained the strict necessity of observing the Mosaic ordinances. A bitter hostility to St. Paul and his teaching was a characteristic feature of these Judaizing Christians; how unrelenting was their enmity we gather from notices scattered over the Pauline writings. These early separatists, afterwards known under the name of Ebionites, were to be found in all those great world-centres where Jews and Christians congregated. They made use from the first of the honoured name of St. James as their authority for many

of their peculiar and heretical tenets. In the Clementine Homilies, an Ebionitic composition which appeared within a century of St. Paul's death, we have still preserved some of the strange opinions of these Judaizing heretics. In these Homilies we find St. Peter represented as charging his hearers to shun any apostle, teacher, or prophet, who does not first compare his preaching with James, called the brother of the Lord, and entrusted with the Church of the Hebrews in Jerusalem. This, of course, assumes an opposition in St. James to the received doctrine, and calls attention to the apparent contradiction in the teaching of St. James and St. Paul. St. Paul is alluded to in unmistakable language, and is called "the enemy" (*ὁ ἔχθρος ἀνθρώπου*), and his doctrine termed foolish and lawless (compare Lightfoot on Gal., pp. 306, 307). It is no doubt owing to the use of St. James's teaching by dangerous schismatics and determined enemies of St. Paul, that the Epistle of St. James for a long period was looked on with jealous suspicion by a large division of the catholic Church. The Church of the West during the first three centuries received it not. None of the early Latin versions contain it. It was reckoned one of the seven disputed books of the New Testament, in the celebrated catalogue of Eusebius, written probably early in the fourth century.

The Eastern Church received it, and acknowledged its authority from the first. But it was not until the church councils of the fourth century, when the varied evidence for the several disputed books was discussed, that the Epistle and teaching of St. James were received generally in the West. Jerome, so late as A.D. 392, alludes to the doubts which had so long hung over this epistle; but, he said, "in course of time it gained authority." From the fourth century to the fifteenth the question respecting the alleged contradiction in its teaching to St. Paul's seems to have slumbered, and for 1,100 years, at least, all churches in East and West reverently acknowledged the epistle of the great apostle of the circumcision as undoubted, unquestioned Scripture. In the stir and ferment of the Reformation period the long-buried question was again raised, and men like the earnest and fervid Luther, carried away by their passionate admiration for St. Paul and his noble exposition of faith in Christ, were not afraid to cast aside as uninspired the epistle and teaching of James, the brother of the Lord. Luther even dares to speak of James as too weak in mind for his task, refers to him as contradicting Paul and all Scripture, and declines to place this epistle in his Bible among the proper leading books, and dismissing it as "an epistle of straw indeed" (*ein recht strohernes epistel*), relegates it to the end of the catholic epistles, where it still stands in all German Protestant editions. Modern criticism, removed from the excitement and mental disturbance of the Reformation era, has, with one consent, restored this great epistle, and its pure Christ-like teaching to its legitimate place, and in so doing has confirmed the deliberate judgment of the catholic Church, which sees no contradiction, no difference of doctrine between the teaching of St. James and that of St. Paul.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.—I.

BY THE REV. CANON RAWLINSON, M.A., CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

STUDENTS of the remoter past of the ancient world have at all times been attracted by any facts or traditions which presented points of contact, or even of resemblance, when compared with the narratives of the Bible. Up to a comparatively recent period, however, their field was confined to Greece, or to the fragments of Egyptian and Assyrian history that had been preserved by writers like Herodotus, Josephus, and Eusebius. Even within that narrower range most readers have felt that a fresh life and interest were given to narratives with which they were before familiar when they have seen, for example, in the old legend of Deucalion and Pyrrha an instance of the survival of the memory of a great flood in the remoter past, or have come across an independent version of the defeat of Sennacherib's army in Herodotus (ii. 141), or of the death of Herod Agrippa in Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 8, § 2).

Within the last half century an immense addition has been made to the stores of knowledge which, more or less richly, contribute to this result. The former, which has been gained by deciphering the so-called hieroglyphic characters of Egypt, and the cuneiform writing of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, has brought to the knowledge of Biblical scholars a vast mass of materials that were before unknown, which no Greek historian had been able to make use of. The history of the great monarchies with which the Israelites were brought into contact has been placed before us in the monumental inscriptions and other records that were contemporary with the events of which we read in them, and throw, in many instances, a new light upon the Bible narratives. So far as they show that its records tally with what they record, they furnish independent evidence that we are on the solid ground of reality, not on that of mythical tradition or "cunningly devised fable." So far even as they show that the Scriptural narrative, though not directly confirmed, is yet in harmony with what we thus learn as to the events, character, life, and religion of the time of which it treats, it furnishes us with grounds for accepting it as trustworthy. Direct proof of the supernatural events in the history of Israel is, of course, hardly to be expected in the monuments of heathen nations,¹ who saw in that people only a race whom they feared or scorned, conquered, or held in bondage. It will be enough for our present purpose to bring into

stronger light the events which stand on the same footing as those of the history of other nations, believing that the more the sacred history is so studied, the more will the reader be led to feel that it is unlike as well as like them, that it contains elements that are nobler and more divine than anything that is to be found in them. In some cases—as, for example, in the first of this series of illustrations—we are brought face to face with a tradition which has for its basis the records of a divine act affecting the destinies of the whole family of man.—EDITOR.

THE earliest event recorded in Scripture which seems to admit of illustration from any of these sources is the Deluge. There was an ancient city in Phrygia, called

originally Celænæ, and afterwards Apameia or Apameia Cibôtus,¹ which seems to have possessed a curious local belief on this subject. The Phrygians generally were believers in a great deluge, which the Greeks identified with that of Deucalion, a deluge whereby, according to some of them, the



COIN OF APAMEIA.

whole race of mankind had been swept away. Their myths told of a certain Nannacus, or Annacus (a name in which Ewald² and other critics recognise the Biblical Enoch), who attained the age of three hundred years, and warned mankind of the coming flood, in which he and they would be destroyed together.³ According to the general tradition of the Phrygians, the belief would seem to have been that the flood came and entirely destroyed the whole race of man; after which Jupiter, with the aid of Prometheus (Forethought) and Athene (Art), created a new race out of clay, breathing into it the breath of life.⁴ But at Apameia this myth received a curious modification, which brought it into much closer accordance with the account given in Genesis. There the belief was that two persons, a man and a woman, escaped the watery death which overwhelmed the rest of mankind, and

¹ Pliny, *H. N.*, v. 29. Apameia was not built on exactly the same site as Celænæ, but the inhabitants were transferred from the one place to the other (Strab. xii. 8, § 15), and doubtless carried with them their traditions.

² *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. i., p. 356.

³ See Steph. Byz., *De Urbibus*, ad voc. 'Ικόνιον; Suidas, *Lex.*, ad voc. Νάννακος.

⁴ "When the ground was dry," says Stephen, "Zeus ordered Prometheus and Athene to mould figures in clay, and then summoning the Winds, he bade them breathe into the figures, which thus became alive."

doubtless that they became the progenitors of the new race.¹ The modified tradition may have been connected in some way with the name of the town, Cibôtus; for Cibôtus (κιβωτός) meant an "ark" or "chest." Among other mythological scenes or emblems borne upon the obverse of Apamean coins is a representation of the Deluge according to Apamean ideas. Two figures, one male and the other female, are represented standing in a sort of square ark or chest which floats upon the waters, visible through a window in its side. On the top of the ark is perched a bird, while on the left another bird flies towards it, holding the branch of a tree between its feet. On the side of the ark, below the window, are the letters ΝΩ or ΝΩΕ. In front stand two other figures, similarly attired with those in the ark, but with the right hand raised as if in thanksgiving, which represent (it is probable) the same two persons that are seen within the ark, after they have issued from it.

The most curious points connected with this coin (or rather with this series of coins, for they were struck under at least three emperors, Septimius Severus, Maecius, and Philip²) are the letters ΝΩΕ or ΝΩ, and the birds. Various explanations have been attempted of them, especially of the former; but none will approve itself to a candid criticism, except that which connects the letters with the Scriptural name, Noah (נֹחַ, Νῶε).

In the last century, when the subject of these coins, put prominently forward by the English antiquary, Bryant, occupied for some years the special attention of learned men, it was argued by some³ that the letters themselves were not sufficiently established, and suggested that the real inscription was not ΝΩΕ, but ΝΕΩ, or ΝΕΩΚ. This was regarded as an abbreviation of νεωκόρων, a word often found upon coins, and was read with the rest of the inscription—*ε.γ., 'Επὶ ἀγωνοθετοῦ Ἀρτεμίου γ' Ἀπαμείων νεωκόρων*. But in the present century the great numismatists seem altogether agreed that this suggestion is without any foundation,⁴ and that the letters upon the ark are, in all coins of this type, either ΝΩ or ΝΩΕ, never ΝΕΩΚ.

Next, it was urged, that if the letters were really ΝΩΕ, as it appeared they were, perhaps they had been added to the coins "by the tool of a falsifier."⁵ It was not pretended that their shape or appearance lent any support to this view; but the difficulty of admitting that coins of the early Roman Empire bore on them an actual reference to the Noachian deluge was thought to be overwhelming, and any supposition was welcomed whereby such a conclusion was escaped. But here again the progress of dispassionate criticism

has put to shame the crude suggestions of persons little versed in the difficult science of numismatics; and modern authorities express no doubt of the legend in question being genuine.

Lastly, a wild interpretation of the legend was put forth by one scholar,⁶ who, admitting the word ΝΩΕ to be genuine, opined that it "was the dual of ἐγώ," and corresponded to the first words in the line of Ovid, where Deucalion and Pyrrha, on issuing from the vessel wherein they had been saved, are made to say—

"Nos duo turba sumus; possedit cætera pontus."⁷

The conjecture was supported by the analogies of σφῶε and ἄμμε; but, as another scholar⁸ soon afterwards observed, "It is apprehended that this pronoun is always spelt with an *iota*, and therefore, until some authority can be produced, either from MSS. or printed books, of its being written with an *epsilon*, neither the spelling, nor the meaning here given, can be justified." As no such authority exists, the interpretation of the Hon. Daines Barrington must be regarded as wholly untenable.

With respect to the birds, the following explanations were suggested. The bird seated on the ark, which was admitted to be a crow or raven, might be a mere symbol of Apameia,⁹ the blackness of the creature expressing the ancient name of the city (Κελαναί). That flying in the air might be an eagle,¹⁰ a frequent emblem of Apameia on its coins; or if a dove bearing an olive-branch, it might simply indicate the issue of the coin on a peaceful occasion.¹¹ Besides, it was remarked,¹² birds (or at any rate a bird) formed part of the regular Greek myth of Deucalion's deluge,¹³ and therefore the occurrence of birds upon the coins did not lend any strength to the view that the issuers of the type intended in any way to represent the Noachian Deluge.

These explanations were unsatisfactory, first, because the representation on the coins evidently formed one picture, and was not a mere collection of emblems; secondly, because it did not appear that the Apameans of the time of Severus, Maecius, and Philip, knew their city under the name of Celænæ; thirdly, because it is unusual to indicate a city twice over, on one and the same coin, by two different symbols; fourthly, because three successive kings would scarcely have signified the establishment of peace in exactly the same way on the coins of a provincial city; fifthly, because the Deucalionic legend mentioned at the utmost one bird; and, sixthly, because a dove with an olive-branch was not a Greek or a Roman way of denoting the conclusion of

¹ Compare the Greek myth of Deucalion (Ov., *Met.*, i. 260, &c.; Apollod., i. 7, § 2, &c.).

² See Mionnet, *Description de Médailles*, tom. iv., pp. 234–237.

³ As especially by Dean Milles (*Archæologia*, vol. iv., pp. 332–339).

⁴ Comp. Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.*, vol. iii., pp. 132–139; Mionnet, *Description de Médailles antiques*, tom. iv., pp. 234–237.

⁵ This was the suggestion of the Abbé Barthélemy (*Archæologia*, vol. iv., p. 352). It was approved by the English numismatists (*ib.* p. 355).

⁶ See an Essay by the Hon. Daines Barrington in the *Archæologia*, vol. iv., no. xxi., pp. 315–330.

⁷ *Metaph.*, i. 355.

⁸ Dean Milles (*Archæologia*, vol. iv., p. 344).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Hardwin, *Op. Select.*, p. 25.

¹² Milles, in *Archæologia*, vol. iv., p. 341. The authority quoted is Plutarch, *De solert. animal.*, Op., vol. ii., p. 768.

¹³ Milles, l. s. c. This was scarcely true, since the mention of a bird in connection with Deucalion's deluge occurs in the one passage of Plutarch only.

peace. Moreover, the attempts to explain the impress without reference to the Noachian Deluge failed signally, in that they omitted to take any notice of the force of accumulated evidence. The letters ΝΩΕ, the two birds, and the branch carried by one of them, form three distinct pieces of evidence, each of which is a strong argument by itself. But the force of the entire argument arises from the combination of the three separate facts, which cannot be reasonably accounted for otherwise than by a conscious reference on the part of those who issued the coins to the history contained in Genesis. How they obtained their knowledge, and how they came, though neither Jews nor Christians, but mere heathen, to set a value upon it, are questions of much interest, which, however, can only be answered conjecturally.

It is possible that the Apamean Phrygians, if they possessed, in common with the rest of their nation, a tradition of the Deluge, together with the name of Annaens (or Enoch), from a remote antiquity, may also have possessed from an equally early date the name of Noah, and the history of his sending out the birds. This latter fact was undoubtedly known to the Babylonians,¹ and through them to the later Greeks, who weaved the incident into their own tradition of Deucalion. But it is perhaps more probable that the knowledge of Noah, and of the birds, reached the Apameans from Biblical sources, and was incorporated into their legend as sufficiently harmonising with it. The Hebrew Scriptures attracted the attention of foreign nations from soon after the time of Alexander; and the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch, made at Alexandria probably in the third century B.C., enabled the more learned of the Greeks generally to acquaint themselves with the Mosaic account of the early ages of the world. Such writers as Heataeus of Abdera, and Nicolaus of Damascus, popularised the knowledge thus obtained;² and Noah, Abraham, Moses, grew to be persons with whom many of the heathen were familiar. At what date, and under what circumstances the Apameans came to connect their own city in an especial way with the Deluge, is very obscure. Perhaps the name Cibôtus, which may have been originally given to the place on account of the great wealth collected there,³ furnished the occasion for the special localising at Apameia of the general Phrygian tradition. Cibôtus, which originally meant a coffer or chest for containing valuables,⁴ was adopted by the Alexandrian Jews as the proper translation of the Hebrew *tēbah* (תֵּבָה), "ark," throughout their version of Genesis. When Greeks read the Septuagint version, the word would strike them; and being familiar with the geography of Asia Minor, they would ask themselves, "Is the curious epithet borne by the Phry-

gian Apameia connected with this meaning of *κιβωτός*, and, if so, how came Apameia to get the name? Did the ark first rest there?" At first sight, the answer would have seemed to be, "No;" for the ark rested on Ararat (Gen. viii. 4), and Ararat was understood to be in Armenia (2 Kings xix. 37). But Phrygia and Armenia were neighbouring, if not conterminous, countries; and it was believed that there was a special connection between the two nations.⁵ Moreover, the Phrygians claimed to be the most ancient of mankind,⁶ which would be the case if their country was the first peopled after the Deluge. Altogether, the idea of locating Ararat in western Phrygia, and making Apameia Cibôtus the place where the ark rested, seems to have approved itself to some, especially to the Alexandrians, to whom we must certainly be indebted for the First Book of the Sibylline Oracles.⁷ In this work we find the following account given of the ark's resting-place:—

"There is a mount in the dark Phrygian land,
Lofty, far-stretching—Ararat 'tis named—
Since on that mount 'twas fated that mankind
Should find salvation and much wished-for rest:
There Marseyas, mighty stream, doth take his rise;
And there, when the floods sank, on the high crest,
Rested the ark."⁸

It has been proposed to read *Κελαινὴς* for *μελαίνης* in the first line,⁹ and to understand the word as a proper name (*Celænæ*); but this is quite unnecessary. The intention to locate the resting of the ark at Apameia Cibôtus is sufficiently evidenced by the line, *Μαρσύου ἔνθα φλέβες μεγάλου ποταμοῦ πέφυκαν*, for Apameia was situated at the sources of the Marseyas. The date of the lines quoted is uncertain. The Sibylline collection, as we have it, cannot be earlier than about A.D. 120;¹⁰ but parts of it may be anterior to Christianity; and the entire account of the Deluge is not improbably the work of an Alexandrian Platonist of about the age of Philo. We can readily understand that, the idea having once been started that Apameia was the place where the ark rested, whoever may have been the persons starting it, the people of the town, when the story reached them, would eagerly catch at the notion, and with a pardonable provincial vanity would add the supposed fact to the antique glories of their native place. The statement, repeated by antiquarians and *ciceroni*, would come to be generally received; and, at last, would take

⁵ Herodotus said that the Armenians were colonists of the Phrygians (vii. 73).

⁶ Herod., ii. 2; Pausan., i. 14, § 2; Apuleius, *Metaph.* xi. 5; Claudian, *Eutrop.* ii. 251; Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod., iv. 262; Arrian, *Fr.*, 46; &c.

⁷ See Burton's *History of the First Three Centuries*, vol. ii. p. 114.

⁸ Orac. Sibyll., i. 268–274. The passage is in the original as follows:—

Ἔστι δὲ τις Φρυγίης ἐπὶ ἡπείροιο μελαίνης
Ἠλίβατον ταυμυκὲς ὄρος, Ἀραράτ δὲ καλεῖται,
Ὅππ' ἄρα σωθήσεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἐμελλον,
Ἐν τούτῳ μεγάλῃ δὲ πῶθι καταθύμιος ἦν.
Μαρσύου ἔνθα φλέβες μεγάλου ποταμοῦ πέφυκαν.
Τοῦ δὲ κιβωτὸς ἔμεινεν ἐν ὑψηλοῖσι καρινῷ
Ληξάντων ὑδάτων.

⁹ Eckhel, *Doctr. Num. Vet.*, vol. iii. p. 137; Bochart, *Geograph. Sac.*, i. 3.

¹⁰ Since it mentions Hadrian (v. 47; viii. 52).

¹ See the well-known fragment of Abydenus (Euseb. *Chron. Can.*, i. 27), who followed the Babylonian writer, Berossus; and compare the account of the Deluge recently published from an Assyrian tablet by Mr. George Smith.

² See their Fragments, in the *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* of C. Müller, vol. ii., pp. 391–396, and vol. iii., pp. 373, 374, 415, &c.

³ Strab., xii. 8, § 15, ad init.

⁴ Suidas, *sub voc.* Κιβωτός, εἰς ὑπαδοχὴν ἱματίων καὶ χρημάτων.

its turn with other supposed facts of local history upon the coins.

It may be added that the Sibylline collection contained also an account of the birds and of the olive-branch, so that it might well have given occasion to the entire representation upon the coins :—

"Again some days he rested, and sent forth
The dove once more, that he might learn if yet
The waters had abated. She to earth
Wing'd her swift flight, and on the humid land
Pausing awhile, sped back, and with her brought
A twig of olive, sign of her good news.

Then all took heart, and with exceeding joy
Rejoiced, hoping to see the earth once more.
But Noë, afterward, sent from the ark
Another bird, black-wing'd, that boldly flew,
And, trusting to its wings, on earth remained."¹
(lines 254—268.)

¹ Αὐτὰρ δὲ ἡσυχάσας πάλιν ἤματα, πέμπε πέλειαν
Λύθει, ἵνα γνῶ εἴπερ ἐπαύσατο ὕδατα πολλὰ·
Ἢ δ' ἄρα πωθήσῃ διέπτατο, βῆ δ' ἐπὶ γαίαν·
Βαίον δ' ἀμπαύσατο δέμας νοτὴρ ἐπὶ γαίῃ,
"Ἄψ ἐπὶ Νῶε πάλιν δέ τε ἡλυθε, κίρφος ἐλαίας
Σῆμα φέρονσα μίγ' ἀγγελίης· θήρσος δ' ἔχε πάντας,
Καὶ μέγα χάρμ', ὅτι γαίαν ἐπελπίζουσιν ἀθρήσαι.
Καὶ τότε δὴ μετέπειτ' ἄλλον μελανόπτερον ὄρνιν
Λάρνακος ἐξέπεμψε· ὃ δὲ περὶ γέσσοι πεποιθώς
Προφρονέως πέτατο, γαίῃ δ' ἐλθὼν ἐπέμεινε.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.—II.

BY W. CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

CLASSIFICATION.—The scientific investigator of the material world has similar work to undertake in his pursuits to that which occupies the scientific investigator of the written word. In elaborating his science the theologian has to select and classify the different doctrines scattered throughout the pages of the Bible, arranging them into a symmetrical whole, where each has its true position and its proper importance. On the face of it one might expect, as the result of the careful and honest research of a logical and independent mind, a perfect system which would command universal respect; but instead of this we have an almost endless diversity of doctrinal system, each investigator being influenced by those notions (*idola* of Bacon) which are more rife and overpowering in theology than in any other branch of study. In like manner in the vegetable kingdom the investigator collects his materials from the whole surface of the earth, allied forms are brought together from the arid regions of the equator, and the frozen soil of the arctic circle, as well as from the green pastures of temperate climes. Each plant finds its place beside its allies, and all are built up into a single system, which is believed to express the plan of the Creator in this sub-kingdom of Nature. But here also the imperfections of the interpreter prevent the production of a perfect and uni-



ANEMONE (*Anemone coronaria*, Linn.), half natural size. ("Lily of the field," Matt. vi. 28.)

versally accepted expression of this plan. Different estimates of affinities, different values of structures, defective knowledge, and a thousand other things variously influence systematists at their work. Great progress has been made towards a true and natural system, but much yet remains to be done. The classification of Tournefort based on the corolla, that of Linnaeus on the entire flower, and other artificial systems, have disappeared before the natural system of Jussieu, as improved by Robert Brown, and developed by more recent investigators. In these papers I shall employ the arrangement of this system which is generally adopted in this country, and which is followed and illustrated in the great work on the plants of the world with which the De Candolles of Geneva, through three generations, have been occupied.

All plants group themselves naturally into two great classes—those which have flowers and true seeds, called Phanogams; and those without flowers and seeds, called Cryptogams. Every true seed contains a minute plant, with a store of food laid up either within the plant or around it. The structure of this seed-plant divides the Phanogams into two groups—the Dicotyledons, in which the plant has two seed-leaves or Cotyledons; and the Monocotyledons, which have but a single seed-leaf. These differences, though somewhat recon-
dite, are however very impor-

tant, and are accompanied by others, still more obvious, which pervade the whole aspect and structure of the two groups of plants characterised by them.

In the further division of the Dicotyledonous Phænogams the flower is of the first importance; its value does not, however, depend on the number of the parts, as Linnæus held, but on the individual structure and the relative position of these parts. Consequently the plants which are placed first in the systematic arrangement of the vegetable kingdom, are those characterised by having all the parts of the flower free from each other; and because all these parts spring independently from the end of the flower-stalk, called the receptacle or thalamus, this group of plants is called the *Thalamifloræ*. The natural order generally placed at the head of the thalamifloral flowering plants is the *Ranunculaceæ*, an order familiar to us from childhood, because some of the best-known and most common of our wild flowers are members of it.

ORDER I.:

RANUNCULACEÆ.

The pile-wort which covers with its golden flowers the moist corners of our meadows and pastures in spring, and the yellow buttercup which enlivens our woods and fields in early summer with its brilliant yellow flowers, are familiar representatives of this family. Though not so obvious,

yet no less beautiful are the water forms of the same genus, the white flowers of which adorn our ditches

and ponds throughout summer. With these and other species of *Ranunculus* are associated in this natural order many well-known herbs and some shrubs, which

agree in the general structure of the flower, though they differ greatly in appearance. Thus besides the regular and complete flower of the buttercup, and the larger and gaudier ones of the peony, there are the spurred petals of the larkspur and columbine, and the hooded calyx and hammer-like petals of the poisonous monk's-hood, and lastly the apetalous flowers of the *Clematis* and *anemone*. The want of the petals, the parts which usually give its beauty to the flower, in the two last-named genera is fully compensated by their flowers being furnished with large and often brightly-coloured sepals. The plants of this order grow all over the globe, but they are especially abundant in the temperate and arctic regions of the northern hemisphere. They all possess a colourless acrid juice, more or less poisonous; and though in some cases, like monk's-hood, the active principle of this juice is fixed and powerful, it is generally dissipated by heat, or even by the drying to which meadow-grasses are subjected when they are converted into hay.

This order is largely represented in the mountainous region of Palestine. Some generic forms which are unknown in Britain, or known only in our gardens, are added to those with which we are familiar. The species of buttercup are more numerous than with



FENNEL FLOWER (*Nigella arvensis*, Linu.), half natural size. Entire and cut fruits and group of seeds, natural size. Single seed, magnified. ("Fitches," Isa. xxviii. 27.)

us, no less than twenty-three having been recorded from the pastures and hill-sides of the Holy Land, the most remarkable being *Ranunculus Asiaticus*, Linn., the brilliant scarlet flowers of which abound on the Mount of Olives and elsewhere in early spring. The common traveller's joy (*Clematis Vitalba*, Linn.) of our hedges, so often used in making rustic bowers, reaches Palestine, but it is not so abundant as three other species of the genus, which have large and brightly coloured flowers. The leaves of our British plant are so acrid and caustic that they have been employed by mendicants to produce superficial ulcers, in order to move public pity, and the leaves of one of the Palestine species (*C. cirrhosa*, Linn.) are used in the East for blistering in place of cantharides. The hoary appearance which the white feathery appendages to the fruit give to these plants has suggested the common name of "old man's beard." Some larkspurs, which delight in dry and sandy soils, occur in the desert regions on the south and east of Palestine, while others are found in the more fertile soils of the mountain ranges. The pheasant's eye (*Adonis autumnalis*, Linn.), naturalised in many places in England, is a common plant in the Holy Land, and several other species of the same genus occur with it, some of which are cultivated in our gardens as border plants.

Several plants of this order largely contribute to the brilliant spring vegetation of Palestine, and of these the most remarkable is a species of anemone (*A. coronaria*, Linn.). This is more nearly related to the pasque-flower of our chalk downs, with its bright purple flowers and finely-cut leaves, than to the common anemone which in early spring everywhere clothes our woods with its more entire leaves and white flowers. This Eastern anemone has a large bright-coloured flower, purple, blue, white, or more generally brilliant scarlet, often with a crown of a different hue in the centre, from which it has derived its specific name. So striking an object in the landscape of Palestine is this plant, that Canon Tristram suggests that it may be the "lily of the field" to which the Saviour referred in the Sermon on the Mount. "It is found," he says, "everywhere, on all soils and in all situations. It covers the Mount of Olives, it carpets all the plains, nowhere does it attain a more luxuriant growth than by the shores of the Lake of Galilee. In the olive-yards of Ephraim, on the bare hills of Nazareth alike, there is no part of the country where it does not shine. Certainly if, in the wondrous richness of bloom which characterises the Land of Israel in spring, any one plant can claim pre-eminence, it is the anemone, the most natural flower for our Lord to pluck and seize upon as an illustration, whether walking in the fields or sitting on the hill-side" (*Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 465). It is most probable that the phrase "lilies of the field" (Matt. vi. 28) should be taken as a general term, for in the next sentence it is covered by the more general expression, "the grass of the field" (verse 30); and it is certain that among the floral treasures of Palestine, none could more

forcibly recall the royal scarlet of Solomon's robes than the richly-coloured velvet-like flower of this most abundant anemone. And the lesson of trust in God would be specially brought home to the Saviour's auditors when they realised how the fields that had been left dry, parched, and lifeless by the autumn sun, were now covered by a Father's hand with a wild flower whose dazzling colour no royal dyer could equal. The use of dry weeds and grass for heating ovens is as common in the East at the present day as it was in the time of our Lord, so that the figure has lost none of its power to the Oriental, and would vividly suggest child-like confidence in a Father who so cared for what would thus speedily wither and be completely destroyed.

If the Greek word (*κρίνον*) should be understood as meaning a lily in the more restricted sense, there is great difficulty in determining with any certainty what particular plant was intended. Different authors have on different grounds supposed it to be the tulip, the fritillary, the white lily, the narcissus, the amaryllis, and lastly, and perhaps with more likelihood as far as these plants are concerned, the scarlet martagon lily.

The prophet Isaiah refers to a plant of the order *Ranunculaceæ* (xxviii. 25—27) under the name קִצְאֵי *ketzai*, translated in our authorised version "fitches," that is, vetch, a small wild pea. The same interpretation is given also in Luther's German and in the generally used French translations. But there can be little doubt that the plant meant is the fennel-flower (*Nigella sativa*, Linn.). Several species of the genus to which this plant belongs are indigenous to Palestine, and the one named is extensively cultivated not only in the Holy Land, but in other countries in the East, on account of its hot and aromatic seeds, which are used both as a condiment and as a medicine. The plant is an annual, about a foot high, with finely-cut fennel-like leaves, and bluish flowers, in the centre of which are produced the fruits, consisting of five or six long capsules terminating in hard slender spines. Each capsule opens along the upper margin when ripe, and liberates numerous small black seeds, from which the plant has received the name *Nigella*, as it obtained that of fennel-flower from its leaves. These black seeds are sold on all the little provision stalls in the bazaars of Palestine and Egypt, and are chiefly used to season bread by being sprinkled over it either before or after it is baked. The ease with which the seeds are freed from the capsules exactly accords with the allusion made to them by the prophet, "The fitches are not threshed with a threshing instrument, neither is a cart-wheel turned about upon the cummin; but the fitches are beaten out with a staff, and the cummin with a rod" (Isa. xxviii. 27). The fine rod would be an efficient instrument for threshing them, while to use a "threshing instrument," or a "cart-wheel," would not only be absurd, but it would crush and destroy these small aromatic seeds.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—II.

THE PATRIARCHS.

ABRAHAM (*continued*).

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.

THE life of Abraham naturally divides itself into three sections:—1. The first seventy-five years spent in the country of his birth: of this period nothing whatever is told in the Bible, except the incident related by Stephen, the date of which is uncertain, but which with great appearance of probability is reckoned as having occurred five years before the departure from Haran.¹ 2. The next fifty years, or middle period of the life, embracing all the important events, and all save one of the Divine manifestations. 3. The last fifty years, during which there appears to have been no direct communication from God; the only recorded incidents being the death of Sarah, the marriage of Isaac, and the birth of the children of Keturah.

The life thus represented, regarded in its connections with the entire history of redemption, suggests many topics of surpassing interest, such as those handled by the writers of the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews. Here we put aside all such topics, as belonging to the domain of the theologian rather than to that of the biographer. Nor do we undertake the office of the latter. Our limits do not permit of an orderly, minute, and illustrated detail of all the incidents in the great patriarch's life. With these, as told in the Book of Genesis, all are familiar. To tell them over again seems needless—to tell them better were impossible. Our narrower task shall be to employ such of them as seem most suitable for the purpose of exhibiting the personal character of Abraham in three different aspects.

I.—IN DOMESTIC LIFE.

It was a small family circle, comprising only Lot, Sarah, and Abraham, which set out from Haran. But the whole caravan, embracing the servants, and the cattle, and all the substance, must have been imposing. Abraham's ancestors had long been princes or emirs among the people. He and Lot must have carried with them nearly one-half of the patrimonial estate. Their wealth, consisting chiefly of flocks and herds, was of a kind that augmented rapidly, cattle not then being killed for the market, as now. This wealth received no inconsiderable addition in the princely presents given by Pharaoh—"sheep and oxen, and he-asses, and man-servants and maid-servants, and she-asses and camels." Of Abraham, as he went up out of Egypt, we are told that he was "very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold." How much silver and gold Abraham had got by inheritance, or received from the king, or gained in profitable barter with the rich Egyptians, we have no means of

estimating; but we can form some idea of the extent of his wealth otherwise.

An ingenious but trustworthy calculation,² grounded upon the stock acquired by Jacob in Padan-aram, convinces us that Abraham and Lot's wealth in cattle did not much fall short of that of Job, who was "the greatest of all the men of the East."

At the shortest notice, Abraham armed three hundred and eighteen house-born slaves; all, of course, grown up to man's estate. There would be at least as many not capable of bearing arms. Add to this all absent with the flocks or above the age capable of such service, and we shall be within the mark in saying that such a body of followers as Abraham carried with him from Mamre to Dan could have been supplied only from a community of retainers of not less than 1,000 souls, requiring perhaps 100 tents. The long lines of black Bedouin tents that may still be seen stretching over the great plain of Esdraelon, with the many hundreds of followers gathered round some distinguished sheikh, help us to complete the picture of the camping ground of the patriarch.

Lot may not have been so rich as his uncle. There is no mention of gold and silver in his case; but from tents being entered as one of the items in his estate, we may infer that he, too, had a large body of retainers. "And Lot also, which went with him, had flocks, and herds, and tents." At first, when they entered the land together, with a sparse population scattered in villages and towns, and with large pasture grounds lying unappropriated, things went well enough; but on their return from Egypt, "the land was not able to bear them that they might dwell together, for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together." And there was a strife between the herdmen of Abraham's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle. The earliest on record this of those family quarrels about rights of property by which multitudes of human households have been so miserably dislocated. With what admirable discretion and good temper does Abraham deal with it; meddling not with the servants, inquiring not into the grounds and reason of the strife, entering into no details, but going at once to Lot and saying, "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left." What a bright constellation of the virtues—prudence, meekness, forbearance, unselfish-

¹ See Murphy on *Genesis*, page 291.² Kitto's *Antediluvians and Patriarchs*, p. 192.

ness, peace-lovingness, brotherly kindness, unbounded generosity—shine forth in the magnanimous proposal, all the more remarkable because of the age of the world in which it appears! In speculative ideas, gifted men have often preceded their own age by centuries—in moral sentiments such precedence has been rare. Yet here is Abraham, centuries before Christ, “walking in the moral atmosphere of the Sermon on the Mount,” by one act winning at least three of the beatitudes.

Of Lot's choice, and of what befell him afterwards in Sodom, it falls not to us to speak. He left his uncle a sad and solitary man, the deepest shade of the sadness being that which his own conduct had produced. The valley of the Jordan by his own free act closed against him, but the whole land beside lying open, Abraham removed from between Bethel and Hai to the immediate neighbourhood of Hebron. To a shepherd chief, whose main occupation was the care of his flocks and herds, and who had deliberately and permanently exchanged the house for the tent, two courses lay open—the one to be continually shifting his own tent with those of his retainers, seeking at each change fresh pasturages; or while fixing his own tent in some suitable locality, to send out trusty servants with his flocks. Until his coming to Mamre, Abraham appears to have adopted the first of these courses, and ever afterwards the second, dividing his time between Mamre and Beersheba. He could not have made a better choice. Hebron was the earliest seat of civilised life in Palestine—the only fixed habitation of man in southern Judea, its immediate neighbourhood singularly favourable for all kinds of tillage and garden culture, especially the growth of the vine. Abraham in the first instance did not take up his abode in the town of Hebron, which was occupied by a lowland Hittite tribe. The rich valleys which sloped down to it from the north were occupied by three chiefs of the Amorites (mountaineers), Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner, the first of whom gave his name not only to those oak-trees, beneath one of which Abraham's own tent was pitched, but for a time to the neighbouring town itself (see Gen. xxiii. 19; xxxv. 27). Here, after a brief repose, a new source of domestic disquiet opens. Hitherto it had been uncertain how the promise as to the seed was to be fulfilled. Sarah had given up the hope of having any children, and Abraham had thought of adopting one of his own house-born slaves (“a son of his house,” see Gen. xv. 3), and making Eliezer of Damascus his heir. But now, ten years after he has entered Canaan, it is distinctly and for the first time told him that it was to be his own child who was to be the heir of promise (Gen. xv. 4). This announcement stirred the longings of both into impatience. It prompted Sarah to suggest, and Abraham to adopt the proposal as to Hagar. But Sarah was not prepared for the change that the prospect of being the mother of her master's children made upon the dark daughter of Egypt. Abusing her new position—her vanity, perhaps, suggesting a quite different reason from the true one for her having attained it—Hagar becomes insolent to

her mistress, assuming the airs of a rival, in one sense a superior; in many petty ways—each small enough in itself, but each sufficiently galling—this altered temper being displayed. Difficult for Sarah to brook, but more difficult for Abraham to manage between the two. Did he in the entanglements of the feminine strife show himself sometimes too tolerant of the disrespect with which Hagar treated Sarah, or too lenient in the measures he took to repress it? Perhaps he did; it would have been but human so to err. But whatever his fault, it was not for Sarah, the originator of the scheme, to taunt him as she did; to throw the entire blame upon him; to come to him and, instead of saying, “The Lord judge between me and this upstart maid,” make him the chief culprit by declaring, “My wrong be upon thee: the Lord judge between me and thee.” A true picture this of feminine unreasonableness—wisely, kindly, gently dealt with—“Behold, thy maid is in thy hand; do to her as it pleaseth thee.” Perhaps the concession was too great—her new position did not alter Hagar's condition as a bond-servant, but it surely ought to have secured her against summary authority, exercised by Sarah without Abraham's consent. The custom of the times scarcely warranted such a treatment.¹ But Abraham saw and felt it was the only way to domestic peace, and he took it. By Hagar's flight and the manner of her return, the mistress was softened—the maid for the time subdued. Ishmael was born.

Year by year rolled on: he remained Abraham's only child. Was it not natural that he should be looked on as the heir, that on him should not only centre all a father's ordinary affection, but that around him should have gathered all that father's peculiar and exalted hopes? Thirteen years passed by, deepening the love, strengthening the impression—no hint from on high that any other child than Ishmael was to be born. It was after this long interval that God again appeared. Such the form he took, the name he gave himself, the words he uttered, that Abraham “fell on his face.” The earlier promise was renewed and enlarged; his name was changed; nations were to be made, kings to come out of him; an everlasting covenant with him was instituted, and the new seal of it (circumcision) appointed. As God thus “talked with him,” Abraham had recovered himself, had risen; when from the lips of God the new announcement came: “As for Sarai, I will bless her, and give thee a son also of her.” Then, for the second time, Abraham “fell upon his face and laughed;” not the laughter of incredulity, but of sheer surprise, of unbounded astonishment—a sentiment not uttered, but only “spoken in his heart.” The wonder has not died out, when quick into that heart a new thought flashes. He is to have another son, a child by Sarah; but what of Ishmael? is he to be cast out and disowned, cut off from the covenant and its blessings? For the moment all else is forgotten—all the great things that God had

¹ See Smith's Dictionary, art. “Hagar.”



MUGHEIR, SUPPOSED TO BE UR OF THE CHALDEES.

been telling him of—and from the prostrate, agitated father there comes the solitary moan, the one utterance of Abraham in all the interview: “O that Ishmael might live before thee!”¹ an expression of parental affection altogether singular for its depth and tenderness, considering the time and circumstances under which it was made.

The fears about Ishmael were not groundless. The birth of Isaac kindled afresh, and with redoubled bitterness, the strife between Hagar and Sarah. The one cannot bear to see the inferior position into which her son has been thrown; the other can see in Ishmael only a rival to her child, who has got too strong a hold upon his father’s heart. The climax of the evil comes upon the day of the weaning. Sarah sees Ishmael mocking her child. Resolved to endure no longer, she makes the bold demand: “Cast out the bondwoman and her son.” “The thing was very grievous in Abraham’s sight.” He makes no reply, he gives no consent. He turns away from Sarah. She reads sorrow rather than satisfaction, refusal rather than compliance in his look. It needed no less than a voice from heaven to make him yield, and when that voice came in the night season, as if fearful of any faltering in his obedience to it, he rose up “early in the morning,” summoned the

mother and the child, and put the bottle of water with his own hand on Hagar’s shoulder, as he sorrowfully sent her away.

Such was Abraham as brother, husband, father. Let us now look at him as a host. Ever since his appearance on the page of history, the Eastern nomad chief has been distinguished for his hospitality to strangers. Had Abraham’s example—powerful as, beyond all others, we know it to have been from the beginning down to the present times—anything to do with the formation and transmission of this great virtue of Eastern life? Never certainly, in ancient or modern times, were the duties of hospitality to the stranger discharged with finer tact or a more graceful courtesy. He sits in his tent-door at Mamre, in the heat of the day, to catch the passing breeze, under shadow of the old oak-tree. Three men, bearing all the marks of travellers, appear, moving as if intending to pass by. As soon as he sees, “he runs to meet them, and bows himself toward the ground.” He asks not, knows not, cares not who or what they are. Enough that they are strangers—that it is the hour for rest, and for the mid-day meal. One of the three has, perhaps, advanced a pace or two before the others. There is something singularly impressive in his aspect. Ignorant of his character and rank, Abraham, while still treating him as an ordinary wayfarer, gives to him a title and makes

¹ Gen. xvii. 18.

to him an obeisance befitting a prince. He asks, as a favour, to be allowed to shew some little kindness to the three. He makes the least of what he means to do. The "fine meal" (Gen. xviii. 6), the calf "tender and good" (ver. 7), are not spoken of. It is but a "little water" and a "morsel of bread" that he would bring. Nor need they fear any needless detention: a brief rest "under the tree," a slight refreshment by the way, and they might pass on, unburdened by the slightest sense of any debt incurred, for "therefore were they come unto their servant," that he might have the pleasure of paying to them this slight attention. The invitation, so frankly and so courteously given, is at once accepted. "And they said, So do, as thou hast said. And Abraham hastened into the tent to Sarah, and said, Make ready quickly three measures of fine meal, and knead it, and make cakes upon the hearth." In Arab camp life each family bakes its own bread, and never more than is required for a single day's consumption. It is astonishing with what rapidity the process is gone through. The writer had a good opportunity of watching it under the walls of the Convent of Marsaba, after a long day's journey from the Dead Sea. Our Arab guides and guards carried their food with them, not in the shape of baked bread, but in that of meal or flour. Soon as we halted, a fire was kindled upon a smooth but somewhat hollow rock; all kinds of withered leaves and branches were heaped upon the flame. The stone, warm already from a whole day's sunshine having beaten on it, very soon got as hot as was required. Meanwhile the dough had been made, and the cakes formed out of it. The embers and ashes, removed for a moment till the cakes were laid upon the stone, were then heaped over them. In a few minutes the baking was over, and when we tasted the product, we no longer wondered that the Arab preferred new-baked bread.

"And Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetched a calf tender and good, and gave unto a young man, and he hastened to dress it." In countries where it cannot be kept long, it would seem that the sooner meat is cooked and eaten the better. Orientals still follow Abraham's example. "With the Bedawin," says Dr. Thomson, "it is nearly universal to cook the meat immediately after it is butchered, and to bake fresh bread for every meal. Visit 'Akil Aga," for example, whose tent is now in the valley below us, and you will experience the entire process. A sheep or calf will be brought and killed before you, thrust instantaneously into the great caldron which stands ready on the fire, and ere you are aware it will reappear on the great copper tray with a bushel of *bürgül* (cracked wheat), or a hill of boiled rice and *leben*."¹

"And Abraham took butter and milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set it before them; and he stood by them under the tree, and they did eat." Could any more graceful figure be offered to the eye than that of the great patriarch standing by the

tent-door under the old oak, presiding at the mid-day meal? All through it is a charming picture of the olden patriarchal times. Could all the delicacy and refinement of modern manners suggest an addition to, or an improvement upon, Abraham's gentle courtesy and dignified politeness?

Thirty-seven years have passed at Beer-sheba, when Abraham is summoned to Mamre, on the occasion of Sarah's death there. He comes to mourn for and to bury her. Sad and lonely he bends over the dead. But he has another duty to discharge. Faith and affection require that for her, and for himself, and for his children, a secure and separate sepulchre be procured. As yet he had no possession of land in Canaan, not a foot of the soil that he could call his own. But he had already fixed his eye upon a cave at one end of a timbered field which fronted Mamre, belonging to Ephron the Hittite. Why not go to him at once and try to buy the place? Because it was not the age of written contracts and private purchases. No such securities as can be now attached to such transactions were then available. And Abraham wished to make his possession of this cave of Machpelah secure to his posterity. The only way in which he can do this is by a public act and deed in the presence of many witnesses. It was the custom of the times, besides, as it is the custom of Easterns still, to employ mediators in every transaction of this kind.

He rises, therefore, "from before his dead" with all the marks of sorrow on him, and placing himself in the gate of the city at the hour when the heads of the people met there, he waits till he sees Ephron the Hittite among the group. Then rising up, in words well fitted to win their sympathy, some of which have become proverbial in every Christian land, he says to the sons of Heth: "I am a stranger and a sojourner among you: give me a possession of a burying place with you, that I may bury my dead out of my sight." The answer from the Hittites is respectful, sympathising, generous: "Hear us, my lord: thou art a mighty prince (a prince of God) among us: in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us will withhold from thee his sepulchre." But this is not what he wants. The offer, courteously enough made, is tacitly but resolutely declined. He bows, and asks their intervention with Ephron to obtain for him the cave of Machpelah. Ephron rises in his turn without waiting the appeal from his townsmen. Abraham had spoken only of the cave. Ephron offers as well the field as a free gift—too generous an offer, whose acceptance might in the end be more costly, and would be less secure. Firm to his purpose, yet never failing in his courtesy, Abraham first bows again to the assembled citizens, and then turning to Ephron, insists on purchasing. In true Oriental fashion the son of Zohar says: "The land is worth four hundred shekels; what is that betwixt me and thee?"—above, perhaps, the real value, but Abraham has gained his point. The price is speci-

¹ *The Land and the Book*, p. 446.

fied. Ho has come prepared; the silver is weighed out on the spot, "current money with the merchant." The purchase is completed and ratified by a description of the property, succinct and lawyer-like, such as you might find in any deed of conveyance still. "And the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, and the cave that was therein, and all the trees that were in the

field, that were in all the borders round about, were made sure."

In manner so picturesque was the first commercial transaction, that we have any record of, carried out; and so was purchased the oldest family burying-ground that any land can show; its history in patriarchal times, its story down to our own days, rendering it the most interesting tomb in all the earth.

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.—II.

BY THE REV. W. F. MOULTON, M.A., PROFESSOR OF CLASSICS, WESLEYAN COLLEGE, RICHMOND.

CHAPTER I. (continued).

THE Anglo-Saxon versions which have come down to us comprise little more than the Psalter, the four Gospels, the Pentateuch, and some of the historical books of the Old Testament. Of the Psalter, three versions have been given to the world, edited by Spehnan (1640), Stevenson (1843), and Thorpe (1835). The last-mentioned version (from which Ps. ii. 3 is quoted in page 12) is found in the National Library of Paris; Ps. i.—li. are rendered in prose, the remainder in verse. It has been maintained that this is Aldhelm's translation, and is therefore as old as the seventh century: of this, however, there is not sufficient proof. It is more probable that all three versions belong to the ninth century. The version edited by Stevenson for the Surtees Society in 1843 is taken from a MS. in the British Museum: it is written between the lines of a Latin Psalter which is believed to belong to the sixth century, and to have been sent by Gregory the Great to Augustine, soon after his arrival in England¹ (A.D. 596). It need hardly be said that these translations are from the Latin, and not from the original Hebrew. For many hundred years Hebrew was almost an unknown language in Europe, and the old Latin version, or that of Jerome (partly a revision of the old Latin, partly a new translation), was the Bible of Western Christendom. The Latin Psalter which accompanies the Anglo-Saxon in the two MSS. of which we are now speaking, is not identical with that which is contained in ordinary editions of the Latin Bible: it represents the earliest of Jerome's revisions, known as the *Roman Psalter*. Of the Gospels, also, three versions are extant, belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries.² One of these, probably the earliest in date, was first published in 1571, by Archbishop Parker, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth, written by John Foxe; afterwards by Junius and Marshall (1665), by Thorpe (1824), and by Bosworth

(1865). Several MSS. of this version exist in our great libraries, some furnished with rubrics for guidance in public reading. Of the translator nothing is known, nor is it certain that the whole work is from the same hand. From certain peculiarities in the text of St. John's Gospel, Dr. Marshall was led to conjecture that in this Gospel we may have Bede's version, referred to in page 13. It is not probable that any portion of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels was derived immediately from the Greek original; but to all who study the text of the Latin New Testament this version is of great importance. The Latin text before the translator evidently agreed frequently with the oldest and best manuscripts of the Vulgate, properly so called, but not unfrequently with the translation in use before the time of Jerome. In Matt. v. 22, for example, "without a cause" is not found either in the Vulgate or in the Anglo-Saxon, though the more ancient Latin version contained the words; on the other hand, the 28th and 29th verses of the twentieth chapter of St. Matthew are in the Anglo-Saxon separated by a verse of considerable length, which Jerome rightly removed from the Latin text.

Another version is preserved in one of the Cotton Manuscripts in the British Museum, known as the "Book of Durham," the "Gospels of St. Cuthbert," or the "Lindisfarne Gospels." This manuscript contains the four Gospels in Latin, transcribed by Eadfrith, afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarne, late in the seventh century. About two hundred years later, probably, a priest named Aldred added an Anglo-Saxon "gloss" or word for word translation, writing it between the lines of the Latin text. A third version, similar to the last both in age and in character, is found in one of the manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: the names of the translators are given as Farman and Owun. This manuscript is usually known as the "Rushworth Gloss," or (from the name of the scribe who wrote the Latin text) the "Gospels of Maeregol."³

The illustration given below is taken from the Rushworth Gospels. The Latin words in the second line are part of John xiii. 2: "Et cena facta est cum zabulus (i.e., diabolus) jam misisset." The "gloss" which stands

¹ Baber, *New Testament by Wiclif*, p. lviii.

² An admirable edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels is now in course of publication at the Cambridge University Press, under the editorship of the Rev. W. W. Skeat. In this edition the readings of all the MSS., including the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Glosses, are carefully given. For an excellent description of the MSS., and of the printed editions, see the Introduction to Part II. (St. Mark).

³ Mr. Skeat has shown that the Rushworth is, to a considerable extent, a copy of the Lindisfarne Gloss.

And siththenn¹ o thatt ger² thatt Crist
 Wass off twelf winterr elde,
 Thegg comenn iuntill Gerrsalæm
 Att teggre³ Passkemesse;
 And heldenn thær thatt halghe⁴ tid⁵
 O thatt Judisskenn wise.⁶
 And Jesu Crist wass thær withth hemm,
 Swa summ⁷ the Goddspell kithethth.⁸
 And afterr thatt to tid wass gan,
 Thegg wendenn fra the temple:
 And ferrdenn⁹ toward Nazareth
 An dagges gang¹⁰ till effenn;
 And wendenn¹¹ thatt te Laferrd¹² Crist
 Withth hemm thatt gate¹³ come:
 And he wass tha¹⁴ behindenn hemm
 Bilefedd¹⁵ att te temple.

In the same library is a large volume entitled *Sowlehele* or *Salus Animæ*, containing amongst other poems a paraphrase of the Old and New Testaments in verse: this also is ascribed to some part of the twelfth century. Of greater interest is a version of Genesis and Exodus found in a MS. belonging to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The author is unknown, but probably lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. The following extract (taken from Dr. Morris's edition) relates to Gen. xlv. 1—6:—

Tho¹⁶ cam iosep swile rewthe¹⁷ upon,
 He dede halle ut the tothere gon,¹⁸
 And spac unethes,¹⁹ so e gret,²⁰
 That alle hise wite warth²¹ teres wet.
 "Ic am iosep, dredeth gu²² nogt,
 For gure helthe or²³ hider brogt;
 To ger ben nu²⁴ that derthe is cumen,
 Get sulen .v. fulle ben numen,²⁵
 That men ne sulen sowen ne sheren,²⁶
 So sal drugte²⁷ the felde deron."²⁸

The edition of the Anglo-Saxon Psalter referred to above as edited by Stevenson for the Surtees Society also contains a Northumbrian version of the Psalms, made from the Latin, probably near the close of the thirteenth century. As several MSS. of this version survive, we may fairly infer that it was widely known. Its merit will be seen from the subjoined specimen:—

PSALM CXXI.

1. I hove mine eghen²⁹ in hilles to se
 Whethen³⁰ sal come helpe to me.
2. Mi helpe sal be Laverd³¹ fra,
 That maked heven, erthe als-swa.³²
3. Noght in stiring³³ mi fote give he,
 Ne he sal slepe that yhemes³⁴ thi.
4. Loke, noght sal slepe, ne slepe sal wele,
 Whilke that³⁵ yhemes Irael.
5. Laverd yhemes the, Laverd in-schilder³⁶ be
 Over the right-hand of the.

¹ Afterwards.	¹⁰ A day's jour-	¹⁹ Uneasily.	²⁸ Eyes.
² In the year.	ney.	²⁰ Wept.	³⁰ Whence.
³ At their.	¹¹ Weened,	²¹ Face became.	³¹ Lord.
⁴ Holy.	thought.	²² You.	³² Also.
⁵ Time (compare	¹² Lord.	²³ Formerly	³³ So Wycliffe:
"eventide").	¹³ Way.	(ere).	"Give he not
⁶ In the Jewish	¹⁴ Then.	²⁴ Two years	in to stiring
manner.	¹⁵ Remaining.	are now.	(stirring)
⁷ So as.	¹⁶ Then.	²⁵ Yet shall	moving) thi
⁸ Showeth.	¹⁷ Such pity	five fully be	foot."
⁹ Fared, i.e. went	(ruth).	taken.	³⁴ Protecta.
("thorough-	¹⁸ He made all	²⁶ Resp.	³⁵ He that.
fare," "way-	the others	²⁷ Drought.	³⁶ Protector.
farer").	go out.	²⁸ Harm.	

6. Bi dai noght the sunne skalde the sal,
 Ne the mone bi night with al.
7. Laverd fra alle ivel yheme the,
 Laverd thi saule yheme he.
8. Laverd yheme thine in-gang and thine out-gang,
 Fra hethen,³⁷ and in to world lang.

In the first half of the fourteenth century appeared many metrical paraphrases of portions of Scripture, which it is impossible here to enumerate. The following version of the Lord's Prayer³⁸ belongs to this period:—"Vader ouro thet art ine henenes, y-halged by thi name. cominde thi riche³⁹. y-worthe thi wil as ine heuene: and ine erthe. bread oure echedayes: yef ous to day. and norlet⁴⁰ ous oure yeldinges⁴¹: ase and we norleteth oure yelderes⁴¹. and ne ous led nagt: into nondinge. æc vri ous vram queade. zuo by hit."

About the same period we meet with two versions of the Psalter, the earliest versions of any book of Scripture in English prose. The former of these was executed (about 1327) by William of Shoreham, near Sevenoaks: the second, later by a few years only, by Richard Rolle, of Hampole, near Doncaster. Of the latter many copies are still extant. The subjoined specimens are taken from the Preface to Forshall and Madden's edition of the Wycliffite versions:—

PS. XXII. (XXIII.), SHOREHAM'S VERSION.

1. Our Lord gouerneth me, and nothyng shal defailen to me; in the stede⁴² of pasture he sett me ther.
2. He norissed me vp⁴³ water of fyllynge; he turned my soule fram the fende.
3. He lad me vp the bistiges⁴⁴ of rigthfulnes; for his name.
4. For gif⁴⁵ that ich haue gon amidde of the shadowe of deth; Y shal nought douten inels, for thou art wyth me.
5. Thy discipline and thyn amendyng; comforted me.
6. Thou madest radi grace in my sight; ogayns hem⁴⁶ that truben me.
7. Thou makest fatt myn heued wyth mercy; and my drynke makand⁴⁷ drunken ys ful clere.
8. And thy merci shal folwen me; alle daies of mi lif.
9. And that ich wonne⁴⁸ in the hous of our Lord; in lengthe of daies.

PS. LXXVIII. (LXXIX.), RICHARD ROLLE'S VERSION.

1. God, gens⁴⁹ come in thin heritage; thi filed thi holy temple, thei sette Jerusalem in kepyng of appuls.
2. Thei sette the dyande boiyes of thi seruants mete to the fowles of the lyft;⁵⁰ flesche of thi halowes⁵¹ to bestis of erthe.
3. Thei spille hore⁵² blode as watir in vmgong of⁵³ Jerusalem; and none was for to graue.⁵⁴
4. Made we are reprofe to oure neghghors; skornunge and bething⁵⁵ to alle that in our vmgong are.
5. Howe longe, Lord, shalt thou be wrothe in ende; kyndelt shal be thi luf⁵⁶ as fire.

That these versions are derived from the Vulgate may very easily be seen, by comparing them with the Roman Catholic translation (the "Douay Bible"),

³⁷ Hence.	³⁸ Specimens of Early English, by Morris and Skeat: Part II., p. 105.
³⁹ Kingdom (German, Reich).	⁴² Place.
⁴⁰ Let alone.	⁴³ Upon.
⁴¹ Debts, debtors ("yielders").	⁴⁴ Paths.
	⁴⁵ If.
	⁴⁶ Them.
	⁴⁷ Making.
	⁴⁸ Dwell.
	⁴⁹ Nations.
	⁵⁰ Air.
	⁵¹ Saints.
	⁵² Their.
	⁵³ Round about.
	⁵⁴ Bury.
	⁵⁵ Contempt.
	⁵⁶ Love.

which is avowedly made from the Latin. Thus in Ps. xxiii. 1, 2, 5, the Douay rendering is as follows: "The Lord ruleth me: and I shall want nothing. He hath set me in a place of pasture. He hath brought me up, on the water of refreshment. Thou hast anointed my head with oil; and my chalice which inebriateth me, how goodly is it!" The last clause in

Ps. lxxix. 1 stands thus: "They have made Jerusalem as a place to keep fruit."

We have now reached in our review the middle of the fourteenth century. Before the close of this century the whole Bible had been rendered into English by John Wycliffe and his followers. Their labours will next claim our attention.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.—II.

BY THE REV. DR. GINSBURG.

BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND SCHOOLS.



FIFTHLY. The *gamul*, or weaned child (Isa. xi. 8; xxviii. 9; Ps. cxxxi. 2), commenced its independent life by a feast which the parents gave to their friends and relations on the day of the weaning (Gen. xxi. 8).

A similar custom obtains among the Persians and other nations. We have already seen that this took place when the child was about three years of age. Hence we find that when Samuel was weaned, and his mother took him up to the Tabernacle to appear before the Lord, he was old enough to be left with Eli to be initiated in the service of the sanctuary (1 Sam. i. 24—28). This will also explain the reason why no provision was made for the children of the Levites before they were three years old (2 Chron. xxxi. 16), since up to this age they were still dependent upon their mothers for nutriment.

6. The *tuph*, or little trotter, as the Bible designates the weaned child, is mentioned no less than forty-two times in the Scriptures, chiefly in the Pentateuch, and is generally rendered in the authorised version "little one" or "little children." From the fact that they always held to and trotted after their mothers in walking, they are often coupled together with the women, so that "the little ones and the women" is become a technical phrase (Numb. xiv. 3; xxxi. 9; Deut. ii. 34; xx. 14; Josh. viii. 35; Judg. xxi. 10; Esth. iii. 13; viii. 11). As their age extends from three to about twelve years, they were considered old enough to have formed certain habits, and to be able to attend to instruction. Hence under certain circumstances and among certain conquered nations they were not spared (Numb. xxxi. 17, 18; Judg. xxi. 10). For the same reason this expression *tuph* is used in conjunction with men and women, to describe all the three classes of human beings who came under the operation of specific laws or regulations (Deut. iii. 6; xxxi. 12; Jer. xl. 7; xliii. 6).

Shortly after the boy entered upon this stage of life—that is to say, when he was between three and four years of age—he was dressed in the fringed, or more correctly the tasselled garment, in accordance with the injunction contained in Numb. xv. 38—41, and Deut. xxii. 12. Like most of the laws in the Pentateuch, the precept about the tasselled garment is very concise. It simply declares that the children of Israel are to append tassels consisting of several threads to the four corners

of their garments, and that each of these tassels is to contain one distinguishing thread of deep blue. The object of these tassels, we are told, is that the children of Israel are constantly to look at them in order to be reminded by them of the Divine commandments, to keep them.

The details connected with these tassels, like the details of the other rites, were entirely left to be carried out by the spiritual guides of the people. As the design of the tassels was to remind the Jews of God and his Law, and moreover as the precepts contained in the Law were determined by the Doctors of the Law to consist of 613, the authorised expounders of the Law endeavoured so to work out the details of the tassels as to make them symbolically to declare both the unity of the Deity and the number of the revealed precepts. Hence they fixed that the four tassels should respectively consist of seven threads of white wool, the emblem of purity and holiness (Isa. i. 18), and of one thread of deep blue, the emblem of the heavens where the Divine Majesty is enthroned (*Cholîn* 89). To express the unity of God, that is, the phrase "Jehovah is one" (= *Jehovah êchad*, יהוה אחד), they ordained that one of the eight threads in each tassel is to be longer than the rest, and is to be wound round the others thirty-nine times, which is the numerical value of the phrase in question, in the following manner:—First wound round seven times followed by a double knot, then eight times followed by a double knot, thus making 15 (= *יה*), the first half of the Tetragrammaton; then again eleven times and a double knot, constituting the second half of the ineffable name (*i.e.* 11 = *יה*); and finally fifteen times and a double knot, so as to obtain the numerical value of the word "one" (*אחד* = 15). Whilst this collective number yielded the words which constituted the distinguishing creed of the Hebrew nations, and which was inscribed on their banners, the five knots in each tassel symbolised the Five Books of the Law. Then again the numerical value of the Hebrew word for tassels (*זיזית*, *zizith*), which is 600, with the eight threads and five knots exactly represent the 613 precepts, thus constituting a perfect symbol of the Law. The following prayer is offered when the tasselled garment is put on:—"Blessed art thou, O Lord, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and enjoined us to array ourselves with tassels." The Jews have always attached

the greatest importance to this garment. The Talmud relates that "R. Joseph asked R. Joseph b. Rabba, 'Which commandment has your father admonished you to observe more than any other?' He replied, 'The law about the tassels. Once when my father, on descending a ladder, stepped on one of the threads and tore it off, he would not move from the place till it was repaired'" (*Sabbath* 118 b). Some of the Rabbins go so far as to declare that the commandment about the tassels is as important as all the other laws put together (comp. Rashi on Numb. xv. 38—40). It was this extreme importance attached to the tasselled garment, and the sanctity ascribed to it, which made the woman with the issue of blood (Matt. ix. 20) and the inhabitants of Gennesaret (Matt. xiv. 36) so anxious to touch a fringe or tassel of the Saviour's garment.

The tasselled garment was originally an outer one, consisting of an oblong piece of cloth with a hole in the centre, through which the head was put, thus dividing it into two halves, one covering the front and the other the back of the body. It in fact resembled a tunic.

When in after times the Jews were dispersed among other nations, and became a by-word and a hissing, this ancient badge of distinction became a signal of persecution, inasmuch as it indicated that the wearer of it was an Israelite. Hence the Jews found it necessary to convert this outer garment into an inner one, and to diminish its size. In this altered form every orthodox Jew wears the tassels to the present day.

It was at this period that the child's education began. During its earliest years the mother had the sole teaching of the child (*Prov.* xxxi. 1), but when the boy became older the father undertook the religious instruction in accordance with the injunction laid down in *Exod.* xiii. 8; *Deut.* iv. 9; vi. 7; xi. 19; xxxi. 12, 13; xxxii. 46. Girls always remained under the control of their mother till they were married (2 *Maccab.* iii. 19). Though the Bible does not fix the precise age when the boy's education is to commence, the Talmud found it necessary to determine the period. Thus we are told that "at the age of five the boy is to begin to learn the Bible, at ten the Mishna, and at fifteen the Talmud" (*Aboth* v. 21). This is all the more interesting to us since there can hardly be any doubt that this rule existed in the time of Christ, and that the parents of our Saviour and the apostles acted in accordance with it. With the exception of princes, who had priests and prophets to educate their children (2 *Sam.* xii. 25⁴), and the public lectures delivered by the prophets on the festivals (2 *Kings* iv. 22, 23), the office of teaching in ordinary families devolved upon the parents. They were the teachers. This natural duty was a welcome occupation to a people who led a rural life, and whose Sabbaths and festivals freed them from labour more than a sixth part of the whole year. In these leisure hours the parents, who were strictly forbidden to engage in any secular work,

were in constant contact with their children; and the many symbols, rites, and ceremonies connected with these institutions were used by them as so many illustrated narratives of the dealings of God. It is this circumstance which accounts for the fact that the name "school" does not occur in the Bible previous to the Babylonish captivity. When the Jews became entangled in foreign affairs, and when they engaged in commercial transactions with other nations, which involved the absence of the father from home, thus depriving the child of his natural teacher, then regular schools had to be established.

We possess minute information on the education of children, and the arrangement of schools, which obtained after the Babylonish captivity and at the time of Christ. A school or teacher was required for every five-and-twenty children. When there were only forty children in a community they were allowed to have one master and an assistant (*Baba Bathra* 21 a). Not to impair the health or endanger the lives of the children, the school was not allowed to be established in the most densely crowded part of the town, nor near a river which had to be crossed by an insecure bridge (*Pesachim* 112 a; *Baba Bathra* 21 a). The father himself, as a rule, saw to it that the child should be in the class at the proper time. Even so distinguished a doctor as Rabba b. Huna, we are told, never partook of his breakfast till he had taken his son to school (*Kiddush*. 30 a). The course of study pursued in the metropolis was more extensive (Prologue to *Ecclesiastics*, and *Eccles.* xxxviii. 24, &c.; xxxix. 1, &c.). Extracts from the Law, the Prophets, and the sayings of the sages, however, constituted the lessons of all children alike (*Eccles.* ii. 9—11; *Mishna*, *Aboth* i. 1). Thus we are told that the children had scrolls on which were written passages of Scripture, such as the *Shema* (i.e., *Deut.* vi. 4), the *Hallel* or Festival Hymns (i.e. *Ps.* cxiv.—cxviii., cxxxvi.), the History of the Creation (*Jerusalem Megilla* iii. 1; *Gittin* 60 a; *Sopherim* v. 9), &c. Instruction was imparted in questions and answers, or in a catechetical form. After the master had delivered his dicta or theme, the pupils asked different questions (*Luke* ii. 46), which he frequently answered by parables or counter-questions (*Matt.* xvi. 13, &c.; xxii. 17—22; *Luke* x. 25, &c.). Sometimes the teacher introduced the subject by simply asking a question connected with it. The replies given by the pupils constituted the discussion, which the master at last terminated by pointing out the most appropriate answer. Thus when the celebrated R. Jochanan b. Zakkai, who flourished about thirty years before Christ, wanted to inform his disciples what was the most desirable thing for a man to secure, he asked them, "What is the best thing for a man to possess?" One replied, "A kind nature;" another, "A good companion;" another, "A good neighbour;" another, "The power to foresee consequences;" whilst Eleazar said, "A good heart." Whereupon R. Jochanan remarked, "I prefer Eleazar's answer to yours, for in it all your answers are comprehended" (*Aboth* ii. 9). What a striking illustration this mode of teaching

¹ The Hebrew of this passage implies that Nathan had the charge of the royal child, and therefore he was sent by God to name him.

furnishes of the questions put by our Saviour to his disciples in Mark viii. 27—30!

In addition to the instruction in the Bible and in the sayings of the sages, the greatest care was bestowed in teaching the children good manners. They were taught to salute every one whom they met in the street (*Aboth* iv. 10), and not to respond to a salutation was regarded as committing a robbery (*Berachoth* 6 b). An ordinary man was greeted with the words, "Peace be with thee" (*Judg.* xix. 20); a teacher, "Peace be with thee, my teacher and my master;" and a king, "Peace be with thee, my king! peace!" (*Rashi* on *Berachoth* 27 b;

or the strong boy, that is, when he has passed the age of twelve. Indeed, as the *elem* soon merges into the *nâar*, that is, the grown-up youth, the former appellation only occurs twice in the Scriptures (1 Sam. xvii. 56; xx. 22), and is most inconsistently translated in the authorised version in the first instance "the stripling," and in the second instance "the young man." In the life of the boy, however, this period is marked by the transition from religious irresponsibility to responsibility. Up to the age of twelve the parents are regarded as answerable for the boy's conduct, and they have the absolute control of his ritual performances.

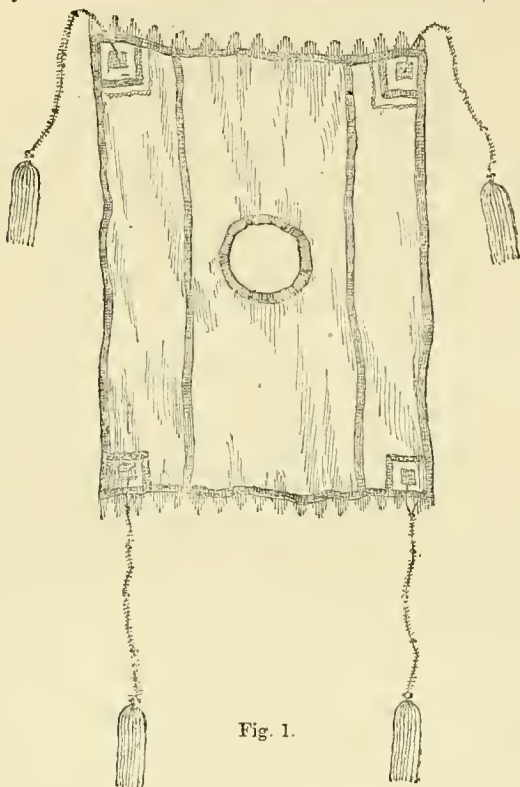


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

TASSELLED OR FRINGED GARMENTS.

Gittin 62 a). These salutations were not only current in the time of Christ, and were used by our Saviour himself (*Luke* xxiv. 36; *John* xx. 19), but are still heard in the East to this day. "Seven things," we are told, "are seen in the conduct of an educated man, and seven in the behaviour of an uneducated person. An educated man (1) will be quiet in the presence of one more educated than himself; (2) will not interrupt any one speaking; (3) will not give a hasty answer; (4) will ask appropriate questions; (5) will give suitable answers; (6) will reply to the first thing first, and the last thing last, and (7) will candidly say when he does not know anything. The reverse of these seven things will be seen in the uneducated (*Aboth* v. 10). This may be regarded as a fair description of a boy's education in the time of Christ.

7, 8. Little is said in the Bible about the *elem*,

But after twelve the parents have to present him to the Lord. Hence when Christ "was twelve years old they went up to Jerusalem" (*Luke* ii. 42). The practice of inducting the boy at the age of thirteen as member into the community, thus corresponding to our confirmation, is observed by the Jews to this day. The manner in which the youth is received as member is solemn, impressive, and instructive. On the morning of the day on which the boy is thirteen he for the first time puts on the phylacteries at the recital of the daily morning prayer. The phylacteries, two of which are worn by every male on week-day mornings during the time of prayer, one on the head and one on the left arm, are small square boxes, made either of parchment or black calf-skin, in which are enclosed slips of vellum with *Exod.* xiii. 2—10, 11—16; *Dent.* vi. 4—9, 13—22, written on them.

THE OLD TESTAMENT.—II.

THE PENTATEUCH.

GENESIS.

BY THE VERY REV. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

THE first book of the Pentateuch, called in Hebrew *Bereshith* (*In the beginning*), and in Greek *Genesis* (*Generation*), is occupied with events anterior to the time of Moses, and relating in part only to the Mosaic institutions. But without some such introduction, not merely would those institutions have been in great measure unintelligible, but they would have concerned one small nation only, which never possessed any large political influence, and have been destitute of all general interest. It is the Book of Genesis which connects them with the fortunes of the whole world; which draws aside the curtain from the obscure beginnings of mankind, discloses to us the main facts of his early history, and shows what was the relation which the Jew held to the Gentile, and in what way the destinies of all nations were affected by the position of that people, which it was the business of Moses to form.

If, then, the rest of the Old Testament is Jewish, the Book of Genesis is wide as the whole world; and the Gospel, in revealing a way of salvation open to all languages, and nations, and tongues, was but reverting to the old ground taken up at the beginning; while the Jewish polity and law was the connecting link between the two, and was called into existence, not for its own sake, but as the means for carrying out a purpose as universal as creation itself (Rom. viii. 19—23).

The narratives, then, of the Book of Genesis are of universal interest. They give us the creation and purpose of the world, the fortunes of its earliest inhabitants, the upgrowth of primal nations, the original settlement of mankind, and the gradual formation of one special nation called to play a unique part in human history. Whence did Moses obtain these narratives? How did he become possessed of this extraordinary knowledge?

Now the current idea that he received the contents of the Book of Genesis by special revelation is at variance with everything in the book itself. Upon the very face of it, Genesis is a compilation, and is stated so to be. Besides the account of creation, there are no less than eleven separate documents in it, each beginning with the title, "These are the generations;" each at its commencement somewhat recapitulating the previous history, and, excepting the first—the generation of the heavens—each connecting the narrative with the fortunes of some one remarkable man.

Whence, then, did Moses obtain these documents? We conclude that they were records preserved by the heads of the Semitic race; and for this reason—that there is no attempt made to reduce them to verbal agreement. Thus, Esau's wives are mentioned in Gen. xxvi. 34, in "the generations of Isaac;" and again in chap. xxxvi. 2, in "the generations of Esau."

The facts are identical; the names are different. In each case those given in the document are retained. Now this fact is one of the strongest internal testimonies that we have to do with genuine historical records. Had there been that dovetailing and resetting and skilful manipulation by a series of Jehovahists and Deuteronomists which the new race of critics suppose, Esau's wives would have been managed better. As it is, they testify to the fidelity with which these documents have been preserved for us.

For a long time these records must have been handed down from generation to generation by oral tradition. I need say nothing in proof of the extreme accuracy with which, in the East, the genealogies of the tribes, and even whole treatises containing, it may be, the doctrines of some philosophic sect, or the like, are thus preserved. When writing became common, and still more since printing has made the multiplication of records so easy, the memory has ceased to be that faithful guardian of matters entrusted to its keeping which it was when it alone was answerable for the preservation of human knowledge. What I am more anxious to point out is the effect of this method upon the documents themselves. A printed or written record may be diffuse, and enter into exact details. A record entrusted to the memory must be succinct and compendious, and must omit details. Now half the difficulties in the Book of Genesis arise from commentators dealing with it as they would with modern materials. Forgetting that in Genesis we have the oldest records in existence; that for a vast period they were preserved simply by the memory; that they have been cast into a form fit for the memory to retain, and that, therefore, they omit all unnecessary details, commentators discuss and criticise them in a manner suitable only to modern written documents. Effects of this will be pointed out hereafter; but bearing it in mind, we propose now to take in order the twelve portions of which Genesis consists.

The first is the account of creation, and extends to the end of the 3rd verse of chap. ii. Now of this we grant that the knowledge contained in it could have been made known to the writer only by revelation; and, accordingly, this portion alone is without the heading "These are the generations." To whom the revelation was made we know not; whether to one of the patriarchs or to Moses himself. Let us suppose the latter; and that during his forty years' sojourn in Midian, while God was forming him for his high office, and he was himself studying these old records of the history of his race, of which he had obtained copies during the previous period in which he had been a powerful prince of the royal family; let us, I say, suppose that during this contemplative period of his life this history of

creation was made known to him. We are quite sure that Moses was well acquainted with the traditions of his race, because it was this knowledge which made him take his side with them, and abandon his high position to share their misery. We know, too, that he lived at a period when literature flourished in Egypt, and when there were many scholars occupied with the study of the past. Naturally, therefore, he would acquaint himself with the documents preserved in the archives of his race. Whether or not he found the history of creation among these records, or received it himself by revelation, makes no practical difference in its value. But how was the revelation made? The study of the narrative makes it probable that it was by a succession of scenes passing before the prophet's mental vision, and leaving certain great truths deeply impressed upon his mind.¹ To these scenes he has prefixed a preface, consisting of the first two verses; the conceptions in which are as grand as they are philosophically true. God is all in all; the sole Author of being; the One who alone both is and works by His own power; and matter is created by Him, and subordinate to His will. But at first all is shapeless and void: the sole moving thing in that formless abyss is the Spirit of God, present to evoke life and energy out of the chaotic mass. And then follow six scenes, each described as an evening—a period of deepening gloom—and a morning—a period of growing light—and the two forming one creative day. What vast intervals may have elapsed between each of these days we know not. It is more important to notice that much, necessarily, is metaphorical. When God spake, it was not by an articulate voice ringing through the air, but as he speaks now, by a law silently impressed upon the material universe. Those laws are eternal; and, therefore, in obedience to the command, "Let there be light," not merely does the sun now shine, but numerous other changes in matter, in obedience to the laws of chemical affinities, are accompanied by the emission of light and heat.

The creative document is a grand and glorious introduction to the rest of Holy Scripture; but it was not intended to teach geology or astronomy: rightly understood, it does not contradict these sciences, but its real object was to set forth two main truths—the first, that all the laws and workings of nature are the workings of God; the second, that of all this working man is the final cause. In every stage of creation God is the active principle pervading all; of all that is done man is the end, and the earth was made such as it is that it might be a fit stage for human activity. Yet, though creation is described thus partially, as the adaptation of the world simply to be a habitation for man, there is, nevertheless, a wonderful real agreement with our advancing knowledge of astronomy and geology, and especially with what is called the nebular hypothesis of creation.

At first there is a shapeless existence of matter, which, as it consolidates, is pervaded by light. Next begins the work of separation. In the second scene the globe of the

earth has been formed, and has cooled enough for the watery vapours to condense and descend as rain upon its surface; while round it an expanse, as the word translated "firmament" means in the Hebrew—an open space—is left; an atmosphere or sky, in which vapours uncondensed can float. And then the earth begins to dry, and partly by volcanic action, partly by rents and rifts in the crust of the earth, as its cooling mass contracted, vast receptacles are formed for the waters, and dry land appears. This land gradually is covered by vegetation, rising at last to its perfection in the fruit-bearing tree; and the seer points out how, from the first, a law was impressed on all vegetative life by which its reproduction was ensured.

The fourth day marks a period of repose. The scene set forth before the prophet's eyes was the green earth, illumined by the bright shining of the sun; while the moon and the stars lit up the evening gloom. The earth is no longer enveloped by clouds, but has cooled enough for the atmosphere to be clear; while the exuberant vegetation of the third period has absorbed the carbonic gases noxious to animal life.

Now it is possible that the higher forms of vegetation did not come into existence until the atmosphere was thus cleared. Fish, birds and beasts may all have been created before the highest vegetable forms were reached. There is nothing in the creative record requiring us to reject whatever geologists may tell us on this subject. All that Moses teaches us is that the third great stage in creation was the clothing of the earth, as it dried, with vegetation. The interposition of the fourth day leads us to suppose that there was a long period between the earliest stages of vegetable and of animal life. But the special work of the third day did not end upon it. It is going on at this very minute, and vegetation is still adapting itself to the changes in progress upon the face of the earth. Let a land be drained, and a higher vegetation will immediately take the place of the endogenous plants which previously flourished there.

The last two stages are occupied with the production of the various forms of animal life. On the fifth day we have all animals sprung from eggs, and of these the highest form is reached in those huge saurians, which form the glory of geological museums. In our version the word is wrongly translated "whales." The original word really includes all animals of the serpent and lizard class, and is specially used of the crocodile (rendered "dragon" in Isa. li. 9; Ezek. xxix. 3; but "whale" in Ezek. xxxii. 2). Whales, with all the mammalia, are reached only on the sixth day; and the perfection of creation is represented as man; and to man lordship over the rest is therefore given.

But with this the narrative is not content. It further connects man directly with God. He is made only after divine counsel has been taken; he bears the effigy and stamp of divinity upon him; and the seventh day is consecrated for him as a day of rest, because he is capable of communion and converse with the infinite God. Such is the record of creation with which the Christian Scriptures begin.

¹ Compare Hugh Miller's *Testimony of the Rocks*, sect. iv.

The second document commences at chap. ii. 4, and reaches the end of chap. iv. It is called the "generations of the heaven and the earth," and contains a record of Adam's creation, of his original state, of his fall, of the promise upon which all revelation turns, and of the first step towards the fulfilment of that promise in the birth of Seth. The document is more or less allegorical, and as such is referred to in the Revelation of St. John, where the same metaphor of the Tree of Life, with which Scripture begins, is again used in its closing words; and the New Jerusalem takes the place of the Paradise of Eden. But while we can never tell how much is simple fact, and how much allegory, the doctrines of this section are not merely most clear, but are the framework of the whole of the rest of the Bible. It teaches us of man's original state of innocency, of woman taken from his flank—"rib" is a quaint old mistranslation—to be his second self, the author first of his ruin, and then of his recovery, and the mother of the avenging Seed; of his peaceful toil in Paradise, of his fall wrought by the machinations of an enemy from without, and of the promise of a Deliverer. Upon the fall follows death by a brother's hand, and the separation of mankind into the children of God and the race of Cain, who are, however, described as foremost in all the arts of civilisation, and famous, if we may judge by their names, for the beauty of their women.

It is in this record that we first find that remarkable use of the name of the Deity, which has been the fruitful source of so much modern criticism. In the account of creation the Deity is called simply God, in Hebrew Elohim. Here he is called Jehovah God, Jehovah Elohim. Now the name Jehovah was the especial title of the Deity in his covenant relation to the Jews, and God says of it to Moses, that he was known to Abraham and the patriarchs by the name El-Shaddai, God Almighty, "but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them" (Exod. vi. 3). But this cannot mean that the name itself was unknown to them till the time of Moses; for besides other proper names Moses' own mother is called Jochebed (*Jehovah's glory*); and the word would not have been thus shortened, unless its use in proper names had become common. The meaning must rather be that the name Jehovah was now to be the peculiar title of the Deity in his relation to the Jews. Still from the first there was something especially sacred about it. And thus it is used very appropriately in this second record, in which man is introduced to us in covenant with God; but henceforward both names occur in nearly every section of Genesis, though Jehovah, rendered in our version "LORD" in capitals, is used with a fuller meaning, and is never put into the mouth of any but members of the chosen family.

It would involve too large a space to enter upon the numerous other questions connected with this section. Let us simply mention one most easy to ask, most difficult to answer: Was this creation of man the same as that recorded in the previous section? Were Adam and Eve the male and female spoken of in Gen. i. 27? The

brevity of the narrative, and its evident intention to teach us spiritual truths, and not those of anthropology, render all such speculations out of place. Cain, however, speaks as if the children of Adam were not the sole inhabitants of the earth (chap. iv. 14, 15, 17), and there is often in the Hebrew a contrast between the *Adam*, the name given to Adam's descendants, and men generally. For instance, in chap. iv. 26 it is not the family of Adam, but the *Enosh* who begin to call upon the name of Jehovah. But passing over such questions as incapable of solution, and among them I class all discussions about the geography of the garden of Eden, which a great bishop in the thirteenth century, Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, ingeniously explained of the convolutions of the human brain, I proceed to the third section, "The book of the generations of Adam" (chap. v.—vi. 8).

This section is the groundwork of all attempts to frame a chronology of the antediluvian period, but is obviously unfitted for this purpose; for it has come down to us in three shapes, of which the Samaritan makes the space from Adam to the flood 1307 years, the Hebrew text in its present form 1656, and the Greek text of the Septuagint 2262 years. Which of these texts is of primary authority, no living scholar would venture to say. The object of the section, besides giving us the genealogy of the Messiah, is to introduce the account of the general corruption of mankind leading on to the flood. As regards the extreme longevity of the patriarchs, it is to be noted that the account is consistent with itself; for they are represented as not arriving at maturity till what with us would be an advanced age. Noah is even 500 years old before he has a son; Methuselah and Lamech are 180; Enoch, the youngest of all, is 65. But we probably have a compendium merely, of which the explanation is now impossible, owing to the loss of the traditionary knowledge once handed down with it. Perhaps each patriarch at first had his own "generations," which Moses may have omitted, as conducing nothing to the purpose of his work. That something of this sort has happened is suggested by this alone being called a "book"—a word belonging to far later times. I will only further notice that the 120 years mentioned in chap. vi. 3, do not signify the shortened space now allotted to human life, but the respite between the prediction of the deluge and its fulfilment; and that the names of the patriarchs are in very antiquated Hebrew, resembling more closely some of the Phœnician dialects.

As regards the intermarriages which caused man's wide-spread depravity, the Hebrew gives a very different idea from what is currently supposed. It says, "It came to pass when the Adam began to multiply upon the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them, that the sons of the Elohim saw the daughters of the Adam." "Elohim" means not merely God, but mighty men, and is rendered "judges" in Exod. xxi. 6; xxii. 8. These "sons of the mighty" could not possibly be the descendants of Seth, who very properly would marry daughters of the Adam, of which they were members themselves; but whether they were the descendants of

Cain, who possibly on his flight from home had forfeited the Adamic name, and who certainly were the most advanced in civilisation and wealth, is more than I can tell. But certainly it was not the women, but these bold, strong men, who introduced vice and depravity among the descendants of Seth. The fourth section, "The generations of Noah," extending from chap. vi. 9 to the end of chap. ix., gives the account of the flood, for which the previous section had served as an introduction.

The general truth of this narrative is confirmed not merely by the universal traditions of mankind, but by recent discoveries, one of the most interesting of which is the Chaldaean account of the deluge lately deciphered by Mr. G. Smith, from terra-cotta tablets in the British Museum, brought from Nineveh. But besides this the internal evidence shows that we have to do with a document which has preserved the original statements of an eye-witness. It would need the intervention of but one or two persons to convey Shem's account of the flood to Abraham, in whose days it was probably committed to writing. And thus in chap. vii. 19 we may well conclude that we have Shem's own words, narrating the awful sight which presented itself to him as he gazed from the ark, the waters mightily prevailing everywhere as far as the eye could reach, and every mountain under the whole sky or horizon covered. Many commentators have indeed imagined that "the whole heaven" is to be taken in an astronomical sense, of the whole atmosphere enveloping the earth; but this is to do violence to the language, and to mistake the whole character of the record. It is a veritable history, carefully preserved by tradition in the family of Shem till the age of writing. "The whole heaven"—i.e. the whole sky—means just what it would in our mouths—the whole sky as far as we could see it; and when we are asked whether the flood covered the mountains of Auvergne, we have yet to learn that France came within the range of the patriarch's vision.

So in the next verse, of the depth of the waters, how was it known that it was fifteen cubits? Not by magic, but because this would be somewhat more than the draught of a vessel so enormous as the ark; as it grounded nowhere, but moved calmly onwards with its living freight, it is plain that the depth of the waters must have been greater than the draught of the ark, and no land was in sight till it reached the mountains—i.e., the chain of Ararat; and there it grounded immediately.

But how was this vast collection of animals fed, kept clean, and tended during their long stay of a year and ten days in the ark? How was so huge a vessel built? How were the large supplies of food gathered and stored up? With what limitations are we to understand the command to receive all clean and unclean animals within its sanctuary? A fuller narrative would have explained all these difficulties; as it is, we can only suggest the probability that Noah's household helped him to build the ark, and entered it with him. This would be in accordance with the usual manner of the earlier Scriptures, nor does the passage in St. Peter's first

epistle (iii. 20) militate against it. For these eight souls the ark was built, and Noah's household, if they entered it, did so simply in his right. The open *louvres* which ran all round the ark (vi. 16) would suffice for light and ventilation; Noah's numerous household would have enough to do to tend and feed the animals on board; and as for their number, the laws of Biblical language require us to limit it, to say nothing of what reverence for the Deity obliges us to believe, viz., that God works nothing unnecessarily. Scripture is its own best interpreter, and the word we render "all" does not mean in Hebrew as much as our word. In Exod. ix. 6 we read that "all the cattle of Egypt died" of the murrain. Yet in verse 9 they appear again, and in verse 20 we find the Egyptians still generally possessed of herds. In fact, the Hebrew word is used wherever anything happens on a large scale, but constantly admits of very considerable exceptions. As a rule, Hebrew is a language poor in words, and the words themselves are very indefinite in their signification.

The fifth section is "the generations of the sons of Noah," extending from chap. x. 1 to xi. 9. It is the most precious relic of ancient ethnography, and German critics like Knobel have acknowledged it to be the only trustworthy document relating to the original peopling of the earth. It ends with the confusion of tongues, by a law of God which still holds good. The use of a common Bible, the study of great classical writers like Shakespeare, these and the like things keep our language now free from great change. Remove these influences, and prevent people from travelling, and in ten years every village would have a patois, and in fifty years a distinct language of its own.

The sixth section is called "The generations of Shem." It carries the genealogy down to Terah. His generations form the seventh section, extending from chap. xi. 27 to chap. xxv. 11. The principal figure is now Abraham, but the section takes its name from Terah, by the same rule by which the history of Joseph is called "The generations of Jacob."

Starting from Ur of the Chaldees, in the plain between the Tigris and the Euphrates, the whole family of Terah moves northward; but on the way Harau, the youngest son, dies, and Terah will go no farther, but remains at the place where the body was buried. And with him stays Nahor; but Abraham and Lot, Haran's son, in time pursue their journey. Slowly, with numerous herds and dependents, their black tents of camel's hair move along the eastern bank of the Euphrates, till, probably at Carchemish, the wanderers are able to ford the mighty stream. Henceforward Abraham is called the *Hebrew*, "the man from the other side," for it was rarely that that barrier was crossed. His route now lies southward, but at Damascus he seems to have long halted, charmed with the fertility of the place; at all events, Josephus describes him, from ancient authorities, as having come with an army, and reigned there. But finally God's providence urges him on, till Palestine is reached, and he settles there, first at Sichem, and then under the terebinths at Mamre.

Enriched still more by his visit to Egypt, where, however, his faith failed him, we find him able to arm 318 trained servants, and risk a battle with Chedorlaomer and his confederate kings; and on his return he is blessed by a mysterious priest-king, who is the type of our Lord. And now the narrative is concerned with the trial of the patriarch's faith, till at length the promised child is vouchsafed; the last trial, the yielding again to God of his dear son, undergone; and not until Rebekah is installed in the tent of Sarah, does he descend into his grave.

The eighth, a very short section, gives us "the generations of Ishmael." Then follow the generations of Isaac, extending from chap. xxv. 19 to the end of chap. xxxv. In chap. xxxvi. two generations of Esau are given; the first in vs. 1—8, containing his personal history till he settled in Mount Seir, because Canaan was not large enough to contain him and Jacob, owing to their great wealth; the second in the rest of the chapter, carrying down the history of the Edomites till the times of the Jewish monarchy (see verse 31), and therefore long after Moses' time.

Now there is nothing improbable in the supposition that Ezra may have completed the history of the Edomites. Moses apparently, when forming these documents into a whole, added many remarks, and especially we may usually refer to him the often recurring phrase "unto this day," which is seldom used except of events long anterior to Moses' time. In the Septuagint version of the Bible we constantly find additions of this kind: thus it adds to Josh. xvi. an account of the conquest of the Canaanites in Gezer by Pharaoh, and his bestowal of their territory on his daughter, the wife of Solomon. So again in Josh. xxiv. 30 it adds that the flint knives with which the Israelites had been circumcised in Gilgal were buried with Joshua in his tomb. Such instances warn us of the probability of many similar additions to the historical parts of the Scriptures. What is really surprising is that it is so seldom that anything occurs of which the most acute critic can suggest that it shows traces of an age

later than that of ⁶Moses. In a manuscript every transcriber who possesses additional knowledge is tempted to add it to the record, and notes in the margin are sure finally to be inserted in the text. Here, too, it is remarkable that two genealogies of Esau come together; and if the later, containing the political history of Edom, were entirely inserted at a later period, there would be nothing extraordinary in it, though this does not appear to have been the case. Later prophets might reasonably add to and perfect records given, not to satisfy our historical curiosity, but to show us the chart of salvation. It is interesting, however, to observe how the history, both in the case of the Cainites, of Ishmael, and of Esau, follows the rejected race for a short period, and then reverts to the main line; so as to give without flaw the ancestry of the promised Seed. With this great purpose of Scripture nothing is allowed to interfere.

The last section, from chap. xxxvii. 2 to the end of chap. l., is called "the generations of Jacob," and ends with that patriarch's burial. Much of Jacob's history had been given in the generations of Isaac; while Joseph is now the centre of interest. But Jacob had become the head of the family, and as such his name holds the foremost place. I have already shown how full this section is of local knowledge and colouring. I will only add that it is the last of the "Generations." There is now a gap of some centuries before the next stage in the development of God's great plan is reached. Planted by the fostering hand of Joseph in a very land of plenty; separated from the nations of Canaan by the wilderness of Sinai; kept distinct from the Egyptians by differences of custom, and by their occupation as shepherds, the Israelites were exactly so situated as best suited their growth into a nation unlike all other nations upon earth; and who, after having served for a great and marvellous purpose, still retain their intense nationality, and remain like a strange waif of ancient times deeply scarred and marked with the undying traces of their wonderful history.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.—II.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—ST. JAMES.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

"Ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? Whosoever, therefore, will be the friend of the world is the enemy of God.

"Or think ye that the Scripture speaketh in vain? The Spirit that dwells in us is jealously desiring us for his own, and gives us in consequence greater grace. Therefore [the Scripture] saith, God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble."—Chap. iv. 4—6.

IN the English version, verses 5 and 6 read as follows: "Do ye think that the Scripture saith in vain. The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy? But he giveth more grace." This statement of St. James, as it appears in the

authorised version, is almost incapable of any explanation. The ingenuity of expositors has been severely taxed to find *where* the Scripture says, "The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy." Various references, all more or less unlikely, have been suggested—Genesis, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Psalms, Proverbs, Song of Solomon. It has even been suggested that the Scripture referred to was the New Testament, and passages in St. Matthew, the Epistle to the Galatians, and the First Epistle of St. Peter, have been twisted into something like resemblance of thought to the words of St. James.

Other commentators, despairing of finding any probable citation in either the Old or New Testament, have fancied the quotation was taken from that strange Nazarene compilation, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, or even from a *lost book* of some prophet. The passage, however, will bear the translation given above, and which in the main is adopted by Meyer (Huther) and De Wette (Brückner), and partly by Alford. It will be seen how with this new rendering the various difficulties are capable of a fair and reasonable explanation, and how easily and powerfully the reasoning of the Apostle flows on. It must, however, be borne in mind that St. James is addressing Jewish Christians; that his mind is steeped in what may be termed Old Testament thought and imagery; that Old Testament language and Old Testament memories alone could find those stubborn children of the old covenant to whom James, the Lord's brother, was specially sent. Now the 4th verse is a passionate and indignant appeal to those who had forsaken their first love, and had kept not the covenant of their God; who had gone astray after the world and the pleasant things of the world—such as power, riches, pleasure. St. James's words seem an echo of prophetic warnings like those of Hosea, or of solemn words like those of Moses: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul" (Deut. vi. 5). To paraphrase slightly the Apostle's argument, after concluding that the world's friend is God's enemy, St. James, in verse 5, asks the Hebrew Christians he is addressing, whether they think the Scripture speaks to no purpose? What silent, sorrowful answer must the Jews he was writing to have given, when they looked back over the history of Israel! Then the Apostle proceeds: The Spirit of God which dwells in man jealously desires us for his own, and will suffer no divided affection or allegiance; and in consequence of this His jealous love for us gives us more abundant measure of grace than He otherwise would have done; and this is the reason the Scripture says in Prov. iii. 34, "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble" (the quotation is verbatim from the Septuagint); the proud are those referred to above (verse 4), the men who desire the friendship of the world. The Spirit that dwells in us (verse 5) is, without doubt, not *the human spirit*, but *the Spirit of God*, whom God has caused to take up His dwelling in us. It is right to mention that another translation has been suggested for part of the difficult passage in the 5th verse, the punctuation, however, remaining the same. After the question, "Or think ye that the Scripture speaketh in vain?" the new sentence should, on this view, run as follows: "[God] jealously desires for his own the spirit that dwells in us." Here, of course, the meaning of "spirit" is the human spirit in its natural condition. This rendering also gives an admirable sense, and the passage flows on easily; only here the word "God" must be supplied, as *the One* jealously desiring for His own the human spirit. On the whole, the first translation we have given above, and discussed at some length, is the easier and more obvious.

"Ye have condemned and killed the just; and he doth not resist you."—Chap. v. 6.

Who is this "just" here spoken of as condemned and murdered? This slaying the just is the third and crowning sin of the rich men denounced in so terrible a manner by St. James. Before answering the question respecting the allusion to the "just," we must see to whom the whole passage, which is closed by the words of verse 6, is addressed. The Epistle of St. James is evidently written to Hebrew Christians generally, including those believing Jews dwelling more especially under his government and superintendence at Jerusalem. These he lovingly addresses as "brethren," using the term in this short Epistle some fifteen times. But in the stern denunciation before us, which begins chap. iv. 13, and ends with the verse we are now considering, the rich men, the traders planning for their to-morrow, are denounced not as "brethren" in any sense nor in any way belonging to the Christian community. Still that they are Jews is plain from an expression used in chap. iv. 15: "*If the Lord will*"—such words would never have been spoken to a heathen—and also from the reference to the Lord of Hosts (Sabaoth), so familiar a title to the Hebrew, but meaningless to a heathen. We conclude, then, that the whole denunciatory passage, chap. iv. 13—v. 6, written in a prophetic strain, was addressed to wealthy unbelieving Jews. It was inserted in the Epistle, partly no doubt that the persecuted saints, in full view of the terrible misery shortly to come on their persecuting enemies, might take comfort and endure their present sufferings and wrongs with brave patience; but it was principally intended as a passionate and earnest call to repentance to those proud and haughty Pharisee leaders who had slain the Lord, and who James too plainly saw would one day murder him. Such an appeal, coming as it did from James, the Lord's brother, could not fail to have its due weight, even with the unbelieving Jews; for we are told this apostle was so revered for his righteousness, for his stern, austere, self-denying life, by all sects, Christian and Jewish, that even the more intelligent of the Jews considered his martyrdom the immediate cause of the siege of Jerusalem (Eusebius, *H. E.*, ii. 23). It was probably the crowning sin.

This solemn appeal to these persecuting and unconverted Jews begins with an abrupt ejaculation to enforce attention, "*Go to now*" (*ἄγε νῦν*). It reminds us of Isa. i. 18, "*Come now*, and let us reason together, saith the Lord" (*הָיִינוּ יַחְדָּם, דַּעְוֵנוּ יַחְדָּם*, LXX.), and proceeds to rebuke their impious confidence in their worldly plans for the future. And then (in chap. v. 1) he breaks out again with his sharp, stern "*Go to now*, weep and howl, ye rich men, for the miseries which shall come on you," instead of the prosperity and impunity in wrong-doing you reckon on; and looking forward to the impending destruction and ruin coming on Jerusalem and the Jewish race, he goes on with a fierce torrent of prophetic denunciation: I see your riches already corrupted, your garments moth-eaten, your gold and your silver cankered; and

then pausing in his terrible prophecy, tells them of the three special sins which have called down the vengeance of the Lord on their guilty city and doomed race:—1st. Their injustice and rapacity in their dealings with the poor and helpless. 2nd. The luxurious, pleasure-loving, wanton lives they have been leading. 3rd. The condemnation and murder of the “just.” And this brings us back to the question—Who is the “just,” whose murder is reckoned the crowning sin of city and people? In St. James’s mind the “just” represented that long line of holy men and prophets slain by the people of Israel. “Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? and they have slain them which showed before of the coming of the Just One, of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers” (St. Stephen’s speech, Acts vii. 52). But more distinctly even than to these St. James refers to that “holy one” and “just” whom they denied, that “Prince of Life” whom they killed (compare St. Peter’s words in Acts iii. 14, 15). He thought, too, of such men as Stephen, the first Christian martyr (Acts vii. 59, 60), and “James, the brother of John” (Acts xii. 2), who all died unresisting and praying for their murderers; and, lastly, as Ecumenius beautifully remarks, he hinted (*ὑπερφαινει*) at his own death and passion.

The martyrdom of James, the Lord’s brother, as told by Hegesippus (Eusebius, *H. E.*, ii. 25), strangely agrees—even to the name of the “just,” by which appellation the Apostle seems generally to have been

known among the Jews—with the picture of the slain, unresisting righteous man with which the Apostle closes his fervid denunciation. At the time of the Passover feast of the year 69, the Scribes and Pharisees besought him to undeceive the people, who, they said, were in error, following Jesus who was crucified, and for that purpose set him on a pediment of the Temple (to address the multitude); but James, the history goes on to say, disappointed the leaders of the Jews, by bearing witness for, instead of against Jesus, who, he said, “was sitting in heaven, at the right hand of the great power” (*ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς μεγάλης δυνάμεως*). The Scribes and Pharisees said, “We have done wrong in procuring such a testimony to Jesus. Let us go up and throw him down.” They presently went up and cast him down. As he was not killed by the fall they said, “Let us stone James ‘the just.’” But he, turning himself, kneeled down, saying, “I entreat thee, O Lord God the Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do;” and as they were stoning him, one of the priests of the sons of Rechab, said, “Cease, what do ye? *the Just* is praying for you.” And one of them, a fuller, took a club with which he used to beat out clothes, and struck him on the head. Thus he suffered martyrdom. Here we have “standing before us the slain and unresisting righteous man; when, lo! the curtain falls. Be patient, brethren, wait” (Herder, quoted by Wiesinger and Alford). In the following year the Roman armies took and utterly destroyed Jerusalem, obliterating subsequently even its name.¹

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.—III.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

DOG.



LEAVING the *Felidæ*, or Cat tribe, we will next come to the *Canidæ*, a family represented in the Bible by dogs, hyenas, wolves, foxes, and jackals. The dog, as is well known, always has had, and up to this time still has, a bad reputation in Palestine. The Scriptural references to the dog are very numerous, and in not one is the animal spoken of without some degree of aversion. The Hebrew name is *keleb*, with which the modern Arabic *kelb* is identical. Some writers have thought that the word *keleb* is onomatopoeic, akin to our word “to yelp,” but the term is evidently derived from a Semitic root, meaning “to be furious,” “to lay hold with violence.” Hence in the Semitic mind the idea of the dog as a furious attacking beast was implied by his very name. Similarly the Arabic *kelb* is used for a lion as well as a dog. Thus the animal which, amongst the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and most other nations, has been treated as a faithful friend and companion to man, was by the ancient Jews regarded as merely a wild, greedy animal, running about wherever he would, without a master, and eating even human corpses. “In the place where dogs licked the blood of

Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood” (1 Kings xxi. 19). “The dogs shall eat Jezebel by the wall of Jezreel. Him that dieth of Ahab in the city the dogs shall eat” (vs. 23, 24). This is also their present character. We will give it in Dr. Tristram’s own words: “Every Oriental city and village abounds with troops of hungry and half-savage dogs, which own allegiance rather to the place than to persons, and which wander about the streets and fields, howling dismally at night, and devouring even the dead bodies of men when they can reach them.” To this the Psalmist alludes in graphic language: “At evening let them return; and let them make a noise like a dog, and go round about the city. Let them wander up and down for meat, and grudge (grumble) if they be not satisfied” (Ps. lix.

¹ The passage from which the above account of the martyrdom of James the Just has been drawn has been the subject of much discussion. Eusebius quotes it, without comment, from Hegesippus, an ecclesiastical historian of about the middle of the second century, but of whose writings only the few fragments quoted by Eusebius remain to us. Tillemont defends it zealously. Heineke (the recent editor of Eusebius) discovers in it vestiges of truth. Alford and Milman both reject many of the details as questionable. Wordsworth quotes it at length, without hesitation. Schaff sees no reason for questioning the substance of Hegesippus’s narrative.

14, 15). Hence the dog is used as an emblem of furious enemies. "For dogs have compassed me: the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me" (Ps. xxii. 16). "The Philistine said unto David, Am I a dog, that thou comest to me with staves?" (1 Sam. xvii. 43.) "Then Abner was wroth for the words of Ish-bosheth, and said, Am I a dog's head . . . that thou chargest me to-day with a fault concerning this woman?" (2 Sam. iii. 8.) It does not appear that the ancient Hebrews ever employed the dog as a watch-dog to guard the house. The passage in Isa. lvi. 10 which has been adduced in favour of the idea—"His watchmen are blind: they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber"—clearly from the context refers to dogs that guarded, or rather in this instance neglected to guard, the flocks. "All ye beasts of the field, come to devour, yea, all ye beasts in the forest;" "Yea, they are greedy dogs which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand" (vs. 9, 11). To watch the flocks, and to protect them against wild animals, was the essential and only duty of the dogs of Palestine in Biblical times; see Job xxx.

1: "But now they that are younger than I have me in derision, whose fathers I would have disdained to have set with the dogs of my flock." But no doubt they were then, as they are now, very useful in towns and villages as common scavengers, eating offal and dead carcases, which, if left, would probably produce pestilence. It is very curious to observe that although the Jews must have been

acquainted with the use of the dog for hunting purposes when they were in Egypt, and could not, one would suppose, be ignorant of the hunting dogs of their neighbours, the Assyrians, considerably later on in their history, the Jews never cared about hunting, and never employed the dog for that purpose. The Egyptians were very fond of hunting, and had several breeds of dogs, as the figures on the monuments testify; some, Sir G. Wilkinson tells us, were solely used for the chase, "others admitted into the parlour or selected as the companions of their walks; and some, as at the

present day, selected for their peculiar ugliness. All were looked upon with veneration, and the death of a dog was not only lamented as a misfortune, but was mourned by every member of the house in which it occurred. The most common kinds were a sort of

fox-dog, and a hound; they had also a short-legged dog, not unlike our turnspit, which was a great favourite in the house, especially, it appears, in the time of Osirtasen; and it is possible that, as in later days, the choice of a monarch led the taste or fashion of the time to fix upon a particular breed." Sir G. Wilkinson found several mummies of this fox-dog in Upper Egypt, and he thinks

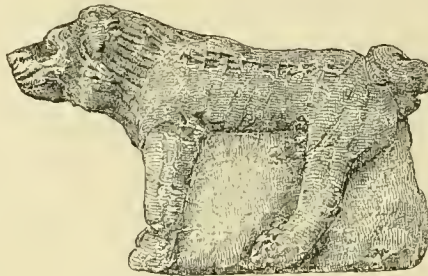
that it was the parent stock of the modern red wild dog of Egypt, which is so common at Cairo and other towns of the Lower Country.

The Assyrians also were devoted to the chase, and the representations of hunting scenes to be seen in the British Museum are numerous, and for the most part executed with spirit and effect. Lion hunting with dogs was a favourite sport; the chase of the *rîn*, or wild ox, was much followed; and for both purposes a large and powerful dog was necessary; the figures on

the monuments represent a large kind of mastiff. Assurbanipal (Sardanapalus), the son of Esarhaddon (whose history has recently been translated from the cuneiform characters by Mr. George Smith, of the British Museum), appears to have been a mighty hunter. A number of his bounds, modelled in clay, were found at Kouyunjik, one of the two principal mounds of the ancient Nineveh, whereon in former

times the temples and palaces of the Assyrian kings once stood, and from whence a great number of marble slabs have been procured by Mr. Layard. On each of these models the name of the dog is inscribed.

Of the dogs now found in Palestine, Dr. Tristram says there are three distinct breeds. First, there is the familiar pariah dog of the towns and villages; secondly, the Syrian sheep-dog, resembling our colly, or Scotch sheep-dog, but larger—"It is bold, intelligent, and faithful, and will rush on the wolf, even to its own destruction, sooner than desert the flock;" and thirdly,



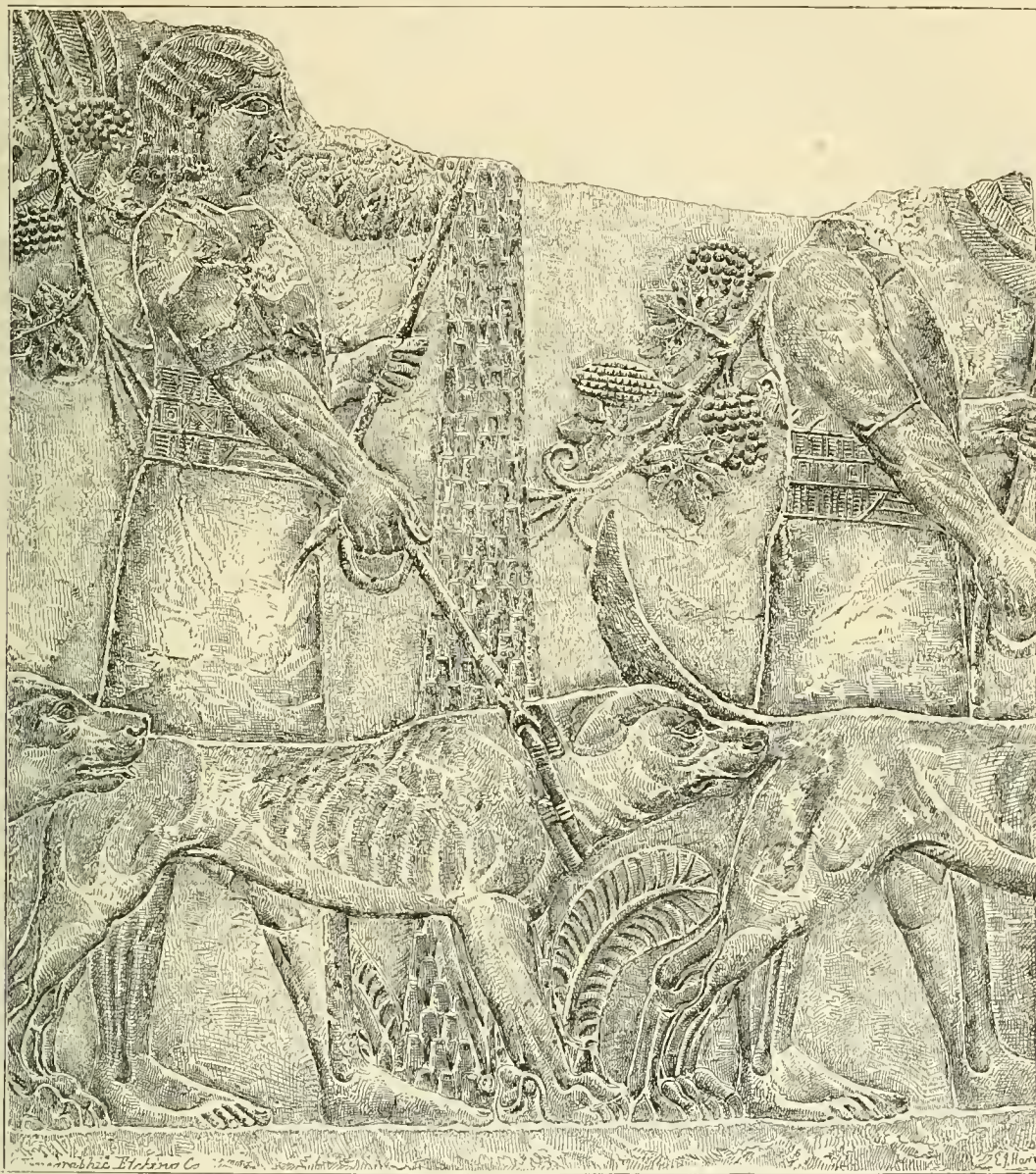
DOG. (BRITISH MUSEUM.)



PERSIAN GREYHOUND.

there is the Persian greyhound, "much prized by the Bedouin sheikhs, and used for the chase of the gazelle. With its long shape and the long silky hair of its ears and tail, it is perhaps the most beautiful of

wolves were more abundant in Palestine formerly, they are not uncommon now, and may occasionally be seen in every part of the country. Frequent allusion to this pest of the shepherd is made both in the Old and New



DOGS. (FROM A SLAB IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)

its kind." The dogs in the East, we are told, keep up an incessant howling and barking in the night, but like the jackal, they are generally afraid of man. *Rabies*, or canine madness, is an unknown disease among them.

WOLF.

From the consideration of the dog, the transition to his relative and enemy, the wolf, is natural. Although

its ferocity is referred to in Gen. xlix. 27: "Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil." This was spoken in reference to the bold and warlike character of that tribe. Ezekiel speaks of the corrupt princes of Jerusalem in these words: "Her princes in the midst thereof are like wolves ravening the prey, to shed blood, and to destroy souls, to get

dishonest gain" (Ezek. xxii. 27). The allusions to the wolf attacking sheep and lambs are numerous (see John x. 12; Matt. x. 16; Luke x. 3). Its habit of seeking its prey in the evening is referred to in Habakkuk (i. 8), where the Chaldean horses are said to be "more fierce than the evening wolves." Compare also Zeph. iii. 3: "Her judges are evening wolves: they gnaw not the bones till the morrow." We may notice a curious mistranslation here; instead of "they gnaw not the bones till the morrow," the Hebrew words should be rendered "they leave not the bones to gnaw in the morning." They are so greedy and insatiable that they let nothing remain. The Septuagint and Vulgate versions give the meaning correctly. The evening wolf of Jeremiah (v. 6)—"A wolf of the evenings (*ze'eb aráboth*) shall spoil them"—ought clearly to be rendered "a wolf of the deserts," as the parallelism of the verse shows: "A lion from the forest, and a wolf from the plains." Besides, the Hebrew word for "evening" has no such plural as *aráboth*. The wolf of Palestine is the same species as the common wolf of Europe (*Canis lupus*), though it is of a lighter colour than it, and Dr. Tristram thinks it is a larger and stronger animal; it is certainly a dreadful pest to the shepherds, for it is so excessively crafty, hiding itself somewhere near the folds till dark, that it often manages to run off with its victim unobserved by the dogs. The shepherds are therefore constantly in the habit of firing off their guns in the night, to frighten away any would-be hungry invader. "A single wolf is far more destructive than a whole pack of jackals, who always betray their presence, and who can only carry off any silly straggler." On one occasion Dr. Tristram, having wandered alone three or four miles from the tents, noticed a large tawny wolf following him, about 200 yards behind him. The wolf kept this distance; when Dr. Tristram approached nearer, the wolf drew back, and in vain he endeavoured to close with him. "The wolf's evident intention was to keep me in sight until evening, when he hoped to steal upon me in the darkness unperceived. He never uttered a sound of any kind, and walked as if quite unconscious of my presence. When it was nearly dark I found him rapidly closing upon me, and thinking him within shot, I halted, when he, too, stood, looking at me. I drew my charge, slipped down a ball, and took deliberate aim without his moving; the bullet struck a rock between his legs, and then he turned and trotted very quietly away." Dr. Tristram's party found wolves in the hill-country of Benjamin, about Bethel and Gibeah, also in the forests of Bashan and Gilcad, in the ravines of Galilee and Lebanon, and in the maritime plains. Although Dr. Tristram again and again put up a Syrian wolf and fired, the shot was never attended with success; a specimen for the museum is still a desideratum. The Hebrew name of the wolf is *ze'eb*, which appears to come from a root meaning to be of a tawny or golden colour; the Arabic name, *dib*, though in sound apparently akin to the Hebrew, is connected with a root meaning to "terrify," in allusion, no doubt, to the alarm the wolf always causes

to the flock. The common European wolf is widely distributed over the whole northern hemisphere; it was within historic times an inhabitant of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland; and in some thickly-wooded districts these animals abounded to such an extent, that in the reign of Athelstano (A.D. 925) it was considered necessary to build a retreat at Flixton, in Yorkshire, to save travellers from being killed and devoured by these fierce marauders. Edgar, the succeeding king, applied himself vigorously to their extirpation; and the story of the Welsh being liberated from the payment of the tax of gold and silver, on condition of their paying an annual tribute of 300 wolves' heads, is well known; but the wolf was only gradually extirpated. Edward I. issued a mandamus to all bailiffs to give their assistance to his faithful and beloved Peter Corbet, whom the king had enjoined to kill wolves, "*lupos, cum hominibus, canibus et ingeniis suis modis omnibus quibus viderit expedire*," in all parks and woods in the counties of Salop, Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford. As late as 1577 the flocks in Scotland suffered from wolves, and in Ireland they appear to have lingered as late as the year 1710. Wolvesey, a little island near Winchester, is evidently Wolf's ey, or island; it is the place where the Welsh tribute of wolves' heads was paid. Wolverton in Herefordshire, and Wolverton in Buckinghamshire, probably derive their names from these animals, but one cannot speak with certainty, because the Saxons and Danes often used the name of the wolf for a personal appellation; Wolverhampton, for instance, is said to take its name from Wulfrana, King Edgar's sister, who, in 996, founded a monastery there. The town was first called Wulfrana Hampton (Home Town), then corrupted to Wolverhampton.

JACKAL.

There is no mention in our English Bible of the jackal, but there cannot be a doubt that the Hebrew word *shú'al*, always translated "fox," in most instances denotes the jackal. Not only does the context in most of the passages agree only with the latter animal, but its name in the cognate languages, as in the Arabic *jakal*, the Persian *shagal*, clearly identical with the Hebrew word, proves the same thing. Nevertheless there are two Hebrew words which almost certainly denote jackals—*íyyím* and *tanním*; the former word is translated in our Bible "wild beasts of the island," and occurs in Isa. xiii. 22: "The wild beasts of the islands (*íyyím*) shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons (*tanním*) in their pleasant palaces;" in chap. xxxiv. 14: "The wild beasts of the desert (*tsíyyím*) shall also meet with the wild beasts of the island;" and in Jer. l. 39: "The wild beasts of the desert, with the wild beasts of the islands, shall dwell there." The Hebrew word *íyyím*, which occurs only in the plural, and which our translators considered had some reference to islands, denotes *howling* animals; and no term can better express the character of jackals, which keep up all through the night a dismal howling and wailing. The Arabic *ibn áwi*, "sons of howling," is one of the names for jackals, and there can be no doubt that the

Hebrew word denotes the same animals. The word *tannim* also evidently means jackals, and occurs several times in the Bible; sometimes as a parallel with *ıyyim*, as in the passage quoted above: "Howling wild beasts shall cry in their desolate houses, even wailing wild beasts in their pleasant palaces." The word occurs thirteen times in the Bible, and is always translated "dragons" in our version. "I am a brother to dragons, and a companion to ostriches" (Job xxx. 29); "I will make a wailing like the dragons" (Micah i. 8); "Jerusalem heaps, and a den of dragons" (Jer. ix. 11); "Desolate, and a den of dragons" (Jer. x. 22); "And the wild asses did stand in the high places; they snuffed up the wind like dragons" (Jer. xiv. 6). The passage in Lamentations (iv. 3), "Even the sea monsters (*tannim*) draw out the breast, they give suck to their young ones: the daughter of my people is become cruel, like the ostriches in the wilderness," clearly points to jackals. In all the Biblical allusions the *tannim* are spoken of in connection with desolate places, ostriches, and wild beasts. The word is derived from *tanan*, "to howl," and is synonymous with the previous word, *ıyyim*. The Arabic *tainan* ("howler") is applied to a wolf. Jackals always roam in companies, and this fact would in some degree explain how it is that in Hebrew there is no singular noun either for *ıyyim* or *tannim*. A very similar word, *tannin* in the singular number, with the plural *tanninim*, occurs several times in the Old Testament.

It is variously translated "whale," "serpent," "dragon." See more under the article on "Serpent." In a few instances the word *tannin* occurs in the form of *tannim*, as in Ezek. xxix. 3; xxxii. 2, where it is evident some serpent or sea creature, and not jackals, is intended. It is necessary to bear in mind this distinction between the singular form of *tannin* and the plural form of *tannim*.

The jackal (*Canis aureus*) is very common now, as in Biblical times, in the Holy Land. Wherever the traveller bivouacs, the loud, wailing, melancholy cries of the jackal are heard. "About the ruins of Baalbec," writes Dr. Tristram, "the packs of jackals secrete themselves by hundreds. There their sudden howl would break the dead stillness of the night as we lay under those towering columns, and, caught up from pack to pack, was echoed back from the cavernous temples below, till the air seemed filled as if with the wailing of a thousand infants, and the words of the prophet were brought vividly home: 'The jackals shall cry in their desolate houses, even howlers in their pleasant palaces.'" The same traveller also tells us that jackals nightly visit the walls of Jerusalem, and provoke a defiant chorus from the swarming pariah dogs, as intolerant of them as the hound is of the fox.

The 300 animals which Samson is said to have made use of for the purpose of setting fire to the standing corn of the Philistines were doubtless jackals which went in packs; but of this we shall treat in the next article.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.—III.

BY THE REV. DR. GINSBURG.

HE box of which the phylactery for the head is made has on the outside to the right the regular three-pronged letter *shin* (ש), which is designed as an abbreviation of the Divine name *Shadai*, "the Almighty," whilst on the left side it has a four-pronged *shin*, the two constituting the sacred number seven. The leather case consists of four cells, in which are deposited four slips of vellum, wherein are written the four passages of Scripture already mentioned in the following order:—

4.	3.	2.	1.
Deut. xi. 13—22.	Deut. vi. 4—9.	Ex. xiii. 11—16.	Exod. xiii. 2—10.

Each slip is rolled up, tied with white and well-washed hairs of a calf or cow's tail, and deposited in the respective compartments as indicated above. A flap connected with one side of the brim is then drawn over the open part and sewed to the brim in such a manner as to form a loop on one side. Through this loop is passed a very long leather strap, which when tied together according to measure yields a band for the head.

The phylactery for the arm (page 61) consists of the same sized box as the one for the head. It has, however, no letter outside, and only one compartment inside. The four passages deposited in it are written on one slip of vellum in four columns having seven lines each. The slip is rolled, and tied, and closed up in the same manner as the others. The large leather strap which is passed through the loop is made into a noose for the arm to pass through. Before commencing his morning prayers the youth of thirteen puts on first the phylactery for the arm. Having put his left naked arm through the sling in such a manner that when it is bent it may touch the flesh, and be near the heart, to fulfil the precept, "Ye shall lay up these my words in your heart" (Deut. xi. 18), he first twists the long strap three times close to the phylactery in the form of the letter *shin*, which stands for *Shadai*, "the Almighty," and pronounces the following benediction: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and enjoined us to put on phylacteries." He then twists the straps seven times around the arm, forming two *shins*, one with three prongs, and the other with four. He next puts on the head phylactery, placing it exactly in the centre between the eyes so as to touch the spot where the hair begins to grow in accordance with Deut. xi. 18, and pronounces the fol-

¹ This is the reading of the margin, which is correct.

lowing benediction before he finally secures it: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and enjoined upon us the command about phylacteries."

The ordinary size of each box containing the slips which constitute the phylactery is generally an inch and a half square. The pious Jews who were entirely engaged in the study of the law and in meditations, and who wore the phylacteries the whole day, made them a little larger, to give more space and distinctness to every letter and word of the writing inside. If anything called them away from their sacred engagements, they walked from place to place in the phylacteries. The hypocrites among the Pharisees, who wished to indicate to people at a distance that they were praying, or engaged in holy meditations, also made their phylacteries more than the ordinary size, so as to be seen afar off. Hence the rebuke of our Saviour, "All their works they do to be seen of men: they make broad their phylacteries" (Matt. xxiii. 5).

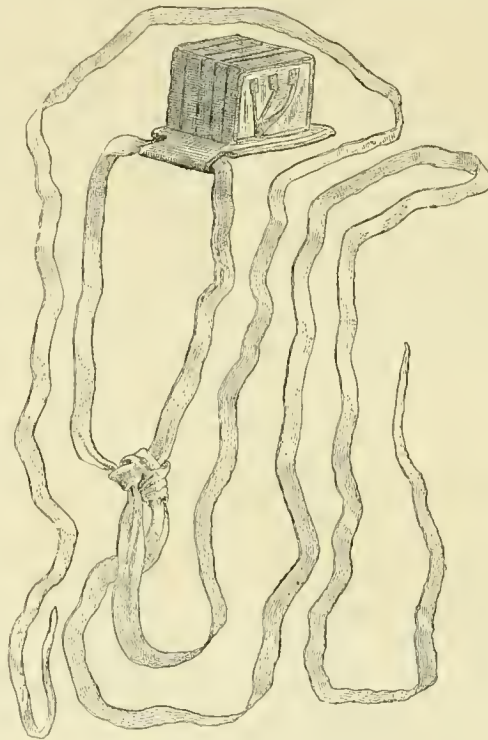
The custom of bearing a mark on the forehead or on the arm to indicate allegiance to a certain cause or devotion to a special deity was common in ancient days, and still obtains in many parts of the East. Thus Herodotus tells us that, amongst the Egyptians, when any man's slave, having escaped from his master and fled for refuge into the sanctuary, had a sacred mark impressed on him, thereby indicating that he had devoted himself to God, it was not lawful to lay hands on him" (Herod. ii. 113). The Bedouin Arabs to this day either tie to their arms and foreheads, or have tattooed on them, select passages from the Koran. The Mosaic law, which forbids the grosser form of disfigurement by tattooing (Lev. xix. 28), pressed the prevailing innocent universal custom of wearing tokens, with inscriptions that could not be eradicated, into the service of the true God.* Hence we find that the high priest, who was consecrated to the service of Jehovah in a pre-eminent sense, had inscribed in the plate on the front of his head "Holiness to the Lord" (Exod. xxviii. 36). Hence, too, the prophet was commanded to "go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof" (Ezek. ix. 4, 6); and the assurance of another

prophet that at the ingathering of Israel there shall be such a thorough devotion to the service of Jehovah, that even the horses shall have written upon their bells "Holiness to the Lord" (Zech. xiv. 20), whilst in the Revelation we are told that the worshippers of the beast bear his inscription upon their foreheads and arms (Rev. xiii. 16—18; xiv. 9—11; xvi. 2; xix. 20; xx. 4).

The name "phylactery" seems to be confined to the New Testament. Neither the Septuagint nor the other ancient Greek versions have this term in their translations of the passages which enjoin this token. Even

Josephus, who describes this custom, does not use the word "phylactery" (comp. *Antiq.* iv. 8, 13). The Jews at the time of Christ, and to this day, call the phylacteries *tephilin*, i.e. "prayer fillets." In earlier days, however, there was no fixed technical name for them. Hence in 2 Kings xi. 12 they are called "testimony," being witness that King Joash, upon whose head the high priest put the testimony as well as the crown, had devoted himself to the service of Jehovah. This is indeed obliterated in the authorised version, which has inserted the italic "gave him" before the word "testimony." Literally translated, the passage means, "And he brought forth the king's son, and put upon him the crown and the testimony" (2 Kings xi. 12).

On the first Sabbath, after the boy had thus been inducted as member of the congregation, and become responsible to God for his



THE PHYLACTERY FOR THE HEAD.

religious life, he was called at the public worship in the synagogue to the reading of the Law. The custom to read weekly lessons from the Law and Prophets in the synagogue has existed from time immemorial. In Neh. viii. 8 allusion is made to this formal reading of the Law in the original Hebrew by the Levites, together with an explanation, and we know that Antiochus Epiphanes interdicted its observance. The lessons which were at first left to the choice of the scribe or public reader, were afterwards fixed so as to read through the whole Law of Moses consecutively. The period, however, within which it was read through differed in different communities. Hence no less than three cycles or tables of lessons obtained. The first, and probably the oldest custom, was to read through the Pentateuch in three years and a half, so that the Five Books of Moses, which were divided into one hundred and fifty-four sec-

tions, together with the thirty special lessons which were read on those Sabbaths whereon fell the feasts and fasts, were read through twice every Sabbatical year. Other communities, however, continued to read the hebdomadal portion every Sabbath, and recited the special festival lesson after the regular pericope. Amongst these communities, therefore, the division of the Pentateuch into a hundred and fifty-four lessons produced a cycle of three years. And lastly, there is the annual cycle, which is obtained by the division of the Pentateuch into fifty-four sections. This cycle is the one adopted in all the editions of the Hebrew Bible, which give at the heading of each page the names of the respective pericopes, and is generally followed among the Jews, who now read through the Pentateuch consecutively every year. The first section is always read on the first Sabbath after the Feast of Tabernacles, which is the beginning of the civil year, and the last is read on the concluding day of this festival.

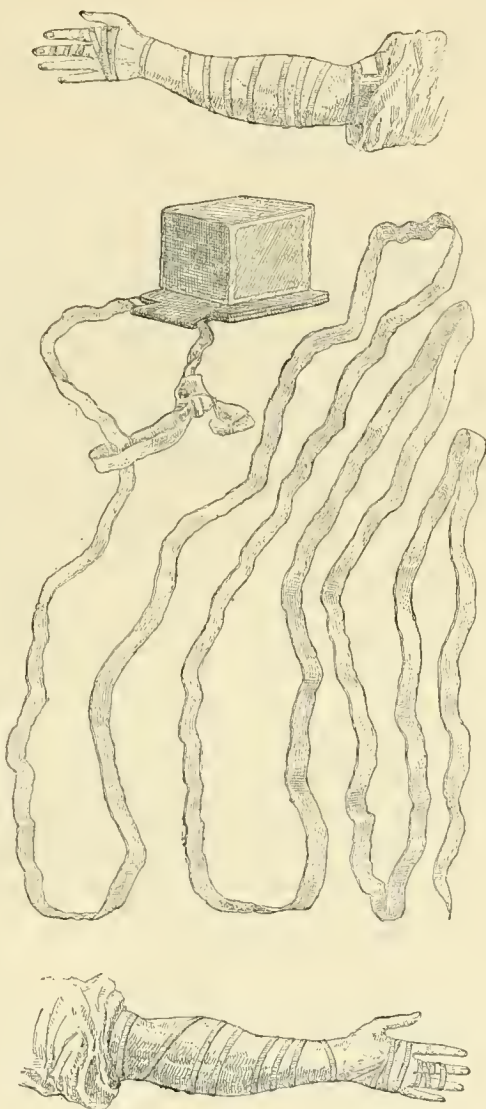
The manner in which the Law and the Prophets are read is as follows:—Each weekly lesson is subdivided into seven sections, corresponding to the seven days of the week, and the seven different persons who are now called up to the desk originally read each one of these sections. This explains the reason why in some editions of the Hebrew Pentateuch we not only find the text divided into fifty-four large sections, but each one of these sections subdivided into seven smaller ones, respectively marked with the Hebrew numerals in full, “one,” “two,” “three,” and so on. The persons thus called to the reading of the Law and Prophets must represent the whole Jewish nation. For this reason a *cohen* (i.e., a priest) and a Levite are called first to the reading of the first and second sections. The tribe of Levi being thus represented first, the other five persons called up to the reading of the remaining five sections are summoned promiscuously from the laity (*Mishna. Gittin* v. 8). Every one called to the reading of the Law must

unroll the scroll, and having found the place where he is to begin to read, pronounces the following benediction:—“Bless ye the Lord who is blessed for ever,” to which the congregation respond, “Blessed be the Lord who is blessed for evermore.” Whereupon he continues, “Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the uni-

verse, who hast chosen us from among all nations, and hast given us thy Law. Blessed art thou, O Lord, Giver of the Law,” to which all the congregation respond “Amen!” He then reads personally, or by substitute, the seventh portion of the lesson, and when he has finished, rolls up the scroll and pronounces again the following benediction:—“Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who hast given us thy Law, the Law of truth, and hast planted among us everlasting life. Blessed art thou, O Lord, Giver of the Law” (*Maimonides. Yod Ha-Chezaka, Hilchoth Tephilla*, xii. 5). When the other six have each in rotation read their respective portion, having pronounced the same benedictions, the lesson from the Prophets is read.

It is this custom to which St. James refers when he says, “For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath day” (*Acts* xv. 21). It was “after the reading of the law and the prophets” that the rulers of the synagogue at Antioch asked St. Paul and his companions, “If ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on” (*Acts* xiii. 15). There was a difference in the external appearance of the scroll of the Law and that of the Prophets,

which must here be noticed, inasmuch as it explains a remark made by St. Luke with respect to Christ, who, “as his custom was, went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up for to read” (*Luke* iv. 16). The scroll of the Law has two rollers, which are attached to the two ends of the immense parchment whereon it is written. Every hebdomadal lesson, when read on the Sabbath, is unrolled from the right roller and rolled on the left. Hence, when the scroll of the Law is



THE PHYLACTERY FOR THE ARM.

opened on the next Sabbath, the portion appointed for that day is at once found. The case is, however, different with the scroll of the Prophets. This scroll has only one roller, and the lesson from the Prophets

has to be sought out on every occasion (*Baba Bathra* 14 a). It is this fact which explains the remark of St. Luke with regard to our Saviour, "he found the place."

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—III.

THE PATRIARCHS.

ABRAHAM (*continued*).

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.

II.—IN PUBLIC LIFE.

IT was not into a land peopled by a few wandering semi-civilised inhabitants that Abraham entered. The Canaanite—first great promoter of agriculture, commerce, and the arts—"was then in the land."

Other older inhabitants also were there—Horites, and Analekites, and Rephaims, some of them of Semitic origin, with whom the sons of Ham coming up from the south had blended, and over whom, by force or otherwise, they had obtained a general ascendancy. In the earliest record (Gen. x.) ten different tribes are named, all descendants of Canaan, six or seven of whom were scattered over the country assigned to the seed of Abraham. One of these, under the name of the Phœnicians, rose afterwards to great renown. The Canaanitish element had in Joshua's time become so dominant, that the whole body of the inhabitants were called Canaanites. The country, however, in all respects presented a very different aspect in the days of Abraham from what it did in the days of Joshua. The latter came upon the Canaanites as an invader, to dispossess or to exterminate. He found a population before him dense enough to occupy the whole land, numerous communities living in walled towns. Everywhere he met with hostile, defiant tribes, bold to resist each foot-step of advance. He brought with him besides from Sinai a faith and worship rigid, exact, exclusive, intolerant of all idolatry, and this into a land sunk into the depths of some of its grossest and bloodiest forms. Abraham came in peace, a wandering shepherd-prince, coveting no territory, aiming at no dispossession, for whom and his pursuits there was room enough without any clashing of interests between him and the inhabitants around. These were comparatively few in number, mostly dwellers in villages, tillers of the ground, cultivators of the vine, or rude artificers. The only towns of any antiquity or extent were Hebron in the south country, and the Cities of the Plain. Such a people so employed would not be slow to apprehend the mutual benefit that would accrue from the occupation of the broad, common, unused lands that lay around their villages by those between whom and them such a profitable exchange of produce could be carried on. There is no instance of the Canaanites resisting or re-

sending the residence of Abraham among them. The time for conflict of creeds and forms of worship had not yet come. Abraham had little in him of a propagandist, nothing of a persecutor. He openly worshipped, and that exclusively, the one great God of heaven and earth. Wherever he pitched his tent he raised his altar. But his worship was the simplest and least offensive in its form and manner; nor does it appear anywhere to have been interfered with or opposed. Instead of this he met with more knowledge of the true God than he had expected—perhaps more than he left behind at Ur. The cup of the Canaanites' iniquity was beginning to fill, and some of their communities had sunk to the depths of moral degradation; but they had not sunk into universal and gross ignorance of God, or cast off all fear of him. No evidence, at least, appears of prevalent idolatry, or of any such sanguinary rites as those of Moloch. In the very heart of the country there is a priest and king of the Most High God. In presence of the king of Sodom, Abraham speaks of that Great Being in a way in which he would not have spoken of an unknown or unacknowledged divinity. The Hittites, in bestowing on him the title, Prince of God, showed that they knew at least who God was. Abraham had himself to acknowledge that it was an unjust suspicion he had cherished, that there was no fear of God in the house of Abimelech.

We are not surprised, therefore, that all Abraham's relationships and intercourse with the Canaanitish chiefs were of the friendliest description, and that a speedy and close confederacy was formed between him and the three Amoritish brothers beside him at Mamre.

There were only two kings of a higher order, showing anything like a court, with princes and public officers around them, into contact with whom Abraham was thrown—Pharaoh and Abimelech. It was first before Pharaoh, and then after a twenty-five years' interval before Abimelech, that he tried the expedient of presenting Sarah as his sister. Contemplating a likely danger, knowing how fair women like his wife were dealt with by kings like Nimrod, he had asked Sarah that "at every place whither they should come she should say of him, He is my brother." It was

only in the two places, in Egypt and at Gerar, that he had required her to fulfil her promise, for it was only before these two kings that he felt himself to be in the presence of princes whose wider power might more readily dispose them to use the prerogative of Eastern despotism. It is difficult to see what he expected to gain by the device to which, before these kings, he had recourse. He might thus, perhaps, escape the danger of being put to death on account of Sarah; but how could he win safety for himself without imperilling her honour? Did he dread that if no such precautionary measure were taken, there might be a sudden exercise of the despot's prerogative, against which there could be no relief? Was it to secure at least some delay—to create an opportunity of intervention from some quarter, that he had recourse to the expedient? There is much unknown, uncertain here; the only explanation as to which could have come from Abraham himself. But he tells us nothing. In Egypt he is silent, passive, inactive throughout. Apparently he says nothing, does nothing, when Sarah is removed. When princely presents are sent him, the intention of which is too apparent, he who would not touch from a thread to a shoe-latchet from the king of Sodom, at once accepts them. When at last roused to inquiry by the plagues visited upon his house, Pharaoh discovers the concealment that had been practised, and, as one justly offended, with haughty warmth reproaches him for his conduct, Abraham utters not a word. We cannot think that it was conscious guilt that sealed his lips. He did the same thing he had done in Egypt again at Gerar, without apparent compunction. In all likelihood, had similar circumstances occurred, he would have done it yet again. How came he to be so unconscious of the wrong-doing? for guilt there was in the dissimulation with intent to deceive. One thing we have to remember, that he lived about as far before the birth of Christ as we do after it, and that the prolonged deadness of even the Christian conscience to many forms of wrong-doing may teach us to understand the want in Abraham of that finer sense of truthfulness which we have been taught to cultivate.¹ If, besides this, Abraham failed here in trust in God, it is only what we find in other great characters of Holy Writ—a failure in the very quality wherein they conspicuously excelled.

Abraham was most considerately and kindly treated by both Pharaoh and Abimelech. On one occasion, indeed, the harmony between him and Abimelech appeared likely to be disturbed. But it was a quarrel among their herdsmen, easily adjusted, and which led on to that brotherly covenant—the oath and the pre-

sents—which gave its name to Beer-sheba, and secured to Abraham and to his children that fit and quiet camping-ground where Abraham appears to have spent the greater part, if not the whole, of the last seventy-five years of his life.

Once only does Abraham appear in a hostile attitude towards others. While dwelling peacefully at Mamre, the tidings are brought to him of a disastrous battle, fought not far off, in the vale of Siddim. Thirteen years before, the chiefs of those north-eastern Euphratean tribes, which, broken up afterwards into distinct communities, grew into the great nations of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, had made a foray to the south-west, in course of which they had passed across the valley of the Jordan, and conquered the five petty sovereigns there, imposing on them a yearly tribute. This bond of servitude these kings had recently thrown off, and thus brought down on themselves the vengeance of their former conquerors. Not that the punishment of their offence and reduction again to servitude was the only object of that raid, which ended in the Battle of the Plain and the captivity of Lot. Following the track of Chedorlaömer and his allies, we find them sweeping down along the entire district east of the Jordan, smiting the Rephaims, the Zuzims, the Emims, the giant races who then occupied Bashan, Ammon, and Moab; passing down into Seir, smiting the Horites, who then occupied the country of Edom; then taking a wide circuit to the south and west, smiting the Amalekites in the borders of the desert of Paran; turning then north-eastward, and descending like a thunderbolt upon the Amorites, “who dwelt in Hazezon-tamar,” or Engedi, on the western shores of the Dead Sea. This line of march, on to its most south-westerly point, was the very one that those invaders must have followed who gave to Egypt its dynasty of shepherd kings—the Hyksos, who many chronologists believe had been already established, and were then reigning there. It may have been far more to keep the way of communication with Egypt open than to achieve a fresh conquest of the Siddimites, that the present inroad was entered on. Whatever the purpose, the kings of the Plain went out to meet them, and suffered, some of them the loss of life, and all the loss of goods and chattels. Abraham hears of their inglorious defeat; hears besides that his nephew Lot has been carried off. He summons at once his own retainers, and finds that he can muster at the moment 318 men, born in his own house, grown up to man's estate. He appeals to the three brother chiefs, his immediate neighbours, who rally at his cry; all the readier to follow him as they hear how their kinsmen of Engedi had suffered at the hands of the invaders. If each of them brought with him a following anything like Abraham's, it may have been a band of nearly 1,000 men who set off in pursuit. A five or six days' rapid march carries them up to Dan, at the sources of the Jordan. There are the invaders and their prey; three times, let us suppose, as numerous as their pursuers, but lying in loose array, in imagined security, ignorant

¹ “The mystery of this passage lies in the deceit of Abraham being recorded without any animadversion on the evil of it. . . . Though morality in the abstract is unchangeable, it looks as if in the concrete there was a progressive morality from one era to another—an accommodation to the ruder and earlier periods of humanity, distinctly intimated by our Saviour when he tells us of polygamy being allowed before the time of the Gospel, because of the hardness of their hearts.”—*Dr. Chalmers' "Daily Scripture Readings,"* vol. i., p. 21.

of the pursuit. Abraham espies them, but does not rush rashly to the attack. He waits till nightfall, pursues the tactics that Gideon afterwards pursued, divides his forces, from different quarters flings each company in upon the sleepers. The success is complete; a panic is created; they fly in all directions, leaving all their spoil behind. The victorious band chases them over the mountains to Hobah on the left hand (i.e., north) of Damascus, and returns.

It was mainly to rescue Lot that Abraham had embarked in this enterprise, but the men of Sodom were the chief gainers by the gallant exploit. Abraham brings back with him "all the people, and the women, and the goods," that had been carried off. The king of Sodom meets him on his return, and says to him, "Give me the persons, and take the goods to thyself." Nothing generous in the proposal: it had been ever the rule with such chiefs as those among whom Abraham was then living, that when any third party interfered and recovered spoil taken in war, the persons were restored, but the goods retained by the recoverers. We suspect, besides, that Abraham knew more about the man's ignoble nature than what appears on the surface of the narrative, and that it was the previous knowledge of how ready he would be to impute selfish motives to others that prompted him to make beforehand so solemn an oath. "And Abraham said to the king of Sodom, I have lifted up my hand unto the Lord, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that I will not take from a thread even to a shoe-latchet, and that I will not take anything that is thine, lest thou say, I have made Abraham rich." This unwillingness to incur even the shadow of an obligation may have arisen from the anxiety that not a word of reproach might be cast on him as a worshipper of the one true God; but mingling with this may there not have been here a stirring of honest pride, the spirit of independence, a touch of nature telling us that Abraham was a true brother of our humanity?

The brotherly affection, the friendly alliance with the Amorites, the spirit, energy, and skill displayed, the quick and complete success, the renouncing of all personal advantages, the tender care for his confederates, must have raised Abraham to high repute among the Canaanitish tribes. Had any of them been inclined to fancy that he had quarrelled with Lot, and parted with him in anger, as relatives often do; or, hearing the true story of the separation, had any of them been inclined to imagine that Abraham was one of those easy, passive, pliable natures, that would yield anything for peace, this deed of kindness and of bravery must have taught them how greatly they had wronged him in their thoughts,

and let them know that fire and force and a swift energy of action lay slumbering within all his gentleness, as the thunderbolt lurks amongst the soft drops of the summer shower. And had any of them meanly imagined that they saw in him a warlike chief whom they might hire by the hope of plunder to be their protector, his treatment of the king of Sodom made it very plain how utterly they were mistaken.

Abraham never stood higher in honour among his fellow-men than when the king of Sodom came out to meet him, and bowed (it may have been unwillingly) before him.

But there came out another before whom Abraham in his turn bowed—Melchizedek, the representative of a higher than earthly honour, a greater than earthly royalty. The two men who met that day and stood in each other's presence in the "King's Dale" (whose exact locality we must leave uncertain), were each solitary in his sphere, unique in the spiritual position he occupied. The one a last surviving confessor of the faith entrusted to Noah, committed to the treacherous custody of tradition; the other the first recipient of that new light from Heaven, which, concentrated in the Levitical institute, was to burn for centuries in Judea for the world's enlightenment. The one the setting sun of the primitive and universal; the other the morning star of the fresh and bright, but restricted, revelation. It was the new rendering homage to the old, the present to the past, when Abraham accepted the blessing at the hands of Melchizedek. But the latter had another and higher character. His office as priest of the most high God was of an entirely isolated order—underived and untransmitted, without beginning of days or end of years, there being no period when, the qualification for it being completed, it began, nor, when from age or other disqualification, it was laid aside. Standing rooted in and abiding wholly in himself, it was the chosen type of the one and only high-priesthood of the Son of God, even of Him in whom by virtue of his actings in this office all families of the earth were to be blessed. If the dimmest shadow of this fell upon Abraham's spirit, how deep the reverence with which he would bow, how great the readiness with which the blessing would be received and the tithe offered. Mysterious he is, and must remain—this king and priest of Salem, emerging from his hidden nook, his pedigree untold, his office undescribed, not a single event in all his former or in all his latter history related, appearing on that single occasion, to do that single act, to be recognised as a greater than Abraham, and then to pass away, coming and going like a spirit, casting no shadow before or behind.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.—III.

BY W. CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

ORDERS II.—V. BERBERIDACEÆ, NYMPHÆACEÆ, PAPAVERACEÆ, AND FUMARIACEÆ.



HE plants belonging to these four orders, though they may be of little interest to the Bible student, must nevertheless be included in any notice of the plants of Palestine, as some of them supply important elements to the floral beauties of that land. The relation that they bear to the vegetation is nearly the same as that which we find them occupying in the flora of Britain; and ten out of the thirty species recorded from the Holy Land are plants which are indigenous also in England.

The Berberids are represented among our native plants by the common barberry, a shrub not infrequent in hedges and copses, and well known by its bunches of small yellow flowers, and its yellow-coloured bark and wood. It is a plant of interest in many ways. The school-boy amuses himself by exciting the fitful action of its irritable stamens, the botanist refers to its spines as examples of strangely-altered leaves, and the agriculturist finds that his suspicions as to its deleterious influence on his grain crops are fully confirmed by the recent investigations of De Bary, which have established that the "smut," whose appearance is so much dreaded on the growing grain, is but another development of the "cluster-cup" of the barberry. The barberry of Palestine is found in the mountain regions, and is a different but closely allied species to the British plant, which it resembles in general appearance. Two humble weeds belonging to this order were noticed long ago by Rauwolf in his travels, the one called Lion's Leaf (*Leontice*), from a fancied resemblance of its leaf to the imprint of a lion's foot, and the other *Bongardia*. Both have tuberous roots; those of the latter plant are boiled or roasted, and used as an article of food by the Persians; while those of the former, sometimes called Lion's Turnips, are bruised and employed instead of soap in washing woollen garments. Both plants have been collected by all recent botanical travellers. They occur in cultivated fields throughout the whole of Palestine.

The Water-lilies are found only in Lake Merom, this being indeed almost the only locality in Palestine in which they could find the permanent water necessary to afford them a suitable habitat. Excluding the smaller yellow water-lily, which occurs, and that but rarely, in a few lakes in Scotland, there are only two water-lilies in Britain, the floating heart-shaped leaves and small yellow or large white flowers of which adorn our still waters and lakes. These two plants have an extensive geographical range, being found all over the temperate regions of the northern hemisphere. They grow together in Lake Merom, just as we find them associated in some of our English lakes.

The Nile was celebrated for its water-lilies, but the

most remarkable of them, the Nelumbium, has, like its companion the Papyrus, disappeared from its ancient habitat. It is found in temperate and sub-tropical Asia, from Persia eastwards to China and Japan. Herodotus describes two lilies in the Nile with sufficient accuracy to enable one to determine them as the Nelumbium and the common white Lotus. He says, "When the waters of the Nile have risen to their extremest height, and all the fields are overflowed, there appears above the surface an immense quantity of plants of the lily species, which the Egyptians call the lotus; having cut down these, they dry them in the sun. The seed of the flowers, which resembles that of the poppy, they bake, and make into a kind of bread; they also eat the root of this plant, which is round, of an agreeable flavour, and about the size of an apple. There is a second species of the lotus, which grows in the Nile, and which is not unlike a rose. The fruit, which grows from the bottom of the root, resembles a wasp's nest; it is found to contain a number of kernels of the size of an olive-stone, which are very grateful either fresh or dried." Strabo also and Theophrastus mention the Nelumbium as a native of Egypt. It was held in high esteem by the Egyptians, being used as an emblem of immortality, and often also made an object of worship. It was extensively employed as an architectural ornament, especially for the capitals of the pillars. The white lotus was also similarly used.

Dr. Royle has suggested that שושן (*shushan*) of the Old Testament, translated "lily" in the authorised version, is the water-lily of Egypt. He thus states his reasons for adopting this view: "If the Book of Canticles is the production of Solomon, it may be presumed to contain allusions to Egyptian objects, from his connection by marriage with that country; and in this case the lily to which he refers may be a plant of Egypt rather than of Palestine. And this appears to us to be the case, especially as the water-lily or lotus of the Nile seems suitable to most of the passages. Both the roots and the stalks form articles of diet in Eastern countries, and the large farinaceous seeds of both the Nymphaea and Nelumbium are roasted and eaten. In confirmation of this view we may adduce also the remarks of Dr. W. C. Taylor, in his *Bible Illustrated by Egyptian Monuments*, where he says that the lilies of Psalms xlv. and lxix. have puzzled all Biblical critics. The title, 'To the chief musician upon Shushannim,' has been supposed to be the name of some unknown tune to which the Psalm was to be sung. But Dr. Taylor says, 'The word Shushannim is universally acknowledged to signify lilies, and lilies have nothing to do with the subject of the ode. But this hymeneal ode was intended to be sung by the female attendants of the Egyptian princess, and they are

called "the lilies," not only by a poetic reference to the lotus lilies of the Nile, but by a direct allusion to their custom of making the lotus lily a conspicuous ornament of their head-dress.' Thus, therefore, all the passages of Scripture in which Shushan occurs appear to be explained by considering it to refer to the lotus lily of the Nile." Notwithstanding these ingenious reasonings, Dr. Roylo has scarcely established his case. The use of the lily in ornamenting the tops of the brazen pillars, and the brim of the brazen sea made for the Temple by Hiram of Tyre, seems to point to the favourite type of ornamentation among the Egyptians; but from the repeated use of the word in the Canticles we learn that the lily grew in pastures and among thorns, and that it was planted in gardens. These references are irreconcilable with the notion of Shushan being a water-lily, and point rather to a true lily, as is generally supposed.

The Poppies are not a numerous group of plants in Britain, yet they contribute not a little to its floral covering. The common red poppy is a troublesome weed, nevertheless its large scarlet flowers make it a striking object in and a great ornament to our corn-fields. Three smaller flowered species are found in waste places and dry banks all over the country, while

the sea-shores are in many places enlivened by the whitish foliage and the large yellow flowers of the horned poppy. The plants of this order possess a milky or coloured juice, which has narcotic properties, and which in *Papaver somniferum*, Linn., forms when dried the opium of commerce. There are seven distinct species of poppy known from Palestine, and of these three are the same as plants that are familiar to us in Britain. These are the common red poppy (*P. Rhœas*, Linn.) of our corn-fields, *P. hybridum*, Linn., with its globoso bristly fruit, and *P. Argemone*, Linn., with long bristly fruit. The yellow-horned poppy (*Glaucium luteum*, Scop.) ornaments the northern shores of Palestine as it does those of Britain; and the blue-flowered *Reveria hybrida*, De Cand., which is very rare with us, is abundant in the corn-fields and cultivated grounds of the Holy Land.

The Fumitories are a group of inconspicuous weeds, with irregular flowers and much divided leaves, which are abundant in waste places and fields. Eleven species have been recorded from Palestine. Of these three that are found high up in the mountains of the north are species that are also natives of Britain, while the forms that occur in the plains belong to species that are strangers to us.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.—III.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—ST. JAMES.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

"Behold, we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord; that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy."—Chap. v. 11.

FROM the stern, sharp warning to the rich unbelieving Jewish persecutors, which warning was inserted in this Epistle, as we have before remarked, partly to comfort the oppressed Christian with the immediate prospect of the coming judgment of the Lord, the Apostle turns again to his brethren who believed, and prays them earnestly to be patient, for a judgment was nigh at hand; and after a brief reminder, in verse 9, to be loving one towards the other, again more urgently resumes his exhortation to endurance, recalling to their remembrance the brave patience of the prophets in all their bitter trouble. "So we count these happy which endured" (this is a better supported reading than the present "endure"). "Ye have heard of the patience of Job and the end of the Lord; see ye that the Lord is very pitiful and merciful"—or, in other words, learn from the example of those prophets of Israel whose story you know so well, and of whose exceeding great reward you have no shadow of doubt; compare 2 Kings ii. for the glorious translation of one of these—Elijah—and our Lord's significant words, St. Matthew v. 12, "Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven, for so persecuted

they the prophets which were before you," and Job xlii. for the great peace and prosperity which the patriarch was permitted to enjoy after his hard trials. See ye, from such examples as these, how pitiful and loving, how full of tender mercy the Lord is. The imperative (*idete*), "see ye," has been adopted by Alford, Meyer, Wiesinger, and others, as being the reading of the older MSS. It is, however, fair to say, that the reading of the Sinaitic MS. has the usually received reading *eidete*, "ye have seen" (*vidistis*). The balance of the more ancient and trustworthy MSS. is in this instance nearly even.

A remarkable exposition of the words, "Ye have seen the end of the Lord," applying them to Christ, is found in St. Augustin (*Sermo de Symbolo*). "What end of the Lord?" asks Augustin. "My God, my God, why hast thou deserted me?" These are the words of the Lord hanging upon the tree, as if He (God) had abandoned him as far as regards present bliss, but had not abandoned him as far as regards eternal immortality. There is the end of the Lord; the Jews hold him, the Jews bind him, they crown him with thorns, they defile him with spitting, they scourge him, they overwhelm him with reviling, they hang him on the tree, they pierce him with a lance; lastly, they bury him. He is, as it were, deserted. But by whom? By those railing men. Therefore he thou

(also) patient, that thou mayest rise again and not die—that is, that thou mayest never die, like unto Christ; for we read, ‘Christ being raised from the dead, dieth

no more’” (Rom. vi. 9). Augustin is followed in this interpretation of the “end of the Lord” by Bede, Lyra, Estius, and Wetstein.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.—II.

BY THE REV. CANON RAWLINSON, M.A., CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.



CERTAIN amount of light is thrown on the narrative contained in Gen. xiv. by the inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria. We learn from that narrative that in the time of Abraham (about B.C. 2100—1900)

an important monarchy was established in Elam, under a king named Chedor-laomer (more properly, Kedor-Lagomer¹), to whom Babylonia and other adjacent countries were subject, and who was powerful enough to carry his arms into Syria, and to exercise dominion for the space of twelve years over the more eastern parts of Palestine. The position of Elam is well marked by the Greek and Roman geographers, who place it between Persia Proper and Babylonia, to the east of the lower Tigris.² In classical times, and in Oriental history as made known to us by the classical writers, the country appears as insignificant; it is never independent; and though it has a line of native kings,³ they at no time show themselves of much importance, even among vassal princes. Till recently the passage of Genesis stood alone in representing Elam as a great kingdom, one capable of exercising for a time the chief authority in Western Asia, of establishing her supremacy over Babylonia, and making expeditions to the distance of a thousand miles from her proper frontier. But the later Assyrian inscriptions have now shown that from the time of Sargon (B.C. 722) to nearly the close of the empire, Elam was the second power in Western Asia, that she sturdily maintained her independence, and long resisted the utmost efforts of Assyria to bring her into subjection. These inscriptions, which are too long to quote, will be found translated in M. Oppert's *Histoire des Sargonides*, and a good account is also given of them by Mr. George Smith, in an article contributed to the *North British Review*.⁴ The bulk of the inscriptions in question indicate simply the power of Elam during the eighth and seventh centuries before our era, and though interesting as showing of what the country and people were capable, have no direct bearing on the narrative in Genesis, which relates to a time more than a thousand years earlier. There is one passage, however, in an inscription of Sardanapalus,

the son of Esar-haddon, which goes further, and directly asserts the antiquity of the power of Elam, and especially the establishment of her supremacy over Babylonia about the period in question.

“Kudur-Nakhunta, the Elamite,” says Sardanapalus,⁵ “who respected not the worship of the great gods, but in his wicked resolution trusted to his own might, laid his hands on the temples of Accad,⁶ and he oppressed Accad: [and Accad was oppressed until] the days were full, for one thousand six hundred and thirty-five years under the Elamites.” The Assyrian monarch further relates that Kudur-Nakhunta, the Elamite, carried off from the Babylonian city of Erech a statue of the goddess Nana, or Venus, which remained at Susa till his own conquest of that city, when he restored it to its primitive abode. He seems to reckon the termination of the Babylonian oppression as effected by this restoration; and as it took place about B.C. 650, the Elamite conquest of Babylonia would seem to have belonged, according to the Assyrian computation, to about the year B.C. 2286.

This statement of the great Sardanapalus, the son of Esar-haddon, even if it stood alone, would be most curious and interesting. Different critics might estimate diversely the value of the exact date given, according as they believed or disbelieved in the possession by the Assyrians of an accurate chronology⁷ reaching to so remote an era. But, whatever might be thought of the date assigned to the establishment of Elamitic supremacy over Babylon, the facts that the Assyrians of the seventh century B.C. believed such a supremacy to have existed, that they considered they had material evidence of it, and that they ascribed it to a time anterior to the probable date of Abraham—these facts would remain, and would constitute an illustration of the Scriptural narrative of considerable interest. They would show that at any rate there was nothing improbable, in the opinion of those who knew Babylon and Elam when they existed side by side, in an ancient superiority of the latter over the former, and that the

¹ The Hebrew word is כדרלעמר, which would be better rendered by Kedorlagomer than by “Chedorlaomer.” The LXX. have Χεδωρλαγομερ.

² See Strab. xv. 3, § 12; Ptol., vi. 3; Pliny, H. N., vi. 26; and compare Bochart, *Phaleg*, ii. 3.

³ These are mentioned by Strabo as existing in Parthian times (xvi. 1, § 19).

⁴ See *North British Review*, No. civ., July, 1870, Article I.

⁵ See the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. i., part i., p. 33. Compare the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, Nov., 1868, p. 116.

⁶ “Accad” is a usual term for Babylon in the Assyrian inscriptions. Compare Gen. x. 10.

⁷ The exactness of the Assyrian chronology up to B.C. 911—the first year of the famous “Canon”—can scarcely be disputed. Nor can it be doubted that the later Assyrian kings believed that they possessed an exact chronology for above a thousand years before n.c. 911. But different opinions may be held as to the value which ought to be assigned to this belief.

fact of such a superiority having existed was credited by those who had no interest in misrepresenting the matter.

The Elamitic conquest of Babylon does not, however, rest solely on this evidence. Documents probably fourteen hundred years older, found in Babylonia itself, establish the fact that at least one king of the country held his crown as a fief under an Elamitic monarch, who had placed and maintained him upon the throne. Kudur-Mabuk, whose probable date¹ is about B.C. 2100, and who is distinctly called "King of Elam," established his son, Ardu-Sin, in Babylonia, and names him with himself in his inscriptions, invoking the blessing of the gods upon him.² Similarly, Ardu-Sin mentions and invokes blessings on his father, "Kudur-Mabuk, lord of Elam."³ It is further remarkable that this same "Kudur-Mabuk, lord of Elam," calls himself also "lord of Syria," thereby implying that his dominion reached from the mountains of Luristan on the one side to the Mediterranean upon the other, which is exactly what Scripture implies of Chedorlaomer.

¹ This date depends on the character of Kudur-Mabuk's bricks compared with others in the Babylonian series, on their position in the Babylonian buildings, and on the relation of the later kings in the Babylonian (early) series to the earlier ones in the Assyrian. (See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i., p. 16; vol. ii., pp. 55, 56. Compare *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. i., pp. 67-69.)

² Mr. George Smith gives the following as a literal translation of an inscription of Kudur-Mabuk's:—"To Ur his king, Kudur-Mabuk, lord of Syria, son of Simti-silhak, worshipper of Ur, his protector marching before him, Bitrubmah, for his preservation, and the preservation of Ardu-Sin, his son, King of Larsa, they built." (*Transactions*, vol. i., p. 43.)

³ The following inscription of Ardu-Sin's is given in the same work (*ibid.*):—"Ardu-Sin, the powerful man, the high ruler, established by Bel, nourisher of Ur, King of Larsa, King of Sumir and Akkad, son of Kudur-Mabuk, the lord of Elam, Ur the great he embellished, its . . . he established; Ur, my king, blessed me; the great wall of Harris-galla to prevent invasion, its circuit I raised, I built, the city I encircled; the great tower of Ur strongly I constructed."

The native inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria tell us, therefore, three things concerning this early period, namely:—First, that there was a powerful dynasty established in Elam about B.C. 2300-2000; secondly, that this dynasty exercised authority over Babylon; and thirdly, that it had carried its arms into Syria; thus confirming three of the main and most surprising facts contained in the narrative of Gen. xiv.

A few words may be added upon the name, Chedorlaomer. Though the native inscriptions have not yet yielded this name, they have furnished us with its elements, rendered it intelligible, and shown us that it is formed on the exact analogy of other names borne about the same time by other Elamitic kings. Chedor, or Kudur (to adopt the Elamitic form), is "seed" or "offspring," corresponding with the ancient Persian *chitra*⁴ and the Zend *chithra*. Lagomer was an Elamitic deity, as were Mabuk and Nakhunta. Kudur-Lagomer (Chedorlaomer), Kudur-Nakhunta, Kudur-Mabuk are three names formed exactly on the same model; they mean "the offspring of Lagomer," "the offspring of Nakhunta (Venus)," and "the offspring of Mabuk (Rhea)." They show us that the ancient Elamitic monarchs claimed kindred with their deities, just as did the ancient Egyptians and the later Parthians, and affected names which expressed this relationship. They constitute a group, each member of which reflects light on the other two. It is an evidence of the historical veracity of the author of the Pentateuch, that, having occasion to mention an Elamitic king, he gives us a name utterly unintelligible to a Hebrew, but which is significant in the Elamitic tongue, and which is formed exactly on the type of other names of kings who must have ruled in Elam at about the same period.

⁴ See *Persep. Inscr.*, No. 6, par. 2, last word. Compare the name *Chitratakhma* in the Behistun inscription, col. ii., par. 14.

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.—III.

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CHAPTER II.—THE WYCLIFFITE VERSIONS.

THE most conspicuous name in the religious history of England during the fourteenth century is that of John de Wycliffe.¹ He was born about the year 1320, near Richmond, in Yorkshire; and died at Lutterworth, on the last day of the year 1384. His life is closely connected with the University of Oxford, in connection with which he held in succession various important offices: in 1356 he is Seneschal (or steward) of Merton College, in 1361 Master of Balliol, in 1365 Warden of Canterbury Hall, a foundation afterwards merged in that of Christ

Church. In 1374 we find him at Bruges, one of the commissioners sent by the king, Edward III., to treat with the Papal Nuncio on the subject of "reservation of benefices," an encroachment by which many of the livings in England had been drawn into the hands of the Pope. In the same year he was presented by the king to the rectory of Lutterworth, which preferment he retained to the close of his life. His last years were troubled by persistent attacks from the enemies whom his uncompromising resistance to the abuses of the times had aroused against him. In 1377 he is summoned before Convocation, at St. Paul's, to answer charges of erroneous teaching; in the following year he appears before a synod at Lambeth; three years later the Chancellor of the University of Oxford condemns opinions on the

¹ Or Wyclif, or Wiclif. The name is written in twenty or thirty different ways.

eucharist which were ascribed to Wycliffe and his followers. Amidst these assaults, occasioned by his faithful teaching, and his vehement opposition to the "begging friars" (whom he pronounced to be the "cause, beginning, well, and maintaining of perturbation in Christendom, and of all evils of this world"), he pursued to the last his course of unremitting devotion to the work of teaching and preaching. The powerful patronage of John of Gaunt and others of high station and great influence saved Wycliffe from the fierce persecution which overpowered many of his adherents. Nicholas de Hereford was excommunicated and imprisoned, and seems to have regained his liberty at the sacrifice of his Lollard opinions. Ashton gave way for a time; Repington recanted, and became a persecutor of his former friends. John Purvey, who was Wycliffe's associate at Lutterworth, suffered imprisonment in 1390; in 1400, terrified by the fate of Sautre, who was burnt alive as a heretic, he publicly retracted his obnoxious tenets; the record of a second imprisonment in 1421 affords evidence that he rejoined the party of which he had been the leader. We must not, however, dwell on the fortunes of these early reformers: it is from their connection with the first translation of the Bible into English that they call for notice here.

At this point several questions present themselves. Is there sufficient ground for believing that Wycliffe translated the Scriptures into English? If he did, where is his translation? Did he stand alone in this work, or was it accomplished with the help of others? Is his translation really the *first*? These questions have received various answers in former times, but there is now little room for serious difference of opinion.

We possess two early versions of the Bible, closely related to each other, and yet separated by clear marks of distinction. It is certain that these versions were made in the closing years of the fourteenth century. As the art of printing was invented fifty years later, and not introduced into England until 1471, the English Bible was only accessible in manuscript to its earliest readers. In point of fact, however, neither of these versions (which we shall designate as the early and the later) ever appeared in print until 1850. In Dr. James's "Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture" (1612), many passages are quoted from a MS.¹ of the later version, and the New Testament in the same version was published by Lewis (1731), by Baber (1810), and in Bagster's *English Hexapla* (1841). Of the early version the first portion printed was the Song of Solomon, given by Dr. A. Clarke in the third volume of his Commentary (1823): the New Testament was published by Pickering in 1848. In 1850 the Oxford University press issued a complete edition of the two versions in four volumes, under the title, "The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books, in the earliest English versions made from the Latin Vulgate

by John Wycliffe and his followers; edited by the Rev. J. Forshall and Sir F. Madden." This noble work, the fruit of twenty-two years of labour, is the source of almost all our knowledge on the subject of the Wycliffite versions. As many as 170 MSS. were examined by the editors, and the various readings of some sixty MSS. are given throughout. Words that are obsolete or obscure are explained in a glossary appended to the fourth volume. In a masterly preface the editors discuss the whole question of the origin and mutual relations of the two versions, and their main conclusions have met with universal acceptance.

We have designated the two versions "early" and "later," but until the appearance of the Oxford edition the correct appropriation of these names was matter of doubt. That the translation which was first executed must be associated with Wycliffe's name has not been questioned; but the publications of Lewis, Baber, and Bagster, referred to above, profess to contain "Wycliffe's Testament," though really presenting the later version. On what ground, then, is that translation which formerly passed as the earlier, now considered to be the later of the two? The evidence is of various kinds, but it will be sufficient to refer to that which is furnished by the preface to this version, commonly known as the General Prologue. This prologue is of considerable length, occupying a space equal to about thirty-six of these pages. The writer first gives an abstract of the contents of the several books, from Genesis to 2 Chronicles, and forcibly applies the lessons drawn from the Books of Chronicles to the circumstances of his own time. Then follows a brief notice of the remaining books of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, with the exception of the prophetic books, to which a special prologue was devoted. After discussing the general principles of interpretation, the writer enters on a defence of translations of Scripture, and concludes with a very interesting account of his own mode of procedure. "A simple creature," he says, "hath translated the Bible out of Latin into English. First this simple creature had much travail, with divers fellows and helpers, to gather many old Bibles and other doctors and common glosses, and to make one Latin Bible somewhat [partly] true; and then to study it anew, the text with the gloss and other doctors as he might get, and specially Lire [Lira] on the Old Testament, that helped full much in this work; the third time to counsel with old grammarians and old divines, of hard words and hard sentences, how they might best be understood and translated; the fourth time to translate as clearly as he could to the sentence [sense], and to have many good fellows and cunning at the correcting of the translation." He shows that "in translating into English, many resolutions can make the sentence open." For "the master reading, I stand," we may write "while [or "if," &c.] the master readeth, I stand;" "saying" may be changed into "and saith" or "that saith;" "which runneth" into "and he runneth." Instead of translating literally *Dominum formidabunt adversarii ejus*, 1 Sam. ii. 10 ("the Lord his adversaries

¹ Evidently No. 277 in the Bodleian Library, of which he was the first librarian. This MS. is denoted by the letter I in the Oxford edition.

shall dread"), we may say "the adversaries of the Lord shall dread him;" *arescentibus hominibus pre timore*, Luke xxi. 26, may be expressed by "and men shall wax dry for dread." Those who find faults in this translation are entreated to alter it into the true sense of Holy Writ; but the critic is warned first to examine truly his Latin Bible, for "no doubt he shall find full many Bibles in Latin full false, if he look at many, namely [especially] new; and the common Latin Bibles have more need to be corrected, as many as I have seen in my life, than hath the English Biblo late translated." His concluding words are memorable: "By this manner, with good living and great travail, men can come to true and clear translating, and true understanding of Holy Writ, seem it never so hard at the beginning. God grant to us all grace to know well and keep well Holy Writ, and suffer joyfully some pain for it at the last! Amen."

It will be seen that the writer of this prologue refers to a former translation into English which stood in need of correction, and gives clear indications of the changes which must be made in order to transform a sentence literally rendered into one that runs smoothly and presents a clear sense. On comparing the two versions of which we are speaking, we find that in the passages referred to, and in a multitude of other places, the renderings differ in the very particulars specified above; one version being characterised by close adherence to the Latin construction, the other showing a true appreciation of English idiom. When we add that the more literal version "is found in these MSS. which are the earlier in point of date," and that "these MSS. are comparatively rare,"¹ it will hardly be doubted that this version is the earlier of the two.

¹ Preface to Oxford edition, p. xxii.

or that the other translation is the work of the writer of the General Prologue. It is not necessary to pursue this question further, or to examine the grounds on which a contrary opinion was formerly held by those who were not in possession of the evidence now before us.

The next question is that of authorship. Both versions are anonymous. The peril to which a translator of Scripture was exposed rendered such concealment strictly necessary. We can hardly doubt, however, that the later version was executed by Purvey. His close association with Wycliffe, his learning, and his eminence amongst the Lollards after Wycliffe's death, first led to the conjecture that the work was from his hand; but the most convincing proof is furnished by the General Prologue, which agrees remarkably, both in style and in sentiment, with writings which can be proved to be Purvey's. Still less hesitation can be felt in associating Wycliffe with the earlier work. On this point friends and foes are at one in their testimony. Henry Knighton, who wrote his Chronicle within twenty years of Wycliffe's death, complains that John Wycliffe had translated the Gospel into the English tongue, and made it more plain to the laity and to women than it formerly was even to the learned amongst the clergy, thus throwing the Gospel pearl before swine. From John Huss, the Bohemian reformer (writing in 1411), we learn that it was then said by the English that Wycliffe had translated the whole Bible into their vernacular tongue. To Wycliffe then must be assigned the post of honour in connection with this noble undertaking. Earnestly maintaining that "Christian men ought much to travail night and day about text of Holy Writ, and namely [especially] the Gospel in their mother tongue," he could not rest until he had placed in the hands of his unlettered countrymen the Law of God and "the Gospel of Christ's life."

MUSIC OF THE BIBLE.—II.

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STRINGED INSTRUMENTS (*continued*).

NEBEL.

THIS instrument will naturally present itself for our consideration after the *kinnor*, not only because it seems from all accounts to have been an instrument of a more elaborated character, and consequently of greater capabilities than the *kinnor*, both as to tone and pitch, but also because it is mentioned in the Bible later chronologically. It is not mentioned until 1 Sam. x. 5. This fact seems to add weight to the opinion that it was of Phœnician origin, inasmuch as the intercourse between Phœnicia and Israel was not very close until about that period. It is called *Sidonian* by the poet quoted by Athenæus, lib. iv., c. 4:—

Οὕτε Σιδωνίου ναβλα
λαρυγγόφωνος ἐκκεχορδῶται τύπος.

In the Psalms and Nehemiah it is translated by ψαλτήριον

("psaltery"), with the exception of Ps. lxxi. 22, "I will also praise thee with the *psaltery*, even thy truth, O my God," where the word is ψαλμὸς; and also of Ps. lxxxi. 2, "Take a *psalm*, bring hither the tabret," where the Greek is κυθάρα. With regard to the other places in Holy Scripture where it is mentioned, the Septuagint generally has it as ναβλίον,νάβλα,νάβλη,ναύλα, or νάβλας. As would be expected, the Latin forms are *nablium*, *nablam*, or *nabla*. In speaking of the *kinnor*, it was stated that that instrument was either a large or simple form of harp; and those who assumed that the *kinnor* was the larger, would imagine the *nebel* to be the smaller. Hence certain writers, amongst them Jerome, Cassiodorus, Isidorus, have believed the *nebel* to be of that simple form of harps, describing a mere Δ shape, which were given in Figs. 1 to 7. But on the other hand it must not be overlooked that the harp, like every other musical instrument, was undoubtedly im-

proved upon from time to time, and the very fact of the comparative lateness of the allusion to the *nebel* in the Bible would point to the fact that it was of a somewhat highly developed construction. As regards simple and early forms of harps, some writers have laid great stress on the fact that the hollow resonance-box was held uppermost, and have in this way drawn a contrast between the harp and the guitar family. But this resolves itself into the plain question of the position in which the ancients held their harps when playing. That it was often different to our mode there can be no doubt from such representations as Fig. 16, which is copied from a Greek vase in the royal collection at Munich, and which represents a female playing on a harp, having the resonance-box leaning against her shoulder.



Fig. 16.

But the most noticeable distinction between ancient and modern harps seems to be the almost universal absence of a third side to the wooden framework of the former. This will be easily observed by glancing at the various illustrations of harps which have been and which will be given. This third side forms a very important feature in more modern instruments, and not only adds to the strength of the instrument, but also allows the strings to be drawn to a greater tension than could otherwise be the case. In fact, it seems difficult to believe how the woodwork, when consisting only of two sides, could stand the strain upon it when tuning. To those who have not given attention to the subject, this tension seems almost incredible. In the case of a grand pianoforte, which contains more strings than any other instrument in use, the tension, it is calculated, is eleven or twelve tons. The third side of a harp is far from spoiling its appearance. Illustrations are appended of two fine old Irish harps. The date of the first (Fig. 17) is not precisely known. Fig. 18 is copied (by the kind permission of the authorities of the South

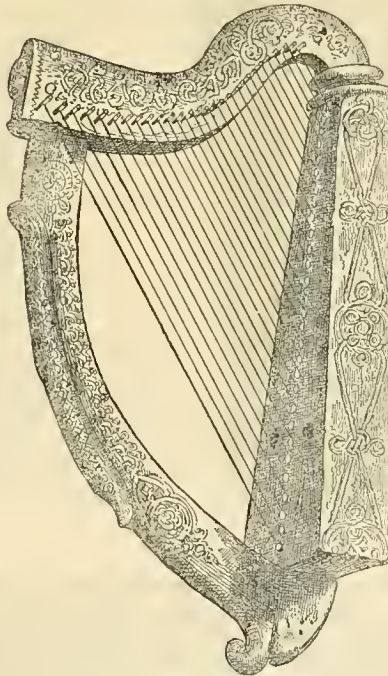


Fig. 17.

Kensington Museum) from their cast of the original instrument, preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, which was the property of the famous Brian Bóirímhé, who ascended the throne A.D. 1001.

The word *nebel* is by some traced to a root signifying a "rounded vase," or "leather bottle." If this derivation be correct, we can imagine that the instrument was conspicuous for the shape of one of its sides, if it had two sides; or if it were curvilinear, from the form of the hollow framework. It is quite possible that it might have been like those delineated in Figs. 19 and 20.

But it is nearly always dangerous to argue from the derivation of names of instruments. For instance, what could the musical historian of a thousand years hence gather of the construction of a harmonium, seraphine, accordion, or euphonium, from the derivation of their respective names? or, worse still, from the word "pianoforte," or the "soft-loud!" Some have carried this misguiding principle so far as to say that because *nebel* was derived from "rounded vase" or "leather bottle," that it would therefore answer the description of a *bagpipe*! This is, at least, an ingenious theory, but fortunately a well-defined title is given to the Hebrew bagpipe (on the subject of which more will be said by-and-by), namely, *symphonia*, which luckily renders this suggestion unworthy of consideration.

This is not the only theory as to the nature of a *nebel* which has been hazarded. Although it seems almost certain that it was a harp, some have suggested that it was a guitar. It may be well here to state plainly the difference between a lyre and a guitar. It is this, that the strings of a lyre have nothing behind them at their upper termination, whereas the guitar possesses behind the strings a narrow piece of wood, which when elongated forms the neck. This piece of wood is called the finger-board and neck. Figs. 21 and 22 will

show the difference between the two families of instruments plainly. The first (Fig. 21) showing a youth playing on a lyre, the next (Fig. 22) an Arabian playing on a guitar.

Now there is one very strong argument against the

that the Arabians now use them, it seems very difficult to believe that the Hebrews were actually without them, only it must be confessed it is impossible to say by what name they were known. The next illustration (Fig. 23) is from a tomb near Thebes, and shows two

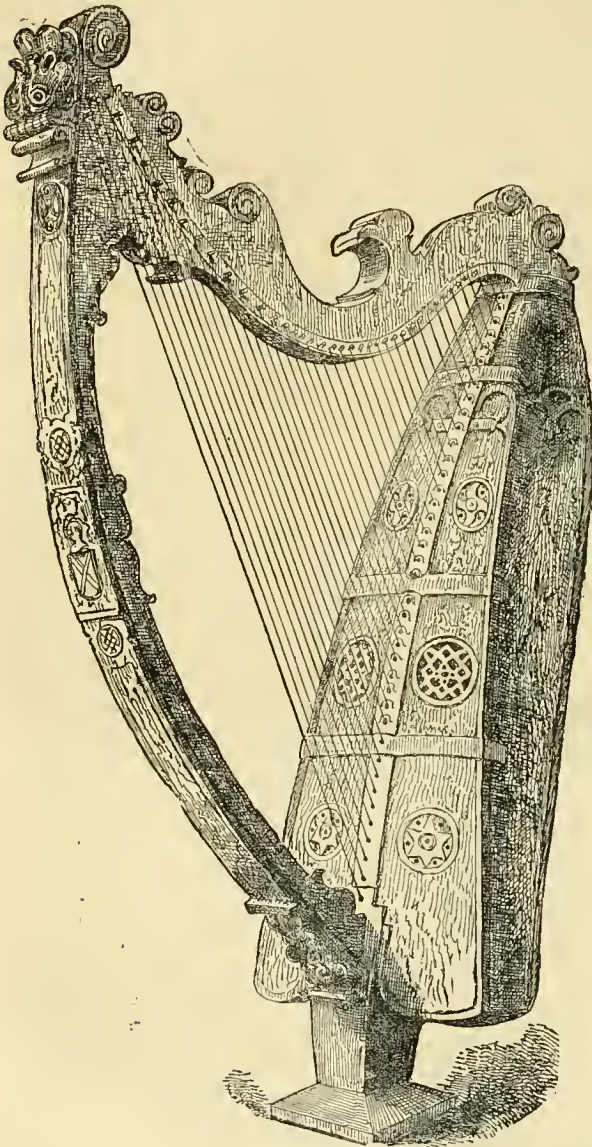


Fig. 18.

probability of the *nebel* being a guitar: it is this, that whereas the *nebel* is not unfrequently mentioned in Roman and Greek authors, instruments with long necks seem to have been practically unknown to them, or at the most to have been known to them only through examples depicted on sculpture which had been captured and carried home.

But as there are indisputable proofs that the Egyptians had instruments of this kind, and as it happens



Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.

women playing on guitars, to the sounds of which it was not unusual to dance.

These instruments seem to modern eyes to possess disproportionately long necks—they are often twice, sometimes three times the length of the body. But if Italian instruments of this class, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, be examined, it will be found that this proportion is common enough. It would be interesting to know whether *frets* were known to the ancients. For

the sake of non-musical readers it ought to be stated that frets are those small, slightly raised ridges placed on the finger-board at such distances that if the fingers squeeze the strings down over them, in consecutive order, the chromatic scale can be produced by striking

Nebels, like *kinnors*, were made of fir-wood, and afterwards of alnug. Samuel told the newly-anointed king Saul that he would meet "a company of prophets coming down from the high place with a *psaltery*" and other musical instruments. And afterwards "David



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.

or plucking the strings. They also enable the player to produce a chord which shall be strictly in tune if his fingers lie on any part of a string lying between one fret and that immediately following it, as shown in Fig. 24.

But in any case these long-necked instruments are of great importance historically, as it seems quite impossible for the players on them to have noticed that the placing of fingers on particular parts of a string would produce different notes, without also noticing what the distance between these points was as compared with the whole length of the string. When this was once done, a knowledge of the laws of harmonies must have necessarily followed, and from a combination of harmonies a rational system of harmony would naturally grow. Many have thought that the Egyptians were no strangers to such scientific knowledge, and that the Greeks, who always improved upon what they borrowed, derived their elaborate formation of scales from them. We ought to be interested in this question, because we unquestionably owe our modern music more or less to the Greeks.

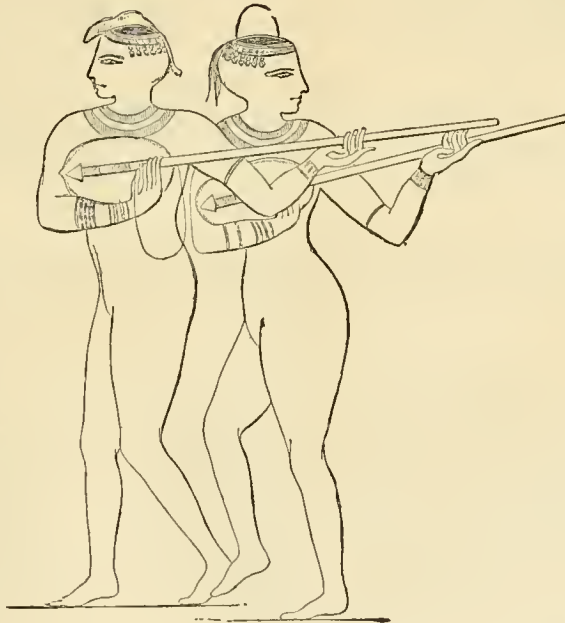


Fig. 23.

and all the house of Israel played before the Lord on all manner of instruments made of fir-wood, even on harps and on *psalteries*," &c. On the happy event of the fetching of the ark from Kirjath-jearim, "David and all Israel played before God with all their might" on harps, psalteries, and timbrels. In 1 Chron. xv. 18 the names of the players on *nebel*s are carefully recorded. It is evident that David himself was as proficient on the *nebel* as on the *kinnor*, although he set aside special players for special instruments (1 Chron. xxv. 1, &c.). In the Book of Psalms frequent mention is made of the *nebel* (Ps. xxxiii. 2; lvii. 8; lxxi. 22; lxxx. 2;

xcii. 3; cviii. 2; cxliv. 9; cl. 3). It was not restricted in its use to religious ceremonies: Isaiah complains, "The harp, and the *viol*, the tabret, and pipe are in their feasts" (Isa. v. 12); and similarly Amos writes, "Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy *viols*" (Amos v. 23), and prophesies woe on those that "lie on beds of ivory," "eat lambs out of the flock," "drink wine in bowls," and "chant to the sound of the *viol*." In old

English translations of Ps. lxxxi. 2. the *nebel* is also called a "viol." But it must be understood that in all these passages the translators used the word carelessly, and not in the least wishing to suggest that the Hebrews had an instrument commonly played with a bow.

azor, &c. It may not be unfair to argue from this that its tones were deep and heavy, and were best adapted to form the groundwork of other combinations of various qualities and pitch.

The instrument shown in Fig. 25 seems to have been



Fig. 24.



Fig. 25.

It is remarkable that the *nebel* is always used in conjunction with some other musical instrument: for instance, with the *toph* (tambour), *shophar* (trumpet),

the link between the harp and guitar family, and as such is interesting. It is not an uncommon form amongst a few modern nations.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—IV.

THE PATRIARCHS.

ABRAHAM (*continued*).

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.

III.—IN INTERCOURSE WITH GOD.

IT is not his ancestry, nor his rank, nor his wealth, nor his moral worth and general attractiveness, nor the progeny that sprang from him, not even his devout character and his religious creed, which give to Abraham the place he holds in the history of our race. He might have been the greatest and richest of the sons of the East, the forefather of a great nation, the first of a long and proud dynasty of kings, the worshipper, as Melchizedek was, of the one true God; but had nothing more been true of him he might have lived and died, leaving a comparatively faint impress of his existence behind him. His distinction and his glory lay in his being chosen by God to be His instrument for effecting a special purpose of His grace towards mankind; and in that special favour and fellowship with God into which as such he was introduced.

Left to itself, put upon its second trial, the world was lapsing gradually away from the pure primitive faith of Adam, Enoch, Noah, and Melchizedek. Not that it had yet fallen wholly or generally into gross idolatry, but that it was upon the slippery edge of the descent. To preserve, protect, transmit, and propagate the faith that was thus imperilled, and so usher in the advent of our Lord and Saviour, God was pleased to select a man, sever him from his kindred, transport him to a new and fitting home, institute and qualify him as the fresh fountain-head of that simple and sublime belief in the one great God and Father of mankind which the three religions of Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity have adopted, and which is destined to be accepted over all the earth.

In executing His purpose, God was pleased to show special favour to Abraham, to break the silence kept since Noah's time, to enter into direct personal inter-

course, to manifest Himself and make known His will by visible appearances, by audible address, in dream, in trance, in bodily presence. In one or other of these modes he directed Abraham to forsake country, home, and kindred, to go to a land that He should show him. He promised to make his name great, and to make of him a great nation; to bless him, and make him to be a blessing to all the families of the earth. He led him to and pointed out to him the chosen land; told him that his seed was to be as the dust of the earth, as the stars of heaven, as the sand of the sea-shore in multitude. He entered into covenant with him, foretold the fate of his descendants for the next four hundred years, pre-announced the birth of Isaac, appointed the rite of circumcision, sat and ate, and talked with him at the tent-door, took him into his confidence as to the doom of Sodom and Gomorrah, suffered him to intercede for them, tried him by asking the offering up of Isaac, and closed the open intercourse by repeating and ratifying with a solemn oath the first and greatest of his promises.

It is no homely household divinity, no limited, local, tribal, or national god who is represented as speaking and acting thus; but the great Being whom Abraham recognised as "the most high God, possessor (or founder) of heaven and earth" (Gen. xiv. 22), "the Almighty God" (xvii. 1), "the Lord, the everlasting God" (xxi. 33), "Jehovah, the Judge of all the earth" (xv. 2, 8; xviii. 25). Doubtless the temporal blessings promised by this God to Abraham shadowed forth still higher spiritual blessings. Doubtless the dim and distant but wide and limitless perspective opened up to the eye of faith took in the day of Christ and stretched far away into the endless future. But into the spiritual significance, as meant by God or as understood by Abraham, of all that the Almighty revealed to Abraham, we do not enter. On seven different occasions did God hold personal converse with Abraham in Canaan, loosely scattered, as we might think, over the fifty years of his middle life, but all well-timed, with touches in them of great tenderness and strong personal regard. To give but a single instance. The quick pursuit, the night assault, the chase over the mountains, the triumphant procession home, were all full of high excitement. But when the stir and strife and triumph were exchanged for the quiet tent life at Mamre, what more likely than that fear should creep into Abraham's heart that after such an inglorious defeat by so small a band, these powerful Eastern chiefs should return in fuller force for retaliation and revenge? And what more opportune than that the Lord would then appear to him, not to speak to him on general subjects, as before, but to say, "Fear not, Abram?" It is a father naming his child by name, as with gentle hand he would hush the agitated heart—"Fear not, I am thy shield"—"I was thy shield in the recent conflict, and I am and ever shall be the same to thee; and if this shield be my omnipotence, what hast thou to fear?" "I am thy exceeding great reward"—"Thou hast gained but little for thyself, but hast thou not Me for thy portion? Let them come and take

from thee what they please, that portion will abide untouched, and for ever be full and satisfying." Up to the time of this interview, Abraham might have thought—indeed, one does not see how he could have thought otherwise—that his seed would come into immediate possession of the land. But now, in the horror of the great darkness, the new intelligence is conveyed to him that his seed should be strangers in a strange land, and afflicted there for 400 years. If so, what of himself? Would he have to share in that affliction, or be cut off before it came? Was it not to allay any personal anxiety that might be created by the tidings thus communicated that, in the very middle of a prophecy embracing the fate of generations, the sentence is inserted, "And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; thou shalt be buried in a good old age?" (Gen. xv. 15).

Abraham was advanced in years, nearly a third of his life was over when the call from heaven came to him; and he had been brought up, as Joshua tells us (xxiv. 2), among those who "served other gods." Did the call come from a Being before unknown, who had to reveal who and what he was, as well as to inspire the new disposition to trust, and give the needed strength to obey? There might have been an immediate revelation and inspiration of this kind. We prefer rather to believe that the call was recognised as coming from one already known, and welcomed by one who had been struggling as best he could to breast the tide that was running strong all round. This belief is confirmed by the many legends and traditions—heathen, Jewish, and Mohammedan—which cover the space left void in the Scripture narrative. Grotesque and incredible as so many of these appear, they all agree in representing Abraham as standing free from the spreading contagion of idolatry, and as having suffered persecution for his monotheistic faith. One specimen may be quoted. Brought while yet a child out of the cave in which he is represented as having been born, and looking round on all the strange objects that met his eye, he asked his mother how all these things came to be there. She told him that there was nothing in all the world that had not its own lord upon whom it depended. "Who then," the child said, "is my Lord; on whom do I depend?" "On me," was the reply. "And who is thy lord?" "Thy father." "And who is my father's lord?" "Nimrod the king." "And who is Nimrod's lord?" She could not tell, and so struck him, and told him to ask no more questions; but he turned away, saying, "I will acknowledge no other god than He that created the heaven and earth and all that is in them." Trying afterwards to disabuse his father of his idolatry, Terah got angry, and carried him to Nimrod. "Let us worship the fire," said the king. "Rather," said Abraham, "the water that quenches the fire." "Well, the water." "Rather the cloud that carries the water." "Well, the cloud." "Rather the wind that scatters the cloud." "Thou art a babbler," said Nimrod; "I worship the fire, and will cast thee into it." The pile was raised and lighted, and he was cast into the flames.

Seven days they kindled against him, but in vain, and he came forth to testify afterwards that those seven days were the most precious of all his life.¹

¹ Kitto's *History of Palestine*, p. 46; *Antediluvians and Patriarchs*, p. 189.

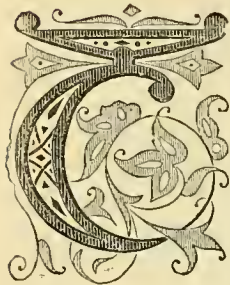
Turning from these fables to the narrative in the Book of Genesis, let us notice how Abraham is represented as comporting himself in that wonderful communion with the Most High, to which he alone of all his fellows was admitted.

THE OLD TESTAMENT.—III.

THE PENTATEUCH.

EXODUS.

BY THE VERY REV. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.



THE second book of the Pentateuch is called Exodus, from a Greek word signifying *Departure*. In Hebrew it is simply called *The Names*, from the opening words. It naturally divides into two parts: the first, consisting of chaps. i.—xix., detailing the circumstances under which

the children of Israel left Egypt; and the second, consisting of chaps. xx.—xl., narrating the giving of the law upon Mount Sinai, and the building of the ark as the symbol of Jehovah's presence and the centre of his worship.

Four hundred years and more had elapsed since the descent of Jacob and his family into Egypt. Such had been the terms of the prediction to Abraham: his seed was "to be a stranger and a servant in a land that was not their's for four hundred years" (Gen. xv. 13). So Stephen quotes the words again in Acts vii. 6; while the four hundred and thirty years mentioned by St. Paul (Gal. iii. 17) exactly agree with the statement in Exod. xii. 40, 41, that such was the length of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt to a day, and are not, therefore, to be understood of the whole interval from Abraham to Moses. In spite, however, of the express assertion of the Book of Exodus, a different chronology is generally followed. For this the Septuagint led the way by rendering Exod. xii. 40 as follows:—"The sojourning of the sons of Israel, which they sojourned in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan, they and their fathers, was 430 years." But every scholar knows that the authors of the Septuagint had very strange ideas about the duties of translators, and altered the text without scruple whenever they thought they had a reason for it. Here their reason was that they hoped to avoid a difficulty. First it is said that Amram's wife was Jochebed, "a daughter of Levi, whom one bare to Levi in Egypt" (Numb. xxvi. 59). This, of course, only means that she was a Levite, and the impersonal manner in which the Hebrew says "whom one bare to Levi," is a confirmation of this. Levi plainly is the tribe of Levi, and not the patriarch.

Literally understood, it makes Amram not merely marry his aunt, but an aunt of the respectable age of eighty-five at the least; while it further gives Moses no fewer than 8,600 first consins (Numb. iii. 28). Such are the results of tampering with the text of Scripture.

To this we must add a second similar reason. The genealogies generally give only four generations in Egypt. Thus—Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses (Exod. vi. 16—20). So again, Judah, Zerah, Zabdi, Carmi, whose son, Achan, in Joshua's time, stole some of the spoil of Jericho (Josh. vii. 1). But these genealogies are merely compendiums, in which apparently, as a rule, one name is given for a century. They were legal documents, showing who was the representative of each branch of the families of the high chiefs of pure blood. Fortunately we have one full genealogy of no less a person than Joshua, and we find (1 Chron. vii. 23—27) that this great prince of Ephraim was the twelfth in descent from Joseph. One such genealogy settles the question; for we can account for the shorter forms, but not for the longer one. In fact, no one who studies the family histories given at the beginning of Chronicles can doubt that they are legal and technical formulæ, representing rank and property, and not necessarily relationship. Thus, Othniel and Caleb figure as descendants of Judah; really, they were the chiefs of a powerful clan of Edomites, who joined the Israelites while in Goshen, and were adopted into the tribe of Judah. Their ancestors—Jephunneh and Kenaz—are never called sons of any of Judah's children, but are introduced without a word of preparation. Nothing is more possible than that names are omitted in the genealogy even of David; and, in short, the chronology based upon these genealogies is as worthless as that based on Gen. v. It is using these documents for a purpose for which they never were intended, and no amount of them would weigh against the plain assertion that the Israelites were in Egypt for a period of four hundred and thirty years, and that there were twelve generations between Joseph and Joshua.

In Egypt the Israelites had multiplied into a nation. They had gone down thither in number seventy souls,

including Joseph's sons. But these were the chiefs only. Already we have seen that Esau and Jacob, after dividing Isaac's wealth between them, were so rich that the land could not bear them, and so Esau withdrew to Mount Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 7, 8), and by the time of the Exodus had grown into a powerful kingdom (Numb. xx. 14). But there is a fact which puts Jacob's power in a very vivid light. Two of his sons, Levi and Simeon, accompanied, of course, by their armed retainers, smote the city of Shechem, and seized upon all the property of the inhabitants, both in the city and in the field, with all their wealth and their little ones, that is, their households of male and female servants, their children, and their wives. Shechem, probably, was not a very large city, but this high-handed act shows that Jacob's sons had something both of the martial spirit and also of the power of Chedorlaomer's conqueror, Abraham. To these seventy souls, then, we must add several hundred retainers, who, in fact, are mentioned in the descent into Egypt. "Their little ones" (in Hebrew *tappam*) were their households, consisting not of children merely, but of all who were in a state of dependence upon the chiefs (Gen. xli. 5). As a powerful and warlike body of men, Joseph placed the Ben-Israel in Goshen, a district on the eastern side of the Delta. It was not on the Nile, but was a pastoral land a little removed from it, stretching onward towards Palestine, and if occupied at all when the Israelites came thither was so by Semitic, and not by Egyptian settlers. One fertile valley, containing about sixty geographical square miles, formed their chief abode. Now, everywhere else the Red Sea protects Egypt. But Goshen abuts upon the isthmus of Suez, and so the Israelites were placed just where they would have to bear the brunt of every invasion. Joseph would not have placed them in so exposed a position had they been a feeble folk. But their martial energies were not confined to this garrison work. They made forays even into Palestine, and on one such occasion the men of Gath came down upon them when driving off their cattle, and among others slew two of the sons of Ephraim (1 Chron. vii. 21).

Fostered in this land by Joseph, and joined there by his two sons—who were enabled, by the powerful bodies of retainers that accompanied them, not merely to take each the place of tribal chiefs, but, as regards Ephraim, to claim absolute supremacy over the whole nation—there is nothing marvellous in their developing, in four hundred years, into a great people. How many tribes like the Kenizzites joined them we cannot tell, but doubtless Semites from the peninsula would constantly be attracted to them. Besides this, we are told that they were fruitful and multiplied exceedingly, not faster than English emigrants in Australia; and thus, when a new dynasty arose, they were looked upon no longer as a safeguard, but as a danger to Egypt.

Their persecutor, apparently, was Amosis, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty. Originally he was king only of a district in the south of Egypt, but having

married an Ethiopian princess, whose portrait is often found on Egyptian monuments, where she is celebrated as "the daughter, and wife, and mother of kings," his power increased so rapidly that he was able to subdue the whole land, and push his conquests to the borders of Palestine. Thus brought into contact with the Israelites, of whose previous history he knew nothing (Exod. i. 8), he evidently regarded with suspicion the presence of so large a body of foreigners in the land, and took measures to weaken them. Some of these measures were directed against the people generally. Large contingents of them were required for forced labour. To this day, the rulers of Egypt not unfrequently call upon some district to supply them with so many thousand fellahs, or peasants, to execute some public work, like the Suez canal. Ill fed and ill cared-for, multitudes of these hapless men never again return to their homes. In the same way, no doubt, Amosis required the district of Goshen to supply him with so many thousand labourers to build him "treasure cities," that is, fortresses for laying up stores, and guarding the western frontier of his kingdom; and by multiplying these demands, he hoped soon to waste their strength away.

Against their chiefs he devised other means. Many, perhaps, of them were hostages at his court; others had the oversight of the men employed in forced labour; those in Goshen he could scarcely interfere with. But such as were in his power he determined should be childless; and when secret machinations availed nothing, he ordered their male children to be thrown into the river. Probably the forced labour had been going on for many years before this cruel command was given; and let us hope that it was but a temporary ebullition of brutality which soon passed away.

But while this enactment was still in force Moses was born, and, by Divine providence, it led to his being adopted into the royal family, and so educated as to be made fit to become Israel's deliverer. Of high descent, the chief of one of the three branches of the Levitic race, Amram was apparently at Tanis in command of the labourers there. For three months the trembling mother conceals her child, and then, unable to hide it any longer, she makes for it a little ark of bulrushes, and entrusts it to the Nile. In the Tanisitic branch of the Nile crocodiles are never found; from that danger the child was safe; and soon afterwards a princess descends to bathe. Her maid brings to her the precious casket; and moved to pity by the babe's tears, she determines to bring it up as her own, and, with a woman's kindly feelings, sends for its own mother to be its nurse.

This princess was apparently the sister of Amenophis, the son of Amosis. He was a prosperous and able king, and during his reign the forced labour of the Israelites seems to have been reduced to system; but we may feel sure, from his character, that he passed no such cruel decrees as that which condemned the children of the nobles to a watery grave. At his death it is calculated

that Moses would have been just about forty years old. Like William the Silent, at the court of Charles V., he had probably long brooded over the ill treatment of his people. At the king's death he thought the time had come for an uprising; but his first enterprise was a failure. The people had no confidence in the young noble, whom they had known only as the companion of their oppressors; and to escape the vengeance of the Egyptians, who regarded him as a traitor, he fled away into the wilderness, and there, for a second forty years, tended the flock of a Midianite.

In this period he seems to have given up all ambitious plans, and when the command came to resume the enterprise, once so rashly commenced and hastily abandoned, he is full of difficulties, and carries his reluctance to a sinful length. No chronicle in after times, when Moses was the great hero, the mighty champion of the nation, would have so spoken of him. But all through the Pentateuch Moses ever takes a most humble and modest place. None but himself would have drawn so close a veil over his greatness. It is only at his death, in the last chapter added by another hand, that his high dignity is declared. There he is the prophet whose like Israel had never seen, with whom the Lord spake face to face, the worker of mighty wonders, "the servant," or, as the phrase really means, "the viceroy of Jehovah."¹

His reluctance, however, is overcome, and, armed with two signs of God's presence, and comforted by the promise that Aaron should be his spokesman, he returns to Egypt. Probably there had been communications from time to time between the two brothers—the chiefs may even have invited him back; and all the Israelites certainly now receive him as their leader. Coming from the wilderness, no suspicion any longer hung about him, and Aaron, a wise and politic man, had probably gained in the meanwhile the full confidence of his nation. The king, apparently, at that time was Thotmes II. His reign had begun successfully, but subsequently the nations whom his father had conquered revolted, and were not subdued again till the twenty-second year of Thotmes III. In the monuments all the latter part of his reign is a blank. Evidently there was a great collapse of the power of Egypt in his days. Apparently he was a weak, vacillating man, but his wife, Hatason, who was also his sister—such marriages being allowed by Egyptian law—appears from the monuments to have been a woman of strong feelings, and warmly attached to the national religion. Her bigotry may well have helped to harden the heart of her feeble brother. He apparently dwelt at Tanis, or Zoan, on the eastern frontier of Egypt, and Aaron and Moses enter his presence as the accredited representatives of a powerful nation now ready to revolt. They came, also, as the messengers of the God Jehovah, and give proof of their mission by casting

down Aaron's rod, which becomes a serpent (or, as the word more probably means, a crocodile), and swallows up the rods of the magicians, who, for some mysterious reason, were allowed to cast down their rods, which also turned into crocodiles.

But signs followed more terrible and alarming. The season apparently was June, when the inundation of the Nile begins, at which time the Israelites would have returned from their quest after stubble. And now commences the first series of three plagues. Just before the Nile rises its waters are green and unfit to drink, but as its channel fills multitudes of microscopic infusoria are produced, which give it a red colour. On this occasion Moses threatened the king with a more terrible portent. For seven days the Nile shall flow along a stream of blood, so that the fish shall die, and only by digging near the river shall the people get water to drink. The threat was fulfilled, but the king heeded not, and in September the second plague came.

At this period the inundation is usually at its height, and a frog peculiar to Egypt, called the *Rana Mosaica*, appears. It is small, crawls like a toad, and croaks abominably; but it is a favourite food of the ibis, and its numbers are thus kept down. At Moses' command the land swarmed with these reptiles, and when at Pharaoh's request the plague was removed, they were gathered in heaps, and the whole air poisoned with their smell. In each series the third plague is inflicted without previous notice to the king. And when, on the removal of the frogs, Thotmes refused all terms to the Israelites, the dust of the whole land suddenly swarmed with lice, by which is meant, probably, a small tick, described in Sir S. Baker's travels, which, though itself not larger than a grain of sand, has a marvellous power of suction, and will fill itself with blood till it reaches the size of a hazel-nut.

These plagues had probably caused no very severe injury. The next series is more trying. Swarms of dog-flies, more venomous and pertinacious than mosquitoes, and which sometimes appear in Egypt in such masses as to cover the whole country, prove so terrible an infliction that the king grants the Israelites permission to depart. He had a proof of the miraculous origin of these flies in the circumstance that Goshen was entirely free from them. Yet no sooner were they removed than Pharaoh bardens his heart, and a cattle plague, such as visited England a few years ago, was threatened by Moses: only here not the oxen merely, and sheep, but horses, asses, and camels fell victims to its ravages.

It is at the end of the year, in December, that the murrain usually visits Egypt, when the cattle, after their confinement during the inundation, are first turned out into the fields. Here not only had the murrain been foretold, but it was of unusual severity, and yet no contagion reached the herds of Israel in Goshen. Urged perhaps, by the sterner will of Hatason, the king will not relent; and Moses therefore, without warning, sprinkles ashes into the air, and burning tumours

¹ The only apparent contradiction to this is Exod. xi. 3, but for entirely independent reasons critics are generally agreed that the three first verses of this chapter are an interpolation.

break forth upon the persons of the Egyptians. None can escape them, and the magicians, who hitherto had kept up a mock semblance of imitation, now confess themselves vanquished, and retire. Cutaneous eruptions are common, we are told, in the valley of the Nile, but these were of unusual severity.

Next commences the third series of plagues, and plainly the constancy of Pharaoh was greatly shaken by them. A tremendous tempest of hail swept over the whole land, except Goshen, destroying the barley and flax, but doing little harm to the wheat and spelt, which, at that early period of the year—March—are not far advanced in growth. Though thunder-storms are not unknown in Egypt, yet they are rare enough to excite strange terror, and Pharaoh was greatly depressed. Yet only for a time; and the next plague was a swarm of locusts—a visitation more common, but also more ruinous, than the last.

They came in such numbers as to cover the "eye of the earth" (Exod. x. 5), producing darkness in their flight, and utterly consuming every vestige of vegetation. Yet Pharaoh yielded not. And the third plague of this series, inflicted, as usual, without warning, was a total darkness, such as travellers describe as caused in Egypt by the south-west wind, when, as often happens at the vernal equinox, it blows for many days together, from the desert laden with fine sand. So filled is the atmosphere by it, that no man attempts to light a lamp, for the air has lost all its transparency, and the people hide themselves from the stifling dust in the innermost chambers of their abodes. By the time it reached Goshen the wind had deposited so much of the sand carried with it that the Israelites "had light in their dwellings." But, though similar sand-storms may often have swept over the country, yet this was so intense, and continued so long, that Pharaoh was appalled, and gave the people leave to depart, but only to revoke it when the danger seemed overpast.

And now the last plague came—the death of the first-born—in fearful retribution for the determined attempts made to destroy the children of the Israelites, and Pharaoh gave way for a sufficiently long period to enable the people to begin their march.

The last plagues had followed one another in terrible rapidity, for it was in the month Abib, or April, that the exodus took place. No doubt every preparation had long been made for it, and orders had probably been given for their departure after the plague of darkness, though subsequently Moses had to revoke them. When at last they started, warned by the previous vacillations of the monarch, it was with such haste that they took with them their dough unleavened, for which reason unleavened bread is used to this day at the feast of the Passover. The place of gathering was Rameses, a town built by the Israelites, and at which, probably, they formed the chief population. Thence they started in number 600,000 men, besides children, and a mixed multitude of friends and fugitives from Egypt and the Sinaitic Peninsula, who did not dare to remain

behind. No wonder that the Egyptians, terrified at the gathering of so vast a host, gladly gave the Israelites all they asked, and thus in spite of themselves remunerated them for the forced labour they had exacted from them.

So admirably had everything been prepared that, excepting cooked provisions, no hitch delayed their departure. They went forth "by their armies," in strict military order, and as the word "harnessed" (chap. xiii. 18) most probably means, arranged in five divisions—a van, centre, two wings, and rear-guard. Following the course of a canal, they marched first to Succoth, in an easterly direction, and thence to Etham, or Pithom, a town at the head of the Red Sea, and on the regular route to Palestine. But from Etham Moses turned southwards, skirting along the edge of the bitter lakes, now almost dried up, until he reached Baal-zephon, near which, at the modern town of Suez, are sands of considerable extent, passable on foot whenever, as in the present case, a strong east wind blows (chap. xiv. 21). Here again, as in the plagues, the miracle was the overruling of a natural phenomenon, so that it served for the preservation of God's people, and the destruction of their enemies. So unexpected, however, was its occurrence, that Pharaoh had regarded the Israelites as a sure prey, delivered up by this unexpected march southward into his hands.

The route of the children of Israel in the wilderness we will consider when we come to the Book of Numbers, where their itinerary is given. Enough now to remark that the recent researches into the state of the Sinaitic Peninsula, and especially the Ordnance survey of it, prove that in the time of Moses it was a well-watered and pastoral country, except in certain districts. The destruction of its forests, begun by the Egyptians for working its copper and turquoise mines, and completed by the Arabs, has produced upon it the same effect which is now beginning to show itself from the denudation of the mountains in Spain. The clouds, uncon- densed by the cool green foliage, pass over its hot sands and rocks to carry their rich freight to happier lands. Though occasionally distressed, therefore, for food and water, as so vast a host could not but be, and after a fierce battle with the Amalekites, the remains of whose dwellings, as Mr. Holland has pointed out, prove them to have been a numerous and powerful race, not of nomads, but with settled homes—for there are indications of their having practised agriculture—the Israelites arrived at Mount Sinai.

Winding through narrow defiles, of which their victory had given them the command, it was a sight of surpassing solemnity that met their eye on approaching the mountain. A long level plain, sweeping back from the rock, formed a natural sanctuary capable of containing their mighty host, while in front the Ras Sufsafeli rose almost perpendicularly from the plain, like a huge altar. For recent investigations¹ seem to have made it clear that

¹ See Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 42–44, and Excursus in Speaker's Commentary, "Exodus," pp. 435–442.

the northern extremity of Mount Sinai, called, as above, Ras Sufsafah, and not the Jebel Musa, or "Mountain of Moses," on the south, is "the mount that could be touched," from which the voice of God might be heard throughout the whole extent of the plain below. Perhaps throughout the whole world no plain existed so suited for the giving of the Law, unless it be the Cirque of Gavarnie, in the Pyrenees, where also an amphitheatre of rock rises perpendicularly to a height of more than a thousand feet, while a vast but desolate valley lies at its foot.

At this remarkable place a covenant was made between Jehovah and the Israelites, of which the formal sanction was the enactment of the ten commandments—the most perfect republication of natural law ever given to the world—while its symbol was the ark, with the building of which the last twenty-one chapters are chiefly concerned. The account is twice repeated. We have first the instructions given by Moses to the people, fully describing both the ark and its accessories. We then have an equally elaborate account of the manner in which these instructions were fulfilled, but in inverse order. Such a double narrative would be unnatural in a history, but is just what we should expect in original documents, such as are most of the contents of the three intermediate books of the Pentateuch. They are generally what we should call the materials for a history rather than a history itself. They have all the character of contemporaneous records composed each for some special purpose, and finally arranged simply in chronological order, but with no attempt at digesting them, or weaving them together into an orderly narrative. In the first document Moses gives instructions for making the several symbols in the order of their importance: the ark first, then the mercy-seat, then the table of shew-bread, and so on. In the second document they are arranged in the order in which they must have been made: the tabernacle first, and last of all the ark, when everything was prepared for its reception.

Of the tabernacle and its contents I will only add that all the materials are of such a kind as would easily be procurable in the desert, excepting, of course, the precious metals and jewels, which the people brought from Egypt. The tabernacle was the royal tent in which Jehovah, Israel's king, dwelt between the cherubim on the mercy-seat, which covered the ark, a kind of chest, in which were contained the two tables of stone inscribed with the ten commandments. Taking the cubit as equal to 18 inches, the ark was 3 feet 9 inches in length, and 2 feet 3 inches in height and breadth. This alone stood in the holy of holies, a small chamber 18 feet square, and always, except on the march, so covered that all was dark within. Into this solemn gloom once in the year the high priest entered alone, with the blood of the atonement. Separated from it by a veil of gorgeous colours—blue, purple, crimson, and white—arranged in parallel bands, was the holy place, of the same breadth as the holy of holies, but

twice its length, itself carefully covered, but lighted with the seven-branched candlestick, and containing also the table of shew-bread, the altar of incense, and the altar of burnt-offering. These two chambers were made of movable boards 2 feet 3 inches broad, and 15 feet high, fastened in sockets of silver, while over all four coverings were thrown, not lying flat upon them, as many have supposed, but supported by a ridge-pole raised 30 feet above the ground in front; and the coverings were so arranged that a passage of 7 feet 6 inches in breadth was left between the boards forming the walls of the inner shrines and the edge of the coverings.

These coverings were four in number: the first, of fine twisted linen, of various colours, embroidered with cherubim, and formed into curtains, 6 feet wide and 37 feet in length. As they were ten in number, they would cover a space of 60 feet, whereas the shrines were only 45 feet long. Over these was a covering of goat-skins, consisting of eleven curtains, each 6 feet wide, and 40 feet long. And over these were thrown curtains of rams' skins dyed red with the wool on. Of their dimensions no account is given, nor of the covering of seal-skins, mistranslated "badger-skins" in our version. This, it has been suggested, did not cover the whole roof, but only the ridge-piece, or crest of the roof, serving there to turn the rain aside. Seals, we are told by Strabo, were common in the Red Sea.

It deserves notice that the Temple of Solomon still preserved the form of a tent, though its dimensions were double those of the tabernacle in the wilderness. This tabernacle, originally set up on the conquest of Palestine at Shiloh (Josh. xviii. 1), was probably destroyed by the Philistines when they burned that town (Ps. lxxviii. 60), but the ark was preserved, and probably was carried about again by the priests, till at length it was stationed at Nob (1 Sam. xxi. 6), whence it got to Gibeon (1 Chron. xvi. 39), and on the conquest of Jerusalem was deposited there in a new tabernacle, replaced in time by Solomon's Temple. It was made of a wood which at that time grew in great abundance in the desert, called *shittim* in the Hebrew, a kind of acacia, remarkable for its durability. The reader must not, however, confound it with the tree so well known to us under the name. Our tree came from America, and is really a Robinia. The acacia of the desert is a Mimosa. Whether, therefore, we consider the nature of the plagues, which are, in nearly every case, occurrences natural in Egypt, but unknown in Palestine; or the names given them, which are mostly Egyptian; or the shape and materials of the tabernacle; or the nature of the documents; all things concur in proving to us that we have to do with genuine historical documents, contemporaneous with the times of which they give us so interesting a portraiture; and which, in addition to their religious significance, have preserved for us the record of one of the most remarkable movements which ever affected the human race.

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.—IV.

BY THE REV. W. F. MOULTON, M.A., PROFESSOR OF CLASSICS, WESLEYAN COLLEGE, RICHMOND.

CHAPTER II.—WYCLIFFITE VERSIONS (*continued*).

THE translation, however, is not the work of one hand. A manuscript in the Bodleian Library, containing a large portion of the Old Testament and Apocrypha in the earlier version, breaks off suddenly after the second word of Baruch iii. 20, a note being added to the

the case. The many resemblances between the New Testament and the later portion of the Old would seem to prove that Hereford's unfinished work was completed by Wycliffe himself. Hence our general conclusion must be that the Scriptures were rendered from Latin into English, about the year 1382, by Wycliffe and Hereford, aided possibly by others of



JOHN WYCLIFFE.

effect that here ended the translation of Nicholay de Hereford. This manuscript is copied from another, also preserved in the Bodleian Library, which ends in the same abrupt manner at the same place. "There is no doubt," say the Oxford editors, "that this MS. is the original copy of the translator."¹ Other willing labourers may have been engaged on the earlier portion of the Old Testament; internal evidence makes it not improbable that this really was

the same party; and that after Wycliffe's death, probably in 1388, there appeared a revision of the earlier version, executed by Purvey, with the help of "many good fellows."

The subjoined specimens will show the character of each version.

2 SAM. XXIII. 3—5.

EARLIER VERSION.

3 He seyde, God of Yrael to me hath spokyn, the strong of Yrael, the lordshipper of men, the rightwise lordshipper in the dreed of God.

LATER VERSION.

3 David soide, God of Israel spak to me, the stronge of Israel, the iust Lord of men, is Lord in the drede of God.

¹ The abrupt termination of the work is supposed to have been occasioned by the citation of Hereford to appear before the synod in London in 1382, and his subsequent departure from England.

4 As ligh of morwite,¹ spring-
luge the saune eerli with out
clowdis, gliterith; and as bi
reyones barionne² the cerbe of
the erthe.

5 And not so mych is myn
hows nuentis³ God, that euer-
lastyge couenaunt he shulde goo
yn with me, stable in alle thiugis
and waruyssliit⁴; forsethe al
myn heeth and al wil, ne there
is any thing of it, that ne barion-
neth.⁵

ST. JOHN VII. 14—18.

EARLIER VERSION.

14 Forsothe now the feeste
day medlinge, or goynge bitwee,
Jhesu wente vp in to the temple,
and taugte.

15. And the Jewis wondriden,
seyinge, Hou kan⁵ this man
lettris, sithen⁶ he hath not
lernyd?

16 Jhesu answeride to hem,
and seide, My doctrine is not
myn, but his that sente me.

17 If ony man schal wilue⁷ to
do his wille, he schal knowe of
the techinge, wher it be of God,
wher I speke of my silt.

18 He that spekith of him-
self sekith his owne glorie; for-
soth he that sekith the glorie
of him that sente him, this is
sothfast,⁸ and vnrigtfulnesse is
not in him.

4 As the ligh of the morew-
tid,¹ whanne the saune risith
eerli, is bright with out clowdis;
and as an erbe cometh forth of
the erthe bi reynes.

5 And myn hows is not so
greet auentis³ God, that he
schulde make with me euerlast-
yge couenaunt, stidefast and
maad stroug in alle thiugis; for
al myn helthe hangith of him, and
al the wille that is, al my desir,
goith in to hym, and no thing is
therof, that makith not fruyt.

LATER VERSION.

14. But whanne he myddil
feeste dai cam, Jhesus wente vp
in to the temple, and taugte.

15 And the Jewis wondriden,
and seiden, Hou cau⁵ this man
lettris, sithen⁶ he hath not
lerued?

16 Jhesu answerde to hem,
and seide, My doctryne is not
myn, but his that sente me.

17 If ony man wole do his
wille, he schal knowe of the
techyng, whethir it be of God,
or Y speke of my silt.

18 He that spekith of hym silf
sekith his owne glorie; but he
that sekith the glorie of hym
that sente hym, is sothfast,⁸
and vnrigtwnesse is not in
hym.

PSALM XC. (LXXXIX.) 9, 10. LATER VERSION.

For alle oure daies han failid; and we han failid in *thin* ire.
Oure geris⁹ schulen bithenke,¹⁰ as au yreyn; ¹¹ the daies of oure
geeris *ben* in the seuenti geeris. Forsothe, if fourescore geer *ben*
in mygti men; and the more tyme of hem is trauel and sorewe.
For myldenesse cam abous; and we schulen be chastisid.

COLOSSIANS I. 13—17. LATER VERSION.

Which dolynerde vs fro the power of derknessis, and transla-
tide in to the kyngdom of the sone of his louyng, in whom we
han angenbyng¹² and remysion of synnes. Which is the ymage
of God vnysible, the first bigetun¹³ of ech creature. For in hym
alle thingis ben maad, in heuene and in erthe, visible and vnvis-
ible, ether trones, ether dommacions, ether princehodes, etliche
poweris, alle thingis ben maad of nougt bi hym, and in hym, and
he is bifer alle, and alle thingis ben in hym.

The reader will not fail to recognise in these specimens
the characteristic differences between the two versions.
Thus, for "springinge the saune eerli" (Hereford),
Purvey writes, "whanne the saune risith eerli;" for
"now the feeste day medlinge," he writes, "whanne the
myddil feeste dai cam." It is also evident that Here-
ford's renderings are altered by the reviser much more
freely than those of Wycliffe, whose style is clearer and
more flowing. The frequent occurrence of the word
forsooth has often been remarked on as a characteristic
of the early version (and the first part of the later); in
the first chapter of Matthew, for example, Wycliffe uses
this word more than forty times, Purvey not once. In
the passages cited above there occur two explanatory
notes, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 5 (Purvey) and John vii. 14 (Wy-
cliffe). These "textual glosses" are not uncommon in
the books translated by Wycliffe. Purvey admits

them freely in the Old Testament, but very rarely (see
Matt. xiv. 1; Heb. ix. 3, &c.) in the New. Hereford
seems to have intended to exclude such explanations
altogether, but occasionally they are found in almost
all the copies of his version (see Lev. xi. 17, 22, 29, 30).
On the other hand, in the Song of Solomon he goes
very far in the way of interpretation, actually appor-
tioning the contents to various speakers. Thus in chap.
i. the first verse is introduced by "*The Chirche of the
comyng of Crist spekith seiende*;" after "mouth" we
read, "*The vois of the Fuder*;" and after ver. 2, "*The
vois of the Chirche*." All these notes were removed by
Purvey.

A striking feature of the later version is the intro-
duction of short comments in the margin. In the Pro-
logue to the Old Testament, Purvey tells us that
"where the Hebrew, by witness of Jerome, of Lire, and
other expositors, discordeth from" the Latin, he has set
in the margin "what the Hebrew hath, and how it is
understood in some places." These "glosses," some
critical and some explanatory, are very unequally dis-
tributed. They are most numerous in the Song of
Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Job, the early chapters
of Isaiah, Ecclesiastius, Wisdom, and the former half
of the Acts of the Apostles; in the Prophetical Books
and in the Gospels we find but few. Though many
of these annotations are absent from a large number
of copies, we can hardly doubt that they are (in the
main) from Purvey's hand; it is only natural that
they should often be neglected by transcribers. The
names of Jerome and Augustine occur frequently in
these glosses;¹⁴ those of Chrysostom, Ambrose, Isidore,
Hilary, occasionally. Purvey's chief authority, however,
is the writer referred to above as "Lire." Nicholas de
Lyra was the most celebrated commentator of the four-
teenth century, distinguished for his knowledge of both
Hebrew and Greek. A very large number of the
"marginal glosses" are subscribed with his name. In
the Book of Proverbs, for example, the common copies
of the Vulgate contain nearly twenty verses or sentences
not found in the Hebrew text; in several of these we
find the note, "This vers is not in Ebreu. *Lire here.*"
The first four verses of St. Luke, however, are omitted
without remark in the later version, and in almost all
the copies of the earlier.

The following are examples of the explanatory
notes:—

Exod. xii. 40 (430 years). "Rekenynge the geris¹⁵ in whiche they
dwelliden as pilgryms in the loond of Canaan, and of Egipt, and of
Filisteys. *Lire here.*"

Lev. v. 1 (sinneith and heareth). "This word and is set for that
is. *Lire, and the glos here.*"

Lev. xi. 5 ("a cirogrille"¹⁶). "That is, a beeste ful of thornes,
and more¹⁷ than an irchoun.¹⁸ In Ebru it is a ceny."

¹⁴ Other authorities often cited are "the Gloss" (or "the
common Gloss"), and "the Gloss interlineary." The former is
the *Glossa ordinaria*, a compilation by Walafrid Strabo (about A.D.
840), much esteemed and widely circulated in the Middle Ages.
The latter was the work of Anselm of Laon (about A.D. 1100).

¹⁵ Years.

¹⁶ *Chirogrillus* (probably meaning either *hedgheg* or *porcupine*) is
the word by which the Vulgate renders the Hebrew *shaphan*,
translated "coney" in our version.

¹⁷ Larger.

¹⁸ Urchin, hedgehog.

¹ Morning-time.

³ With.

⁷ Will.

¹¹ Spider.

² Germinates

⁴ Strengthened.

⁸ True.

¹² "Again-buying."

(French, *bour-
geon*, a bud).

⁵ Knoweth.

⁹ Years.

redemption.

⁶ Since.

¹⁰ Meditate.

¹³ Begotten.

Psalms ii. "A glos. The secounde salm, that hath no title in Ebreu, and in Jeromes translatioun, was maad of Dauith, as the postlis¹ witnessen in iij chapitro of Dedis."²

Prov. viii. 22. "Here Salamon spekith of wisdom vnaaad, that is, of the secunde persone in Trinite, which is the kyndly³ Sone of God, with oute bigynnyng and ende. . . . *Live here.*"

2 Cor. v. 21 (sic). "That is, sacrifice for synne. *Augustyn.*"⁴

1 John i. 1 (That thing that was, &c.). "Thus the lettre schulde be ioyned; we tellen to gou that thing, &c.; that is, Goddis kindly³ sone, that was born without bigynnyng of the fadir. *Live here.*"

In contents and arrangement the Wycliffite versions differ from our ordinary Bibles. The books which we know as the 1st and 2nd Books of Esdras (otherwise called the 3rd and 4th, Ezra and Nehemiah being 1 and 2 Esdras) were rejected by Purvey; the former is included in the early version. The apocryphal additions to Daniel and Esther are in each case placed with the canonical book; the Prayer of Manasseh is added to 2 Chronicles; Tobit and Judith stand before Esther, Wisdom and Ecclesiastius before Isaiah, Baruch (including the Epistle of Jeremiah) before Ezekiel, 1 and 2 Maccabees after the Minor Prophets. In the New Testament, St. Paul's Epistles precede the Acts of the Apostles. The Oxford edition of the Wycliffite versions contains the spurious Epistle to the Laodiceans, as being in several copies of the later version; this Epistle, however, was rejected both by Wycliffe and by Purvey. Many of the books of Scripture have short prefaces, also rendered from the Latin. In the Old Testament Purvey is contented with the General Prologue and a brief introduction to the Prophets. In some copies of his New Testament several books have additional "prologues," evidently written by himself.

The fundamental defect of the Wycliffite versions is that they are derived from the Latin, not from the original Hebrew and Greek. The translators were not able even to consult the original texts. What they profess to do they do well, representing the Latin with great care and with general accuracy. Where the text before them was faulty, the error was faithfully reflected in their work. We have heard Purvey's complaint of the inaccuracy of the common Latin Bibles; and though he sought to remedy the evil by collation of many copies, an examination of his renderings shows that he was not fortunate in meeting with manuscripts of any great excellence. The weakest part of the Vulgate, and of all translations made from it, is the Book of Psalms. Jerome's translation of this book from the Hebrew never attained currency; the old and familiar version from the Greek, revised, but not materially changed, maintained its ground. A comparison of the authorised version of Ps. xc. 9, 10, with the quotation given above (page 82) will show how far the Latin (faithfully represented in almost every particular in Purvey's translation) may depart from the sense of the original. From verse 9 it seems hard to extract any clear meaning; and yet the English reader was in no worse plight than the great Augustine himself, who understood the Psalmist's words in no other

sense. But this dependence on the Vulgate was not without some compensating advantages. The English Bible, at this its first appearance, was seen to be identical with the "common Bible" received by the whole Western Church: a version taken from the language of the Jews or of the Greeks might in those days have been suspected of some grievous taint. The translator moved freely amongst the well-known words and phrases, and his familiarity with the Latin text left him at liberty to expend his strength on the English: hence the force and the homeliness so often apparent in the style. In the New Testament, at all events, the Vulgate is often nearer to the sense of the sacred writers than are many of the later manuscripts of the Greek Testament. In Col. i. 14, for example (see page 82), Purvey's text agrees with that of the best Greek manuscripts, the words "through his blood" having accidentally come in from Eph. i. 7: in the first chapter of the Acts, containing only twenty-six verses, there are as many as ten examples of a similar kind, though of smaller importance. Whilst then it is very plain that the *version of a version* is necessarily placed at great disadvantage, that the Latin language is incapable of representing the beauty and fulness of the Greek, and that the Vulgate is in some places disfigured by serious errors, we may thankfully acknowledge that the derivation of the first English Bible from the Latin was productive of good. Whether Wycliffe and his coadjutors made any use of the earlier translations of parts of Scripture it is hard to say; we have no direct evidence bearing on the point, but the question has not been fully examined. It is of greater importance to determine the degree of influence exerted by these versions on the work of later translators. It is very easy to find coincidences of expression between Purvey's translation and our Authorised Version. When the structure of the Greek is simple (see John vii. 14—18, quoted above, especially John xiv.), many consecutive verses may read as if taken from our own familiar Bible: in most instances, however, the agreement may be traced to the influence of the Latin version, faithfully followed in the one case, diligently consulted in the other. It would be premature to say more at this point: we shall return to the subject in connection with Tyndale's translation. Whatever may be thought of the amount of influence directly exerted by the Wycliffite versions, no one can doubt that their indirect effect has been great, both on the general style of Scripture translations and on the development of the English language.

For this work was not hidden in the cloister or buried in the libraries of the learned. "The new version was eagerly sought after, and read. Copies passed into the hands of all classes of the people. Even the sovereign himself and the princes of the blood royal did not disdain to possess them. The multiplication of copies must have been rapid. Nearly 150 manuscripts, containing the whole or parts of Purvey's Bible, the majority of which were written within the space of forty years from its being finished, have been

¹ Apostles.

³ By nature, own ("God's own Son").

² The Acts of the Apostles.

⁴ Augustine.

examined. . . Others are known to have existed within the last century; and more, there can be no doubt, have escaped inquiry; how many have perished it is impossible to calculate. But when it is remembered that from the first the most active and powerful measures were taken to suppress the version; that strict inquisition was made for the writings and translations of Wycliffe, Hereford, Ashton, and Purvey; that they were burnt and destroyed as most noxious and pernicious productions of heretical depravity; and that all who were known to possess them were exposed to severe persecution; and then if there be taken into account the number of manuscripts which in the course of four or five centuries have been destroyed through accident or negligence; it is not too much to suppose that we have now but a small portion of those which were originally written."¹

One question still remains. Have we good grounds for believing that Wycliffe's version is the *earliest* of English Bibles? On this subject a few words must suffice. We have testimony to the existence of versions of a still earlier date. In a tract,² which cannot have been written much later than the year 1400, preserved in the first edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, we read of a "Bible in English of Northern speech," which "seemed to be two hundred years old." Sir Thomas More (1532) declares that the

whole Bible was translated into the English tongue by virtuous and well learned men long before Wycliffe's days. In the preface to the Authorised Version (1611) our translators speak of John Trevisa (who died about 1397) as having translated the Scriptures (or the Gospels) into English in the time of Richard II.; Fuller, writing in 1655, ascribes to the same "godly and learned servant of God" a translation of the whole Bible. On the other hand, Wycliffe and his followers evidently knew of no version prior to their own. Desirous in every way to strengthen their position, they could not possibly have neglected the most convincing of all answers to those who accused them of introducing the pernicious novelty of an English translation of the Scriptures. The Bible two hundred years old can only have been Anglo-Saxon. Where mistake was so easy (copies of Purvey's version having been ascribed to a much earlier date), we cannot rely very confidently on unsupported testimony of such a kind as More's. There are indeed translations of portions of Scripture of a character very similar to Wycliffe's (as of the first three Gospels,³ of St. Paul's Epistles,⁴ &c.), but these belong to Wycliffe's age, and were probably executed by some of his party. These efforts resemble those of an earlier age: interesting and valuable monuments of learning and private zeal, they cannot disturb the place of the great work which makes an epoch as well in the literary as in the religious history of our country.

¹ Preface to Forshall and Madden's edition of *The Wycliffite Versions*, p. xxxii.

² *A compendious old Treatise, shewing how we ought to have the Scriptures in English.* See Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iv., pp. 671—676 (ed. Cattley; 1837).

³ With the Latin text and a commentary, in the University Library and in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

⁴ Also in the Library of Corpus Christi College.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—V. THE PATRIARCHS.

ABRAHAM (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.



IN the four earliest occasions of direct communications from God, the patriarch makes no response; no other answer comes from him than the simple trust, the prompt obedience, the ready sacrifice. It is in the fifth interview that his lips open before the Lord. In their earliest utterance was there not the expression of something like disappointment and impatience, with a tinge even of distrust? To the gracious and seasonable assurance, "Fear not, Abram: I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward," his reply is, "Lord God, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless, and the steward of my house is this Eliezer of Damascus?" Silence follows the strange speech, a silence broken, but not by God. "And Abram said, Behold, to me thou hast given no seed: and, lo, one born in my house is mine heir." The freedom is not repelled, nor the impatience rebuked. He is simply told that he was mistaken as to Eliezer and the heirship, and

then led forth and bade to look up to that magnificent spectacle—a cloudless Eastern sky at midnight. Somehow the stars look different there from what they do with us. Here they glitter, there they burn—here they are like specks or sparks of light scattered over the firmament, at which we wonderingly look up; there they are like rounded orbs of light, that look down upon us from above.¹ Upon such a starry heaven was Abraham asked to turn his eyes. "Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: so shall thy seed be." Alone with God, in the deep silence of the night, gazing on that starry host, such an impression of the boundless power, and love, and faithfulness of Jehovah fills Abraham's spirit that all doubts dissolve; improbabilities, apparent impossibilities, disappear; he staggers no longer at the promise. It is

¹ We speak here from the impressions never to be forgotten of a first night of tent-life at Ghimzo, on the way to Jerusalem, beneath a brilliant Syrian sky.

of him at this time and in these impressive circumstances it is said, "He believed in the Lord; and he counted it to him for righteousness." It was a pure act of faith, without any of its ordinary adjuncts. The one and only thing that he was called at the time to do was to confide. And the faith he exercised was as strong as it was pure. The Hebrew word expressing it is unique in the fulness and force of its significance—"He was supported, he was built up, he reposed as a child in its mother's arms."¹ Where, in all Old Testament history, can we find an instance of simpler, purer, fuller, and more confiding trust in God? Where could St. Paul have found a better type and illustration of that "faith without works" by which alone the sinner is justified before God?

The repast under the oak-tree of Mamre is over. One of the guests has spoken so as to reveal his divinity. The three rise to leave. Abraham accompanies them. They reach a spot still recognisable, where through a hollow among the hills one can look down over the plain of the Dead Sea. On their terrible errand the two depart. The third stays there with Abraham. His eye is upon the valley below. He looks as one lost in thought. He speaks as if alone. Abraham listens to a strange soliloquy, all about himself. It closes. Encouraged by it he ventures to remonstrate. He might have been pardoned for remembering Lot, and asking that he and his family should be spared; but whatever thought of him may have been in his heart, his name is never mentioned. There might be other good men in those doomed cities. Shall he ask that Lot and they should be gathered out beforehand, and placed beyond the stroke of the destroyer? That might relieve the stroke from the appearance of an injustice, but will it satisfy the strong cravings of humanity that have been stirred within his heart? Has he not heard himself recognised as the future head of the whole nation? can he be insensible to the destruction of any part of it? Has it not been said of him that in him all families of the earth are to be blest? When curse rather than blessing impends over those families in Sodom, wicked though they be, shall he not do what he can to avert it? Already he had by the sword delivered many of them out of the hands of their captors; shall he not try now another weapon? He will not attempt to mitigate their guilt, nor deny the justice of their doom. He will not appeal to the mere pity or tender-heartedness of the Most High. Fixing upon the one imagined fact that could supply the fitting argument, he says, "Peradventure there be fifty righteous within the city: wilt thou also destroy and not spare the city for the fifty righteous that are therein? That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked: shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" Venturous—we might almost say presumptuous—appeal. Yet it meets with no rebuke; gets only the prompt reply, "If I find in Sodom fifty righteous men, then I will spare all the

place for their sakes." Following the footsteps of the interceder from this point, what a blending of humility with boldness, of impetuosity with acquiescence, appears throughout. He trembles as he plants each footstep in advance, yet, love-impelled, he cannot but proceed. He fears to offend, yet he fears still more to let a last chance be lost of averting the awful judgment. Earnestly, tremblingly, on and on he goes, reducing first by fives and then by tens the number, till at last he stops, overwhelmed with the impression that the Divine grace has triumphed over the human importunity, and satisfied that the Judge of all the earth will certainly do right. Wonderful specimen this of an intercession coming from a heart filled to overflow with the desire to see God's character vindicated and the happiness of his creatures, even the worst of them, secured! Can we doubt that it was this singular union of pure compassion for human suffering with a supreme regard for righteousness, a care for the Divine honour with resignation to the Divine will, that won for it the audience of that ear which heard in it from afar, a faint echo of that most wonderful intercession that ever came from human lips—"Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do?"

Years have passed at Beer-sheba, when once again the well-known voice is heard, first calling him by his name, and then saying to him, "Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of." What God meant by this requirement may be doubtful. What Abraham understood by it is clear—it was a call from God to slay his son in sacrifice.

For any father to do so, how great the trial! But a father having such a trust in the love and faithfulness of God to slay a son in whom so many hopes, promises, prophecies, all centered—could a severer test have been fashioned and applied? Yet the obedience is prompt, deliberate, entire. It is in a dream or vision of the night the command comes. The early morning sees him cleaving the wood, selecting the servants, saddling the ass, summoning his son, setting off upon the journey. Not a word to Sarah ere he left, not a word to Isaac by the way, as to his object in the journey.

All through the three long days of travel the terrible secret lies heavy upon his heart. The land of Moriah² is reached, the hill of sacrifice seen afar off. The servants left behind, the son and father climb the hill alone, the one bearing the wood upon his shoulders, the other with fire and knife in hand. Isaac so far understands it now. His father is seeking some solitary place to offer up with his own hand some sacrifice. He

² On the disputed question as to whether Mount Gerizim or the hill on which the Temple of Jerusalem was built, be the scene of the meditated sacrifice of Isaac, we incline to decide with Dean Stanley and Mr. Grove in favour of the former rather than with Drs. Porter and Thomson in favour of the latter. (See *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 248–252; arts. "Moriah" and "Gerizim" in *Smith's Dictionary*; *Porter's Handbook*, &c., p. 339; *The Land and the Book*, p. 474.)

¹ *History of the Jewish Church*, p. 18.

turns to him, and says, "My father." And Abraham said, "Here am I, my son." And Isaac said, "Behold the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for the burnt-offering?" Did ever upon this earth words spoken by a son plunge such a dagger into a father's heart? Yet, whatever the inward agony, the self-command is perfect, the secret still preserved—"My son, God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering."

At last the selected spot is reached, the preparations finished; the secret must at last be told. What passed then between father and son remains unknown. We only know that he who carried the ass's burden up the hill-side was neither too young to understand, nor too feeble to resist. It is intelligently and willingly that he yields himself to be bound. His father lays him on the altar and lifts the knife; a moment more, and the fatal knife descends, when, sounding through the air, a voice exclaims, "Abraham! Abraham!" The startled father stops and turns. No form is seen, but the voice is recognised; and now it says, "Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me." The final and extreme trial of Abraham's faith is over—its triumph is complete.

This faith had stood all former tests. It had been strong enough to break the ties that bound him to country, home, and kindred. It had patiently endured the many and long delays in the fulfilling of the promises. It had risen above all the obstacles, physical and moral, that stood in the way of their accomplishment. It had accepted Isaac, and given up Ishmael. Would it stand the last demand, to give up to God the best loved thing on earth; to do what appeared not only alien to God's own character, but contrary to his own word and promise? For herein lay the peculiarity and severity of the trial as a test of faith. The command and the promise were in conflict. If he obeyed the command he frustrated the promise; if he kept by the promise he must break the command. But one way of reconciling them could be even fancied, and, dim though it was, the quick eye of faith discerned it. "He accounted that God was able to raise up Isaac from the dead." In obedience to the Divine command, Isaac was forthwith unbound. The ram caught in the thicket was substituted in his stead. The fire was kindled and the sacrifice completed. The father and son are preparing to return, when once again the voice from above is heard pronouncing the solemn words: "By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea-shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies; and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice." In his intercourse with the patriarchs God never swore by himself but in this one case. The uniqueness and importance of the oath appears from its being quoted afterwards upon important occasions by Abraham himself, by Joseph, by Moses, by Zacharias, by Stephen,

and by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as well as from its being frequently referred to by God himself.¹ Its utterance was the last that fell from the lips of God upon the ear of Abraham. He lived for fifty years and more thereafter, but that voice was never heard again. These later years rolled over him in peaceful, undisturbed repose. He was gladdened by the happy marriage of Isaac, of which he was the prompter, and in which he took so lively an interest—had Esau and Jacob playing round his knees—saw the new family of Keturah grow up around the old—and, at the full ripe age of one hundred and seventy-five years, was gathered to his fathers in peace; Ishmael joining with Isaac in laying him beside Sarah in the cave of Machpelah.

In how many varied and striking attitudes, each worthy of the artist's pencil, does Abraham present himself in the course of his eventful life—leading out the migration from Haran—crossing the Euphrates—pitching his tent at Sichem—kneeling before the altar at Bethel—standing silent before Pharaoh—heading the midnight assault—prostrate before God, moaning out his prayer for Ishmael—waiting on his three mysterious guests, at the tent-door, under the oak of Mamre—putting at early morn the bottle of water on Hagar's shoulder—bowing to the Hittites in the gate—bending with knife in hand over Isaac! Yet Abraham, as a separate figure, has not been a favourite with any of the great masters. Is it that the soft and easy flow of outline, the perfect harmony of form and colouring required for his faithful portraiture, has restrained their pencil? There is certainly in him a want of any marked or prominent feature. Yet, looking at him among all the greatest characters of Old Testament history, does he not appear, walking among his shadowy peers, the very stateliest in form, the most finished in proportion, the most benignant in aspect, the most graceful in movement, of them all? We miss in him the intellect and dominant will of Moses, the passionate devotion of David, the far-sighted wisdom of Daniel—the three who came nearest to him in spiritual stature; but there is a dignity, a benignity, a courtesy, about him which none of them exhibit. About his piety there is something singularly attractive—so simple, so domestic—the age, the country, the tent-life throwing over it the light as of an early Eastern morning, the freshness as of a breeze from the wilderness.

Holding his own peculiar faith with a grasp of unrelaxing firmness, there is not a tinge in him of narrowness, moroseness, or fanaticism; all is broad, open, and humane. By prospects of a name so great, a seed so numerous, an influence so wide upon this earth, pride might have been inflated, desires confined, and hopes concentrated on earthly blessings. But the greatest triumph of his faith (greater even than the one on

¹ Gen. xxiv. 7; xxvi. 3; 1. 24; Exod. xiii. 5; xxxii. 13; Numb. xxxii. 11; Deut. xxix. 13; xxx. 20; Luke i. 73; Acts vii. 17; Heb. vi. 13.

Mount Moriah) was this—that he sojourned in the land of promise as in a strange country—confessed and felt continually that he was a stranger and pilgrim on the earth—lived and died desiring another country, even an heavenly, looking for that “city which hath

foundations, whose builder and maker is God.” Thus it is that he hath obtained so good a report; and that so wide over the earth, and down through all its generations, he has been, and shall be called, “The father of the faithful,” “The friend of God.”

DIFFICULTIES OF THE GOSPELS.—I.

ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD.

“And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene.”—Matt. ii. 23.

VARIOUS explanations have been offered of the reference, as well as of the meaning, of these words, which do not occur in the Old Testament. Some, both of the ancients and moderns, think that they are cited from one or more of the prophetic books which, in their opinion, were lost or destroyed by the Jews. It will suffice to observe, in answer to this supposition, (1) that there is no proof of the loss of any book which is cited in the New Testament as a prophetic writing; (2) that it is improbable that the Evangelist should have appealed to the authority of any writing which was not known to and received by the Jewish Church at the time at which he wrote; (3) and that it is still more improbable that any book of the Old Testament, recognised by the Jewish Church in the time of our Lord, should have been *afterwards* accidentally lost or wilfully destroyed. Others, again, appealing to the words τὸ ῥηθὲν, “which was spoken,” hold that the reference is not to any *written* words of the prophets, but to some unrecorded words. It will suffice to reply to this attempted solution of the difficulty that other quotations from the Old Testament are introduced by the same writer with the same formula (as, e.g., Matt. i. 23; ii. 15; iii. 3; iv. 15), and consequently that the proffered explanation appears rather an evasion than a solution of the difficulty.

Before, however, we inquire to what passage or passages the Evangelist may be supposed to refer in this place, it is desirable to allude briefly to an attempted explanation of his words founded upon an identification of *Nazarene* with *Nazarite*. Now, independently of the facts that in Greek the word answering to “Nazarene” is Ναζωραῖος, or Ναζαρηνός, whilst the word answering to “Nazarite” is Ναζὶρ, or Ναζιραῖος, and that in Hebrew the former word is spelt with a letter corresponding to our *ts* or *tz*, and the latter with a letter corresponding to our *z*, we have to contend against the still greater difficulty that not only can no passages from the Old Testament be adduced to which reference can be established on this supposition, but, further, that it is altogether inconsistent with our Lord’s own words: “John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, He hath a devil. The Son of man came eating and

drinking, and they say, Behold a man gluttonous, and a winebibber” (Matt. xi. 18, 19).

Before proceeding further in the consideration of this passage, two things must be premised: (1) that the words of the Evangelist, “by the *prophets*” (the plural being the best as well as the received reading), suggest that reference is made not to one only, but to several prophecies; and (2) that all these prophecies point, as will now be shown, to the meanness and obscurity of our blessed Lord’s condition upon earth as a shoot (*netser*) out of the stump of Jesse’s tree, or, as described by Isaiah, as “a root out of a dry ground.” Amongst these prophecies may be mentioned the following:—(1) “Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous *Branch*” (or sprout, *tsemach*) (Jer. xxiii. 5); (2) “In those days, and at that time, will I cause the Branch of righteousness to grow up unto David,” or, as the words may be literally rendered, “I will cause to sprout forth to David a Sprout of righteousness” (Jer. xxxiii. 15). Similar prophecies occur in Zechariah, where we read (iii. 8) of Jehovah’s “servant the Branch (or sprout);” and in vi. 12 we find words which throw a still clearer light upon the passage under consideration. “Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, Behold the man whose name is the Branch (or sprout, *tsemach*), and he shall grow up out of his place.” These words indicate that, like the sucker shooting out of the roots of the felled tree, the Messiah was to spring up out of a place of obscurity, and to rise from meanness and lowliness to glory and honour.

The prophecy, however, which appears to have been most prominently in the mind of the Evangelist is Isa. xi. 1. In the conclusion of the preceding chapter the utter destruction of the Assyrian army is foretold under the figure of the felling with the axe of the lofty cedars of Lebanon. In contrast with this picture of the casting down of the strength of the great Assyrian world-power, the house of David, already weakened by apostacy, and destined to be reduced still lower, is represented as rising again out of its obscurity. Out of the roots of Jesse’s stump there is seen to shoot forth a sprout or sucker, which is to become, in the end, “an ensign of the people,” and to which “the Gentiles shall seek.” A double description is given of this Restorer of the house of David. He is described as a rod (or twig) out of the stem or stump of the felled tree of Jesse, and also as a branch (or shoot) springing up out of its

buried roots. The word used by the prophet in the second clause is not the same as that used by Jeremiah and Zechariah, but *netser* or *netzer*, a word which means "a fresh, green shoot," and from which, according to some Jewish as well as Christian authorities, the name of Nazareth is derived, as "the city of shoots."¹ Jerome, in his commentary on this passage, writes thus: "And in the place of 'flower,' which in Hebrew is called *netzer*, they (*i.e.* Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion) have translated germ (or shoot), to show that at a period much later than that of the Babylonish captivity, when no one of the stock of David possessed the glory of the ancient kingdom, Mary, and from Mary Christ, sprang, as it were, from the stump. Learned Hebrews think that the passage in Matthew which (*i.e.* the original of which in the Old Testament) all ecclesiastics search for but cannot find—*viz.*, 'He shall be called a Nazarene'—is taken from this place."

It has been urged, indeed, as a conclusive argument against the correctness of this derivation, and in favour of some connection between *Nazarene* and *Nazarite*, that the Greek letter corresponding to *z* in *Nazareth*, *viz.*, ζ, invariably corresponds to the Hebrew letter answering to our *z*, which is found in *Nazir*, "a Nazarite," and not to the Hebrew letter answering to our *ts* or *tz*, which is found in *netser* or *netzer*, "a shoot." Now it will suffice to reply to this objection, (1) that the question at issue is not what letter is found in the Greek name of Nazareth, but what letter is found in the Hebrew and Syriac names of that place; and that in both of these languages the letter is the same as that in *netzer*, "a shoot," and different from that in *Nazir*, "a Nazarite;" and (2) that the statement as to the correspondence of the Greek letter ζ, which is found in *Naζapér*, "Nazareth," with that found in the Hebrew *Nazir*, "a Nazarite," and not with that found in *netzer*, "a shoot," though generally, is not universally correct; for in Gen. x. 23 we find the Hebrew word for Uz, which contains the same letter as *netzer*, represented in the LXX. by *Οζ* or *Ωζ*, where the Greek letter ζ corresponds to the Hebrew *tsadhe* (*i.e.*, *ts* or *tz*), which elsewhere is commonly represented by the Greek letter σ, *s*.

It may then, we think, be confidently affirmed that in the fact of the residence of the representatives of David's royal house in an obscure village of Galilee at the time of our Lord's birth, not only this prophecy of

Isaiah, but also other prophecies which foretold His humiliation, received their accomplishment. And further, beyond the general contempt in which Galilee was held (*e.g.* John vii. 52), Nazareth was especially despised at the time of our Lord's nativity, and "a Nazarene" was in itself a term of contempt and opprobrium.² Appeal may be made in proof of this assertion to passages such as the following:—"Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" (John i. 46)—to the title engraved in derision upon the cross, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews" (John xix. 19)—and, once more, to the charge preferred by Tertullus against St. Paul as "a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes" (Acts xxiv. 5). So strong, indeed, was the opprobrium designed to be conveyed by the appellation, that the Jews were accustomed to call our Lord, by way of contempt, not only "Jesus, the Nazarene," or simply "the Nazarene," but also *Ben-Netzer*; and a Christian who is called *Netzer* in the Talmud, is made to plead for his life because his name signified a branch (or shoot), according to Isa. xi. 1.

We see, then, that He who was foretold by the prophets as One whose name is "the Branch," or "Shoot," with special reference to the lowliness and obscurity of His origin, was actually known by the equivalent designation of "the Nazarene;" and further, that that designation was commonly given to Him as one of peculiar reproach and contempt. And hence, whether we regard the being "called," as in other passages (*e.g.*, Isa. vii. 14; ix. 6; Jer. xxxiii. 16), as denoting that He should be that which the name signifies, or that He should actually be designated "the Branch," or "Shoot," it can scarcely admit of doubt that in the residence of David's descendants at Nazareth at the time of our Lord's birth, in His own subsequent residence in the same despised city, and in the appellation of scorn and contempt given both to the Divine Founder of Christianity and to His early disciples,³ we find a satisfactory explanation of the apparently obscure words of the Evangelist, "And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene."

¹ "A Nazarene," says David de Pomis (Hebrew Lexicon), "is one that is born in the city *Netzer*, which is said to be in the land of Galilee, three days' journey distant from Jerusalem." (See Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.*, ii., p. 602. 1639. Also Gill on Matt. ii. 23.)

² "Nazareth was an ignoble and obscure town, and the Galileans in general, and therefore the inhabitants of Nazareth, were despised by the men of Jerusalem and by the rest of the Jews, inasmuch that when they wished to speak of a man as foolish, vile, and contemptible, they called him a Nazarene and a Galilean. By these very names it was that the Jews, by way of contempt, designated Jesus." (See Kuinoel's Commentary *in loc.*)

³ "Nazareth, unde et Dominus noster Salvator Nazarus vocatus est: sed et nos apud veteres quasi opprobrio Nazarei dicebamur quos nunc Christianos vocant." (S. Hieronymus, *De Locis Hebraicis*, Opp., vol. iv., p. 131. 1516.)

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.—IV.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

FOX.

It has been said in the previous article (page 58) that the Hebrew word *shû'al*, which in the authorised version is in every instance translated "fox," more frequently refers to the jackal, although the same

term would no doubt be applied by the ancient Jews to the fox as well. Indeed, there is reason to believe they did not distinguish between the two animals, which are very similar in form and appearance, though different in habits. The term *shû'al* has

been variously derived: some Hebraists have referred it to a root *sh'âl*, "to excavate" or "to burrow," which etymology would answer both to the fox and the jackal—the former as a true earth-burrower, the latter as an inhabitant of caves and hollow places; others have thought that the term comes from an unused Hebrew root *sh'âl*, which is connected with the Arabic *sha'ala*, "to set fire to," or *shakala*, "to be brown" or "reddish," with which may be compared the German *fuchs*, i.e., "the red one." The word occurs six times in the Hebrew Bible, and always, with one exception, in the plural number. Sanballat mocked the Jews who were building the walls of Jerusalem in these words: "What do these feeble Jews? will they fortify themselves?" . . . to which Tobiah replies, "Even that which they build, if a fox go up, he shall

animals being very fond of fruit. The prophet Ezekiel compares the false prophets of Israel to "*shu'âlim* in the deserts," no doubt in allusion to their selfishness and avarice, and their oppression of the poor of the land. In the New Testament our Lord more than once alludes to the fox. "Go ye, and tell that fox" (Luke xiii. 32), was spoken by Him in relation to the duplicity of Herod. Allusion is made to this animal's burrowing habits in the memorable words: "Foxes have holes, and the birds have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head" (Matt. viii. 20). The fox of Palestine—of the south and central country—differs but little from the common fox of this country. It is the *Vulpes Niloticus* of Rüppell, and is extremely abundant in Judea and on the east side of Jordan. There is, however, another species, which is a larger and



COMMON FOX.

even break down their stone wall" (Neh. iv. 3). In all the other instances where the word occurs the plural number is used. Samson caught three hundred *shu'âlim*, "and took firebrands, and turned tail to tail, and put a firebrand in the midst between two tails. And when he had set the brands on fire, he let them go into the standing corn of the Philistines" (Judg. xv. 4, 5). Jackals hunt in packs, and Samson might readily have captured as many as three hundred of these animals; there would have been great difficulty in procuring as many foxes. The animals denoted were clearly jackals. In the passage (Ps. lxxiii. 10) in which the Psalmist speaks of his enemies, "They shall fall by the sword, they shall be a portion for foxes," the same animals are meant, for jackals are carrion feeders, and even attack graves for their favourite morsel, which cannot be said of foxes. In the passage of the Canticles (ii. 15), "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines," the reference may be either to jackals or foxes, both

stronger animal. Dr. Tristram calls it the fox of the wooded districts of Galilee; he thinks it agrees with the diagnosis of Dr. Gray's *V. flavescens* (*An. and Mag. Nat. Hist.*, xi., p. 118), and the *Canis Syriacus* of Colonel Hamilton Smith, but that it is only a variety of the common fox of Europe.

HYENA.

This animal (*Hyæna striata*) is very common in all parts of Palestine, and quite indifferent as to the character of the country, making "a home alike in the deserts, in the woods, or in the tombs; but its favourite haunts are the old rock-hewn tombs with which the Holy Land everywhere abounds." There is no direct mention of the hyena in our English Bible, and scarcely anything is said in the Hebrew. If we except one passage (1 Sam. xiii. 18), where mention is made of the "valley of Zeboim" (*Gē hat-tseboim*), that is, "valley of hyenas," there is no other positive allusion to this

animal; for the verse in Jeremiah (xii. 9), "Mine heritage is unto me as a speckled bird" (*ait tsibûa'*), admits of various interpretations. The ravine of Zeboim is described by Mr. Grove, who visited it in 1858, as a wild gorge, bearing the Arabic name of *Shuk-ed-Dubba*, "ravine of the hyena," the exact equivalent of the Hebrew name. The passage in Jeremiah has been translated variously; as, for instance: "Is my heritage become unto me as a bird of prey, stained with blood?" "My heritage is to me as a ravenous hyena;" "Mine inheritance is unto me as a hyena and a bird of prey." Fürst renders it, "Is my possession a speckled bird?" (*i.e.*, Is Israel a speckled bird that is commonly attacked by all others? referring to Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* 10, 19, and Tacitus' *Annals*, 6, 28), but we have failed to find any allusion to the idea that speckled birds are liable to be attacked by others. The apparent difficulty is the word *ait*, which is generally understood to mean a ravenous bird; but probably the word may denote any rapacious animal, the root meaning "to rush upon with fury." The Hebrew word *tsibûa'* is derived from a root which means to be "variegated" or "striped," or "spotted," and is expressive enough of the hyena.

The passage in Jeremiah (xii. 7, 8, 9) is somewhat obscure. The meaning seems to be this. The prophet is complaining of the sins of his people, which cause him to exclaim, "I have forsaken my house, I have left mine heritage; I have given the dearly beloved of my soul into the hand of her enemies. Mine heritage is unto me as a lion in the forest; it roareth out against me: therefore have I hated it. Mine heritage is unto me as a ravenous hyena, therefore ravenous wild beasts all round are against her. Come, assemble all the wild beasts, come to devour." "As the roaring of a lion makes men shake from fear, so that they flee from that spot, so I flee from my people, once indeed beloved by me, but now, on account of their crimes, an object of horror. As my people are no better than ravenous hyenas, let all other ravenous wild beasts come to lay waste and to devour. Let the Chaldeans and the neighbouring nations, the Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, and other enemies haste to the spoil." This is Maurer's explanation, and it seems natural. We ought to add that the Hebrew *tsibûa'* is identical with the Arabic *dab'*, and that this latter name denotes "the hyena."

Dr. Tristram says that next to the jackal, hyenas are the most numerous beasts of prey now found in the Holy Land, but that they are cowardly creatures, and are not dreaded by the natives, who regard them as the most abominable of all animals, prowling, as they do, about graveyards, endeavouring to exhume dead bodies. His party met with hyenas in the Jordan valley, at Jerusalem, Nazareth, Tabor, and Mount Carmel, from which latter place Dr. Tristram obtained the largest pair of adults he had ever seen. His party also procured young ones occasionally in the spring. The spotted hyena (*H. maculata*), which appears to be specifically distinct from its striped relative, is not found in Asia, being confined to South Africa, chiefly about the Cape

of Good Hope. Figures of hyenas occur on the paintings of Thebes. The ancient Egyptians did not regard this animal as sacred, but hunted it and shot it with arrows, and caught it in traps, as an enemy to the flocks. Sir G. Wilkinson mentions an extraordinary fancy amongst the Abyssinians, who believe that a race of people in their country, who generally follow the trade of blacksmiths, have the power of assuming the form of the hyena. The strength of the hyena's jaw surpasses that of any other carnivorous animal.

BEAR.

Mention is made of this animal several times in the Old Testament writings; its ferocity when robbed of its young is referred to in 2 Sam. xvii. 8: "For, said Hushai, thou knowest thy father and his men, that they be mighty men, and they be chafed in their minds, as a bear robbed of her whelps in the field." Again, in Prov. xvii. 12: "Let a bear robbed of her whelps meet a man, rather than a fool in his folly." Hosea (xiii. 7, 8) represents God as threatening to punish Israel for having forsaken him, in these words: "I will be unto them as a lion: as a leopard by the way will I observe them: I will meet them as a bear that is bereaved of her whelps, and will rend the caul of their heart." Bears occasionally attacked the flocks: David tells Saul, just before he slew the Philistine giant with a sling and a stone, how he had killed a bear that attacked his flock: "David said unto Saul, Thy servant kept his father's sheep, and there came a lion and a bear, and took a lamb out of the flock. And I went out after him, and smote him, and delivered it out of his mouth: and when he arose against me, I caught him by his beard, and smote him, and slew him" (1 Sam. xvii. 34, 35). In passing, we pause to notice what has probably struck most readers or hearers of this passage. A bear and a lion, we are told, came out and seized a lamb; David went out after him, and caught him by his beard and slew him. This apparently refers to the lion; what became of the bear? The narrative probably alludes to two different occasions, one relating to David's slaughter of a lion, the other to that of a bear; in David's excitement he would naturally speak hurriedly. Josephus (*Antiq.*, vi. 9, 3) considers the two events as distinct, and occurring at different times. His words are: "I undertake this enterprise, said David, in dependence on God's being with me, for I have had experience already of his assistance; for I once pursued after and caught a lion that assaulted my flocks and took away a lamb, and I snatched the lamb out of the wild beast's mouth; and when he leaped upon me with violence, I took him by the tail and dashed him against the ground. In the same manner did I avenge myself on a bear also." The prophet Amos tells us that, in his time, the bear was a dangerous animal for a man to meet: "As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him" (v. 19). The deep and monotonous groaning sounds which the bear utters is referred to by Isaiah: "We roar like bears" (lix. 11). When the children of Bethel mocked Elisha, we are told that "there came forth two she-bears out of the wood, and tare forty and

two of them" (2 Kings ii. 24). From these passages it is probable that bears were not at all uncommon in Biblical times. At present they are comparatively rare in Palestine, occurring in some of the ravines of Galilee, and on Mounts Lebanon and Hermon, where they are said to be by no means uncommon. The Syrian bear (*Ursus Syriacus*) seems to be merely a local variety of the common brown bear, differing chiefly from it in the light colour of the hair; it is frugivorous more than carnivorous in its habits, and seldom attacks men or flocks unless pressed with hunger. Bears do much damage to the lentil crops and the chick peas cultivated on the sides of the Hermon. From the account given to Dr. Tristram by the Rev. F. H. Holland, it would seem that bears are still common on Mount Hermon, and that they are not at all feared by the people. Mr. Holland says: "On June 27, 1865, I slept on the top of Mount Hermon. Just as the sun was setting, I saw two bears rolling each other over in the snow, about 400 yards distant. We went to sleep, fully expecting a visit from them during the night; but they did not disturb us, though at daybreak we found them still near us. When the sun had risen, they left the snow and went down the mountain side. As we descended, we came upon another in a narrow gorge, busily engaged in rolling over the large boulders, though there did not appear to be food of any kind for him among the stones. I was some distance ahead of my companions, and he did not see me till I got within about fifty yards of him. He then reared himself up, and sat grinning at me as I approached with my little revolver—my only weapon. Unfortunately, the Syrian we had with us came in sight and set up a shout, which so frightened the bear that he turned and fled, falling head over heels on a frozen spring, but did not stop till he was fully a quarter of a mile off, when, turning round for a moment, he shook his head angrily, and then galloped away again. Bears must be very common on Mount Hermon. When I pointed them out to our guide, who lived in one of the villages at the foot of the mount, and was a charcoal-burner by trade, he laughed at my appearing surprised to see them, and evidently did not consider them worth looking at or thinking about, saying there were many of them. When we were there, there was but little snow, and the bears had doubtless come up from the lower parts of Hermon to enjoy a roll in it." The Hebrew name for the bear is *dōb*, being identical with the modern Arabic name *dub*, "a he-bear;" *dubbé*, "a she-bear." Some writers derive the word from a Hebrew root, *dābāb*, "to walk slowly;" but others, with more probability, refer it to an Arabic root, meaning "to be hairy;" *dōb* being thus "the shaggy animal." The name of the bear occurs on the Assyrian monuments; the word phonetically is read *dābu*, evidently the Hebrew *dōb*. It was one of the animals hunted by the great Assyrian kings, Asshur-ni-zir-bal and Asshur-bani-pal, "mighty hunters" indeed, before Asshur and Ishtar their deities. Bears at the present day appear to be not uncommon in the neighbourhood of Tiyan, a district north of

Assyria, where, as Mr. Layard tells us, they are very mischievous, robbing the trees of their fruit and the fruit when laid out to dry; the inhabitants pretended to be in so much dread of the bears that they would not venture out alone after dark (*Nineveh and its Remains*, i., p. 185). These bears are probably the descendants of those hunted by the Assyrian monarchs more than 2,500 years ago.

BADGER.

It is by no means certain what animal is intended by the Hebrew word *tachash*, which our translators render by "badger." The word occurs several times in the book of Exodus, as denoting some material used for the outer covering of the tabernacle, and for wrapping up sacred things when they were removed (Numb. iv. 8). "Thou shalt make a covering for the tent of rams' skins dyed red, and a covering above of badgers' skins" (Exod. xxvi. 14; see also Exod. xxv. 5; xxxv. 7, 23; xxxvi. 19; Numb. iv. 6, 8, 10, 14). The prophet Ezekiel (xvi. 10) also mentions the word: "I clothed thee with brodered work, and shod thee with badgers' skin." The word does not occur elsewhere. The Hebrew word bears a close resemblance to the Arabic *tachash*, a general name, as it would seem, for dolphins, seals, dugongs, &c. The badger (*Meles taxus*) is common enough in Palestine, but could not have been procured in sufficient numbers, one would imagine, in the Peninsula of Sinai, to have furnished an outer covering for the tabernacle. Neither again would badgers' skins have proved the most effectual protector against bad and rainy weather, and the wear and tear consequent on a long wandering in the wilderness. Dugongs are strange, uncouth-looking marine mammalia, related to the cetacea or whale family, and have very thick skins. In recent times the skin of the dugong has been used for making into sandals and soles for shoes. When Dr. Robinson was at the Convent of Sinai, the superior procured for him a pair of the sandals usually worn by the Bedouin of the peninsula, "made of the thick skin of a fish which is caught in the Red Sea." It is a species of halibut or dugong, named by Ehrenberg, *Halicora Hemprechii*. Dr. Robinson adds, "The skin is clumsy and coarse, and might answer very well for the external covering of a tabernacle which was constructed at Sinai, but would seem hardly a fitting material for the ornamental sandals belonging to the costly attire of high-born dames in Palestine, described by the prophet Ezekiel." This is a just remark, and the *tachash* skin of the prophet may very likely denote seal-skin, which it is well known, even in our own day, is a costly article of attire. The Arabic *dachs* or *tachash* is probably generic; it seems to be derived from the root *dachasha*, "to dash into the water," and thus appropriately describes the marine mammalia. When Carsten Niebuhr was on his voyage from Maskât to Abusclakhr, and in the neighbourhood of Râs Musendome, he saw immense numbers of porpoises or dolphins, which the Arabs called *dachs*. The more definite Arabic word for a porpoise or dolphin is

delphin; sometimes a shoal of these creatures is called *Banat-el-bahr*, i.e., "daughters of the sea." Pliny tells us that tents were sometimes made of the skins of seals, as being the only marine animal never struck by lightning, and Suetonius says that Augustus Caesar always wore a seal-skin as a safety in travelling. It is worthy of remark that Strabo mentions "an island of seals" near to the promontory of Ras Mahomet, which has its name from the abundance of the animals. This is the very spot where Niebuhr saw a great number of porpoises. There is, we think, fair reason for believing that the *tachash* skins for the tabernacle were those of some of the marine mammalia, probably the dugong or the porpoise, which being sewed together would form an efficient tarpaulin, and that the skins for the ladies' sandals were those of seals. It should be mentioned that many of the old versions, as the Septuagint and Vulgate, regard the word *tachash* as the name of common leather dyed some particular colour, either blue, black, or red. But all the evidence is more in favour of some particular animal's skin.

WEASEL.

The name of this little active creature occurs only once in the Bible—viz., in Lev. xi. 29, in the list of "unclean creeping things that creep upon the earth." There is considerable doubt as to whether the animal denoted by the Hebrew word *choled* be a weasel or a mole-rat. It is certain that the kindred Arabic word *khuld* or *khild* denotes the mole and mole-rat, and the probable root from which the Hebrew name is derived, *chālad*, "to dig," is more truly applicable to the mole-rat than to the weasel or any of the *Mustelide*. But the authority of the old versions is in favour of the weasel, also that of the Mishna and Talmud, which in several passages speak of the *chuldah* as a fierce carnivorous creature, and one of surprising cunning, killing other beasts of prey bigger than itself, as attacking men and horses, as being considered dangerous to sleeping children, as a little creature of wonderful agility, as gliding into small and narrow holes, and as doing certain other things utterly ridiculous and impossible. But even with Rabbinical writers the word *chuldah* does denote, sometimes at least, "a mole." In the Talmud of Jerusalem *chuldah* is given as the explanation of the Talmudical word *'ishoth*, a term undoubtedly signifying "moles." In some passages, we think, the *chuldah* of Rabbinical writers denotes the polecat (*Mustela putorius*), designated by *chuldath hasendim*, "the weasel of the thorn-bushes." The polecat is a much larger and more destructive animal than the weasel, and answers better than it to the accounts Talmudical writers have given of the *chuldah*. Ferrets have occasionally been known to attack sleeping children, and there can be no doubt that the wild fitchet or polecat would not object to do the same, should opportunity present itself. As another point in favour of *choled* meaning one of the weasel tribe, we may call attention to the name of Huldah (*chuldah*), a distinguished prophetess in the time of Josiah (2 Kings

xxii. 14). If those writers are correct who derive the word from a root meaning "to be slim and active," the idea is applicable enough to a woman. Indeed, Chaucer writes—

"Fayre was this yonge wif and therewithal
As any weasel, hire body gent and smal."

(*The Miller's Tale*, v. 3,235.)

The *Mustelide*, or weasel family, is well represented in Palestine. Dr. Tristram and party noticed the common weasel (*Mustela vulgaris*), the polecat, and the short-legged ichneumon (*Herpestes ichneumon*), extremely common in every part of the country. Perhaps genets and martens may also occur in Palestine.

FERRET.

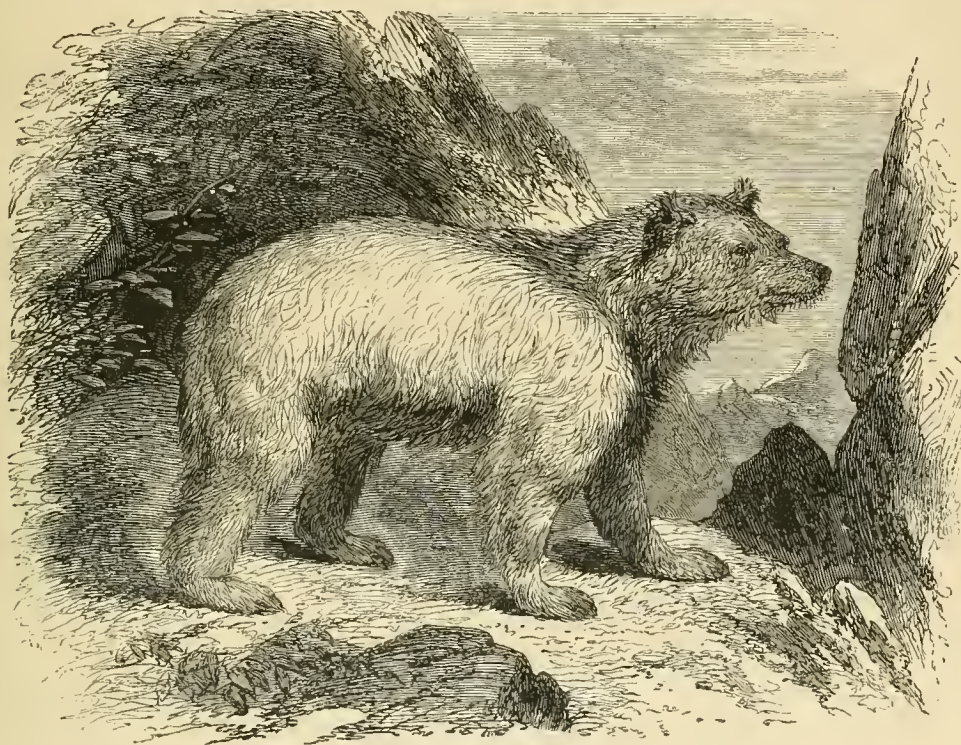
Here again is the Hebrew name (*anakah*) of some animal that occurs only in the list of unclean creeping things mentioned in the book of Leviticus (xi. 30), and which it is not possible to identify, though it may safely be affirmed that there is no reason at all for supposing with our translators that the word means "a ferret." All attempts at identification are mere conjectures. Some translations render *anakah* by "shrew-mouse;" others give "hedgehog," "toad," "chameleon," "green lizard," "water-lizard." The Hebrew word is derived by some authors from a root meaning "to sigh" or "groan," and it has been thought that a kind of lizard called *gecko*, which utters a peculiar mournful sound, is the animal denoted. First, referring the word to a root signifying "to be long and narrow," renders *anakah* by "a reptile with a long neck." We shall say more on this subject when we come to the article "Lizard."

HEDGEHOG AND PORCUPINE.

There is a Hebrew word (*kippod*) occurring three times in the Old Testament, and translated in the authorised version by "bittern," which has by some writers been supposed to denote not a bird, but a porcupine or hedgehog. The question as to the meaning of the Hebrew word in the passages where it occurs (Isa. xiv. 23; xxxiv. 11; Zeph. ii. 14) will be discussed when we come to the article "Bittern." Although we think the evidence rather against either the porcupine or the hedgehog representing the Hebrew word, yet as these animals occur frequently in Palestine, and were no doubt known to the ancient Jews, we must not pass them over without a short notice. The hedgehog (*Erinaceus Europæus*) is very common in the north of Palestine, and was often observed by Dr. Tristram and his party. The hedgehog of the south of Judæa is smaller and lighter in colour, and probably not a distinct species. This animal was known to the ancient Egyptians, but it does not appear to have been associated in their minds with any religious feeling. Small figures of the hedgehog made of earthenware were used as ornaments, and lamps of terra cotta having the form of this animal have been met with in the tombs. The Arabic name of a hedgehog is *kunfid*, and it is supposed by some that the Hebrew word is identical with it. Sir G. Wilkinson tells us that the modern Egyptians make use of a certain agricultural implement which "consists of a cylinder studded with projecting

iron pins, to break the clods after the land has been ploughed," and that the term *khonfud*—i.e., hedgehog—has been applied to it. Of the porcupine (*Hystrix cristata*) Dr. Tristram thus writes: "It is common in all the rocky districts and mountain glens of the Holy Land, and its flesh is esteemed a great delicacy. It is commonly believed by the natives to be a larger species of hedgehog, but is really an animal of a very different order, being a rodent, and placed by systematists not very far from the beaver on one side and the guinea-pig on the other. It lives on roots and bark, and conceals itself in holes and crevices of the rocks, where it remains

be gathered among the rocks in a day without trouble. The porcupine is found in Southern Europe, the whole of North Africa, and Western Asia. Elsewhere its place is taken by other similar species." By some strange oversight, Dr. Tristram has allowed a Brazilian species of porcupine (*Synætheres prehensilis*) to figure as the common *Hystrix cristata* (*Nat. Hist. of Bible*, p. 126). It need hardly be added that the story of the porcupine being able to shoot out its quills against an enemy, a story as old as Aristotle, has no foundation in fact; loose quills are often detached as the animal suddenly raises its spiny armour, but it has no power to throw



SYRIAN BEAR.

dormant during the winter, and is at all times a nocturnal animal. It is so common in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, that a bundle of shed quills may

them to a distance. Figures of the porcupine occur on the Egyptian monuments; these animals appear to have been hunted by the people.

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.—I.

BY REV. H. W. PHILLOTT, M.A., RECTOR OF STAUNTON-ON-WYE, AND PRELECTOR OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.



VERY slight acquaintance with the history, or rather histories, of the Bible, and a glance at the map, will show us that, speaking generally, the scenes in which they are laid, and consequently the geographical interest belonging to them, may be arranged on one side or the other of a line running north and south, which

answers nearly to the line of longitude 37° east of Greenwich. On the west of this line lie the Holy Land itself, part of Arabia, Egypt, Asia Minor, and the greater part of Europe; to the east of it the sites of all that belongs to the history of the human race in its earliest stage, to that of the Hebrew nation in its beginning, and during some later portions of its existence, as well as to

that of some of those ancient nations and all but extinct cities, whose history is closely interwoven from time to time with that of the chosen people. The interest attached to this portion of history is of course inferior to that which surrounds the main centres of life and action in sacred history, both of the Old and New Testament. The history itself has in many cases to be recovered from geographical or topographical features, disinterred, as it were, from the graves of ruined cities, from forgotten languages and silent monuments of art; and yet many of these records, though dead, speak to us in tones which are all the more impressive and significant because they come to us from beyond the tomb. They are independent, unimpeachable witnesses, absolutely beyond all passion, all prejudice, all suspicion of adulteration or collusion. Their voice, whenever we can distinguish it, is not only one to which we cannot refuse to listen, but which from its long silence possesses an interest and a charm of antiquity to which few minds among ourselves can be insensible. Yet the people among whom these memorials exist, who would be naturally their proper guardians and expositors, are for the most part, or at least were a few years since, utterly regardless of them. The testimony, therefore, which is borne silently to the truth of history, whether we call it sacred or profane, by memorials such as these, has all the value of coincidence not only undesigned, but in many cases involuntarily extorted, as it were, from enemies. As such it stands, of course, on ground which is all the higher and more secure for the difficulty which surrounded the ascent. We have won our way with much toil, and though the summit can hardly yet be said to have been gained, yet as step by step we have risen higher in the work of investigation, we have obtained clearer views, and been enabled to pronounce with greater certainty upon the landmarks and leading features of the great map of history outspread before us.

These remarks apply, of course, to other geographical scenes than those of which we now speak, but as they do so in a remarkable degree to these last, it seems worth our while to draw attention to the important relation which what we have ventured to call the Eastern Geography of the Bible bears to the Western, and to point out the reality and significance of the division which we have adopted. This appears mainly in the simple fact that the boundary line which we have assumed was in a great portion of its southerly direction, through a great "lone land," traversed rather than inhabited by wandering tribes, and which by its wide-spread barrenness must at all times have separated the settled people dwelling on the one side from those on the other. This wilderness was crossed by caravans of commerce by more than one route, and there is one spot in particular connected with Bible history, the city of Tadmor, which will be noticed hereafter; but before doing so we shall draw the attention of our readers to the great river Euphrates, which with its sister stream, the Tigris, little less important than itself, enclosed the very fatherland of the Hebrew race, the plain of Mesopotamia, and formed in most practical

respects the division, represented in theory by the geographical line mentioned above, between the two great historical and geographical areas of the East and the West.

We must, therefore, crave our readers' patience for a time, while we lay before them a general view of the whole country traversed by these two great rivers, from their respective sources in the Armenian high lands to their junction near the Persian Gulf. For the present we shall draw their attention in the briefest manner to such leading names only as serve most usefully as way-marks on our road; a dry outline, no doubt, but one which will be helpful, nay, absolutely necessary, to all who wish to understand the anatomy and real construction of the figure which we intend hereafter to describe more fully, and of which, therefore, it will be best to dispose at once, before proceeding to invest it with the historic dress by which it is really known to us.

THE EUPHRATES.

We read in Gen. ii. 10, 14, that of the "four heads" of the river of Paradise, one was called *Pirat* and one *Hiddekel*, and that the latter goes to the east of Assyria. The former is still called by those who live in its neighbourhood *El-Frat*, "the good" or "abounding stream." The Greeks called it Euphrates, but the Hebrews very often applied to it the title of "the river," "the great river," in distinction perhaps to the less important streams of their own country (1 Kings iv. 21; Josh. xxiv. 2; Zech. ix. 10). It might be compared in some respects, both historical and geographical, though not in volume or extent, to the Nile, as indeed the Roman orator Cicero has pointed out, principally in its annual inundations, and the fertilising uses to which they might be, for we must not say are now, applied (Cic., *N. D.*, ii. 130). For the Jews this river possessed a special interest. From beyond it their great ancestor had gone forth on his search for the habitation of promise, so that the name of "the Hebrew" ("the man from beyond") was applied to him by the people among whom he dwelt in that land to denote his foreign origin (Gen. xiv. 13). As far as its banks the dominion of Solomon had reached, fulfilling by this extension the promise of God to Abraham (Gen. xv. 18; 1 Kings iv. 24); on the trees beside them their forefathers had hung their harps in captivity; and even now there are living in its neighbourhood Jewish families who trace their origin to the men of the great captivity (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 524).

From the manner in which the Euphrates and Hiddekel or Tigris are mentioned together in Gen. ii. 14, many ancient writers—and some even of not very distant date—supposed that the two rivers are derived from the same source; but the passage is to be explained in a different sense from this, at any rate as regards the two rivers in their present condition. We will speak first of the Euphrates, which has its source, or rather sources, in the high lands of Armenia. (1.) If we look at the map we shall find, not far from the point where the line of latitude 40° crosses the line 41°

of longitude, the name of the Turkish town of Erzeroum, situate on a table-land about 6,000 feet above the Black Sea level. At a place called Domlu, about twenty-five miles N.N.E. from Erzeroum, is found the stream called Kara-Su ("black river"), but also called Frat, and thus regarded, though perhaps erroneously, as the true head-stream of the river. It runs first west and then south-west nearly parallel with the shore of the Black Sea, a river of 100 yards broad, and not often fordable, through mountain passes and narrow plains for about 270 miles. (2.) At a point about 130 miles E.S.E. of Erzeroum is a small town called Diyadin, lying on the north side near the foot of a mountain range called Alá-Tagh, some twenty or thirty miles from Mount Ararat. Not far from this point, about eighty miles from the source of the Kara-Su mentioned above (for this term is applied to more than one stream in that country), is the source of the other head-stream, regarded in the time of Xenophon as the true Euphrates, and crossed by him and his 10,000 Greeks in the year 401 B.C., and really more important in point of size, but now called Murad-Chai (Xen., *Anab.*, iv. 5, 2). After running westerly for about 400 miles, it unites with the former stream about five miles above a place called Kebban-Maden, where, as the name *Maden* denotes, there are mines producing lead, near the point where the 39th degree of longitude intersects the 39th of latitude, about 2,700 feet above the level of the Black Sea.

The combined stream, now called Frat, but in ancient times not known by this name till later, a river of 120 yards in breadth, runs south-west for about fifty miles to a point where it turns to the east, not far north of the town of Malatiyeh or Malatia, formerly the capital of the lesser Armenia. Near here it receives an important affluent from the west, the Tokhmah-Su, and soon afterwards forces its way in a cataract through the mountain range of the Taurus, and performing a somewhat circular course, passes the town of Sumeisat, formerly Samosata, near W.S.W., as if it would flow into the Mediterranean. But below this, at a place called Rum Kalah, eighty miles from the Mediterranean, the river, to use the words of the Roman geographer, Pomponius Mela, suffers a defeat from Mount Taurus, and is driven in a southerly direction for about 114 miles past Bir, the point to which, in 1836, the steamer ascended, until at Balis, eighty-eight miles below Bir, it turns to the east and runs for 1,000 miles in a southeasterly direction, till it meets the Tigris at Kornah, and the combined streams are discharged into the Persian Gulf by the channel called Shat-el-Arab, the inundated Arabian bank.

According to the choice which we make for the head-stream of either the Kara-Su or the Murad-Chai, the whole length of the course of the Euphrates will be either 1,780 or 1,650 miles, or about eight times the length of the Thames. In its course it receives several affluents, but none lower than the point of its confluence with the Khabur, about 750 miles from the mouth, not far below Kerkesiah, probably the ancient Carchemish (2 Chron. xxxv. 20; Jer. xlv. 2; Wiener, *Realwörterb.*).

The upper part of its course as far as Hit, about 200 miles above Babylon, is through a hilly country. About seventy miles below Hit the country becomes flat, and at Lemlun, in lat. $31^{\circ} 45'$, long. $44^{\circ} 59'$, the banks are but little raised above the river. At Kebban-Maden, as mentioned above, the stream is 120 yards wide; at Thapsacus, where the army of Cyrus forded it in B.C. 401, the width is 800 yards; after the junction with the Khabur it is 400 yards wide and 18 feet deep; but lower down the width and depth are less, owing to the absence of all affluents, and the diffusion of the river in marshes and canals. Thapsacus (now Deir) is, no doubt, the same place as Tiphisah (1 Kings iv. 24). For 1,200 miles the river is navigable for boats, and in 1836 Colonel Chesney ascended it as far as Bir, 1,197 miles from the mouth, in a steamer drawing four feet of water. During the 530 miles of its course through the plains of Babylon, the Euphrates does not fall more than three inches in a mile, in consequence of which the annual inundations, which begin in March with the melting of the snow in Armenia, are very slow in running off, and sometimes are in force as late as November. In ancient times great pains were taken to turn this to profitable account by means of dykes and canals. Herodotus, the Greek historian, tells us that Semiramis, an early queen of Babylon, who reigned about 750 B.C., and whose name appears inserted on a statue of the god Nebo (Isa. xlv. 1) found at Nineveh, caused enormous dykes to be made over the plain; and later still another queen, Nitocris, in order to protect the city of Babylon from the growing power of the Medes, turned the course of the Euphrates, which flowed through the city, in an ingenious manner by means of canals, so as to make the approach to it more difficult. She also caused a great lake to be dug, the earth from which was piled up in embankments by the side of the river (Herod. i. 185). Strabo, the great Greek geographer, who wrote in the early part of the first century A.D., says that as the overflow of the Euphrates cannot be prevented, it is the business of a wise governor to turn it to profitable account, for in dry times the inhabitants are as likely to perish from drought as from excess of water during the inundation. For this purpose, he says, canals had been dug, which from the softness of the ground it was very easy to open, but difficult to close. And he adds that Alexander the Great, in order to prevent Arabia from being inaccessible to invasion from the side of the Euphrates, by reason of the extent of marshy country, opened a new mouth to a canal which led from the river to the marshes and lakes on its right bank; and in order to promote his designs on that country, caused vessels to be constructed, which were conveyed in pieces to Thapsacus, and thence sent down the river to Babylon (Strabo, xvi. p. 740). He also wished, and this was perhaps his principal motive, to restore to Babylon the advantages which had departed from it by the diversion of its navigable river. This was to be done by stopping, when necessary, the mouth of his canal; but the undertaking was abandoned at his death, and since that time the river has been con-



stantly straying into a western course. In order to check this, the entrance to a canal called the Hindiyeh, from a Hindoo prince who re-opened it, is from time to time stopped, and when this is the case the proper course of the river is navigable; but at other times, when the flood overpowers the barrier, the wilful stream flows westward past the ruined tower called Birs Nimroud, and enters the great lake called Bahr Nedjef. From this issue several streams which at such

times are navigable, and which when united form the western branch of the Euphrates. Throughout the whole of its remaining course until its junction with the Tigris, the banks of the Euphrates are narrow, as are those also of the united stream subsequently to this confluence. Date-trees grow luxuriantly on the banks, and there is abundant pasture for cattle; but the climate is unhealthy, and though villages are numerous the population is scanty.

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.—II.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE PENTATEUCH AND ST. JOHN.

WE have seen, in the first paper of this series, that both the Gospel and the Revelation which bear the name of St. John present many allusive references to the Book of Genesis—references sometimes to the same passages, almost always of the same kind. The inference deduced from that fact, if not strong enough to prove identity of authorship, was at least a confirmation of that identity, assumed to be in part proved, or rendered probable, by independent evidence. The object of the present paper is to extend the inquiry to the other books of the Pentateuch, and the other writings of the Apostle. It is believed that the investigation will lead us to results which will give a fresh interest to our study of both the portions of Scripture which fall within its range.

Let us remember, at the outset, that there are indications in the Gospel history that the Evangelist of whom we are now speaking possessed a somewhat higher culture than most of his brother disciples. As one known to the high priest, and bearing a name which was common among the priesthood,¹ he, though living in the seclusion of Bethsaida, may yet have searched the Scriptures, and meditated long and earnestly on what was read to him, or by him, in the synagogues of Galilee. The very differences which make his Gospel in so many ways a marked contrast to the other three, imply a greater power of apprehending and recording the higher teaching of our Lord. His preference for the Jerusalem ministry as compared with that in Galilee and Peræa recorded by the other Gospels; his selection just of that portion of the Galilean teaching which came nearest in its character to that of Jerusalem, speak of one whose natural atmosphere of thought was that which he shared with the priests and scribes of the holy city rather than that which he had in common with the peasants and fishermen of his native village. The marvellous richness of the imagery of the Apocalypse; the echoes from well-nigh all the great prophets of the Old Testament which meet us in it; the name of "the divine" (*i.e.* "the theologian") given to him, and to him alone of the writers of the New Testament, confirm the conclusion as to the higher education of St. John which forms the starting point of the present inquiry. That education would lead him, as to the study of the Scriptures generally, so especially to that which was the foundation of all theology for every devout Israelite, the study of the law in its technical and accepted sense—*i.e.*, of the five books of Moses.

What we note, then, as falling in with this antecedent probability, is the fact that St. John gives a special prominence in his Gospel to the teaching of our Lord in

its bearing upon that of the Pentateuch; that both in the Gospel and the Apocalypse references abound not only, as already shown, to the Book of Genesis, but to the other books also; that even in the Epistles, where allusions to any other parts of Scripture are less apparent, traces of coincidence in thought or phrase are yet to be met with. To what extent we find these in each of his writings will appear as we examine them.

(1.) THE GOSPELS.—We note, to begin with, that, in immediate sequel to what is known as the prologue or introduction to St. John's Gospel (i. 1—14), the contrast between the old and new dispensations is definitely brought before us in connection with the name of the Lawgiver. "The law was given *by Moses*, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ" (i. 17). The words are obviously, and in the judgment of all the best commentators, those of the Evangelist, not those of the Baptist, whose testimony had been quoted in ver. 15. They come from one who had entered, as fully as St. Paul did, into the outward and inward meanings of that law of which he spoke, and felt that the blessedness of the new covenant of which he was a minister was that by it a man might be "justified from all things from which he could not be justified by the law of Moses." Can we fail to see the working of that conviction in his selection of the name which the Baptist gave to the Christ as almost the first fact to be recorded—a name, be it remembered, which he alone records—"Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world?" (i. 29). Whatever other thoughts may have gathered round those words—and some reference to the prophecy of Isa. liii. 7 may well have been implied—that which was primary and central had its root in the records of that law of which he had just spoken. "The lamb of God," as that which God had "provided for himself as a burnt-offering" (Gen. xxii. 8), recalled the typical sacrifice of Isaac. As that which "took away the sin of the world," it reproduced, with the significant substitution of the lamb for the goat—the type of sinlessness for the type of guilt—the image of the scape-goat, which bore upon him all the iniquities of the people into a land not inhabited (Lev. xvi. 22).

The first stage, then, in the process by which the fisherman of Bethsaida was led to the knowledge of his Lord was one which threw his thoughts back upon the law which he heard read in the synagogue of his village every Sabbath day. The next incident which he records, the conversion of his two fellow-townsmen, Philip and Nathanael (identical, in all probability, with the Bartholomew of the other Gospels), points to habitual meditation on what they thus heard. "We have found him," said Philip to his friend, "of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write." Comparatively scanty as are the Messianic predictions of the

¹ Compare Acts iv. 6.

Pentateuch, he had learnt already that in Jesus of Nazareth there was "the seed of the woman that should bruise the serpent's head" (Gen. iii. 15), "the seed of Abraham in whom all the nations of the earth should be blessed" (Gen. xxii. 18); perhaps, also (though the prediction was then, and still remains, involved in some obscurity), the Shiloh unto whom should be "the gathering of the people" (Gen. xlix. 10), the prophet "like unto Moses, whom the Lord God would raise up" in the latter days for Israel (Deut. xviii. 18). The tendency thus shown in the Apostle's mind is exhibited not less strikingly in the way in which he, and he alone, records not a few portions of our Lord's teaching which bring out new meanings from the old records of the Pentateuch. We can imagine with what eager interest he would welcome at first, even though at the time he understood but dimly, the words which told him that, "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so also must the Son of man be lifted up," to be a source of life and healing to those who looked to Him in faith (John iii. 14); how, when he came with his Master to the "parcel of ground that Jacob gave to his son Joseph," all the old memories of the spot—the well which bore the patriarch's name, of which he, his children, and his cattle had so often drunk (John iv. 5—12)—would fill his mind and prepare it to receive the new truths which were henceforth to be associated with it; how eagerly he who had read so often the old history of "the bread from heaven," of which the Israelites had eaten in the wilderness, would receive the thought that it was not Moses who gave the true bread from heaven, but the Father to whom they were taught to say, "Give us this day our daily bread" (John vi. 32).

So, again, when the Feast of Tabernacles came, and the Master and scholar were once again brought face to face with the Rabbis of Jerusalem, and these marvelled, saying, "How knoweth this man letters?"—(i.e., the law and the exposition of its precepts)—the disciple must have felt that a new light was thrown on the relative importance of what we call moral and positive precepts, on the comparative prominence of the latter in their relations to each other in the words, "Moses therefore gave unto you circumcision, not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers;" that "if a man on the Sabbath day received circumcision, that the law of Moses should not be broken," much more might He, the Lord of life, in full obedience to the eternal laws of his Father, "make a man every whit whole on the Sabbath day" (John vii. 22, 23). If we accept the narrative of the woman taken in adultery as occupying its right place as part of the Gospel of St. John, that also brings into close juxtaposition the Pharisees' adherence to the letter in all its rigour, "Moses in the law commanded us that such should be stoned," and the "mercy rejoicing against judgment," which our Lord showed towards the poor sinner that crouched before him. He read in the rule that the witnesses in such a case should be the first to take part in the execution of the sentence for which they pressed, a safeguard

against over-hasty, uncalled-for, malignant accusations. Were the accusers in this case prepared to cast the first stone when they themselves, "convicted by their own consciences," felt themselves to be guilty of sins to the full as great (John viii. 4—9)? So, again, the words "Before Abraham was I am" (John viii. 58), full of profoundest meaning as they are, taken by themselves, must have been yet more significant to one who connected them with the revelation of the Divine Name to Moses as the I AM, the Eternal and Unchanging, and was therefore able to see in them the vindication of the claim ("I and my Father are one") which, to those who called themselves Moses' disciples, who "knew that God spake unto Moses," and yet were unable to believe in the Christ of whom Moses wrote, seemed so full of blasphemy. So it was that they were blind and deaf to the teaching even of the Master whom they honoured, and that Moses, in whom they trusted, became not their defender, but their accuser (John v. 45—47).

Once more we have to note how the disciple whom Jesus loved, as he stood gazing on the cross, and watched the soldiers as they came to complete the work of death, saw, in the quickness with which his spirit had passed away, that which made Him the true antitype of that paschal lamb which was even then, it may be, being slain in every Jewish household. Taught by his Master during his ministry on earth, taught afterwards by the illuminating Spirit, he learnt that thus, in what seemed the accidents of the execution, there was, by a correspondence not without design, a fulfilment of the symbolic rule, "These things were done that the Scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken" (John xix. 36).

(2.) THE REVELATION.—The special connection of the Apocalypse with the Book of Genesis has been already dwelt on. What we have now to notice is that it presents the same evidence that the mind of the writer was so deeply imbued with the law of Moses as a whole, that the divine words which were the clothing of the truths revealed to him would hardly have been intelligible save to one who had been thus prepared for them. The first vision that met his gaze as he was in the Spirit on the Lord's day brought before him the form of one whom he had known as the Son of man, now seen as in the garments of the priesthood, in closest nearness to the seven-branched lamp which, as the symbol of light, perhaps as a representative also of the tree of life, occupied so prominent a place among the symbols of the tabernacle (Rev. i. 13). The promises made by the Lord of the churches to those that overcome are rich in allusive references of the same kind. Over and above that to the "tree of life," we have the "hidden manna" (Rev. ii. 17); the "book of life," from which their names were not to be blotted out (Rev. iii. 5; comp. Exod. xxxii. 32); the "white stone, and on the stone a new name written," representing (according to Archbishop Trenchard and other commentators) the Urin

¹ *The Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia*, p. 124.

and Thummim, which, in their crystalline brightness and oracular mystery, were the special insignia of the high priest's office. So, in like manner, echoes from the Pentateuch meet us in the vision of the throne, bright as a "sapphire," in Exod. xxiv. 10, girt about by a rainbow, "in sight like unto an emerald," in Rev. iv. 3; of "the Lamb as it had been slain," which renewed the first testimony that had led him to know his Lord as indeed the Christ (Rev. v. 6); of the "golden vials full of incense," which recalled the ministrations of the sons of Aaron (Rev. v. 8); of the consecration of all true disciples by the blood of the Lamb to be "kings and priests unto God" (Rev. v. 10; comp. Exod. xix. 6); in the numbering and sealing of a new Israel in its mystical completeness (Rev. vii. 4-8); in the trumpets with which the angels, acting, as it were, as priests in the temple not made with hands, proclaimed the march of God's great judgments (Rev. viii. 2; comp. Numb. x. 8-10); in the act of the angel who, like a priest, "took the censer and filled it with the fire of the altar" (Rev. viii. 5). If the under-current of the later prophecies of Isaiah which mingles with the main stream of the seer's thoughts suggests the identification of the imperial city of the world's splendour with the Babylon against which Isaiah had denounced his woes, the other identification of that, or another representative of the world as contrasted with the Church, with "the great city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified" (Rev. xi. 8), shows that the thoughts of the writer dwelt on the earlier as well as on the later symbols of antagonism. When the victory over all antagonism is completed, the triumph song of the redeemed unites things new and old. It is "the song of Moses, the servant of God," the utterance of a joy as great as that which thrilled through the hearts of Israel as they looked on the shores of the land of their bondage across the waters of the sea (Rev. xv. 3). It is the song, also, of the Lamb, of Him by whose death Death has been overcome, of Him in whose blood the companies of the redeemed have washed their robes and made them white as with the whiteness of a stainless purity.

(3.) THE EPISTLES.—The traces of a mind exercised in constant meditation on the Pentateuch, or any other portion of the Old Testament, are, it must be freely confessed, fewer and fainter in the Epistles than in the other writings of St. John. It lay in the nature of the case that it should be so. To whatever cause we may ascribe the difference—the effect of age, or the tendency to dwell on truth in its simplest forms—the Epistles have, it is clear, neither the rich exuberance of Old Testament imagery which we find in the Revelation, nor the dialectic character which is so prominent in the Gospel. Direct allusions, with the exception of the one reference to the sin of the first murderer (1 John iii. 12), we scarcely find at all. And yet even here a closer inquiry will find words and phrases used which derive their special significance from the associations which gather round them in the legal or ritual language of the Pentateuch. The truth that "the blood of Jesus

Christ, the Son of God, cleanseth us from all sin" (1 John i. 7), throws us back as distinctly as the teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews upon the general law that "almost all things are by the law purged (or cleansed) with blood" (Heb. ix. 22); and thus every instance in which blood was thus used, the cleansing of Aaron and his sons as a consecration to their priestly office (Exod. xxix. 20), of the individual offender in the ritual of the trespass-offering (Lev. iv. 31; v. 16), of the leper who had been freed from his leprosy (Lev. xiv. 25), of the whole people on the day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 14, 15, 19), becomes a type of that which receives its fulfilment in the great Antitype. So, too, the word "propitiation," in 1 John ii. 2, identical in its meaning with the Greek word used for the "mercy-seat" in Exod. xxxi. 7, and connected with the word which we render, whenever it occurs as "to make atonement," concentrates within itself, especially in following so immediately upon the reference to the blood of Christ just noticed, the whole cycle of thoughts which were symbolised, with more or less distinctness, in the Mosaic ritual. The "cleansing" and the "propitiation" were the two elements of the perfect sacrifice, and both these were, the Apostle teaches, united in the efficacy of the sacrifice of Christ. Not less clear, again, is the reference to the sacerdotal symbolism of the Pentateuch, in the words which St. John uses of himself and of all true Christians, "We have an unction from the Holy One" (1 John ii. 20). Whatever had been signified by the "holy oil" with which Aaron and his sons were consecrated to their priestly office, and became the anointed ones—the Christs—of God (Exod. xxix. 7, 21), this, in all its fulness of meaning, as including consecration, the gift of wisdom and of insight, knowledge of divine things, St. John finds in the gift of the Spirit to all who seek for it. The very name which St. John uses here, and here only, instead of God, or its more usual synonyms, "the Holy One," is, as it were, an echo from the ceremonial language of Leviticus in connection with the priestly office, the consecrated life, of the whole congregation of Israel. The oft-repeated command, "Be ye holy, for I am holy" (Lev. xi. 44, 45; xix. 2; xx. 7, 26), had fixed that name as representing the Divine will in its special character as both requiring and bestowing the holiness without which "no man shall see the Lord" (Heb. xii. 14). Even the ethical teaching of the Epistles, laying stress as it does upon the twofold love of God and of our brethren, and seeming, as it does so, to rise into a region of the spiritual life far above that of the law of Moses and its ordinances, is yet, after all, but a transfigured and glorified reproduction of the teaching of that law which bade men to "love the Lord their God with all their heart, and with all their soul, and with all their might" (Deut. vi. 5), and to "love their neighbour as themselves" (Lev. xix. 18). Lastly, even the special form of that last love on which St. John dwells as its highest glory—"If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death" (1 John v. 16)—is, in like manner, not without a parallel

in that summary of duties, half ethical, half ritual, which was meant, we may well believe, as a manual for both priests and people: "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him" (Lev. xix. 17).

Enough has been said to show that this habit of dwelling on the language and thoughts of the Pentateuch is characteristic, in almost equal measure, of all the writings which bear the name of St. John. To some extent, at least, it strengthens our belief in their claim to the name they bear. But the interest of the inquiry is not limited, it is believed, to the support thus

gained for the traditional belief of Christendom in the authorship of those writings. Much rather may we learn from such investigation the lesson that the gift and power of which we speak as inspiration works upon the natural character of the man inspired, but does not destroy; it appropriates and, so to speak, utilises all previous study, knowledge, trains of thought; co-operates with all gifts of insight, and leads them, without suspending or overpowering them, to a higher region. It is something gained if we are thus able to enter, in ever so small a measure, into the process by which "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Pet. i. 21).

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.—IV.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—ST. JAMES.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

"Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up."—Chap. v. 14, 15.



GREAT history has gathered round these apparently simple words of St. James. They are used by Roman Catholic writers generally as the authority for the practice of extreme unction, which

is reckoned as one of the seven sacraments by the Roman Catholic Church. The earliest witness adduced for this interpretation of the Apostle is Pope Innocent I., in the fifth century. In a letter to Decentius this Bishop of Rome replies to the question—whether the sick might be anointed with oil—and whether the bishop might anoint? He replies that this might be done, arguing from the language of St. James. But, as the Bishop of Ely well observes in his Commentary on the Thirty-nine Articles, "If extreme unction were then in the fifth century a sacrament of the Church, it is impossible that one bishop should have asked the question of another, or, if he did, that the other should have at once reminded him that it was a well-known sacrament of immemorial usage."

We will examine the words of St. James closely, and try and show their real meaning.

(a) To whom were the elders of the church to be summoned—to the dying or to any one suffering from grave sickness?

(b) Who are signified by the denomination "elders of the church?"

(c) Is the "anointing with oil," here referred to, to be considered as a solemn sacramental act?

(d) Are the words "will save the sick," in ver. 15, to be interpreted as applying to the sufferer's body or soul?

To these four questions we would reply:

(a) Not to the "dying" were the elders to be sum-

moned, but to the "sick." The word used in this place, *asthenei*, serves in the New Testament to designate ordinary as well as grave sickness. For the general meaning (ordinary sickness) of this verb, compare St. Luke iv. 40. where our Lord, laying his hands on them, healed all that were sick of divers diseases. For the more deadly signification, compare St. Luke vii. 10, where the centurion's servant, who had been at the point of death, was restored. In our passage here doubtless one suffering from grave illness is intended, but nothing beyond this.

(b) The "elders of the church" were doubtless men officially ordained by the Apostles or chief ministers of the church to govern and instruct the community. To the presbyters or elders of Judæa Barnabas and Saul bear the alms contributed by the Gentile churches (Acts xi. 30). By the presbyters we find Paul received on the occasion of his last visit to Jerusalem, and to them he gives an account of his missionary labours and triumphs (Acts xxi. 18). In the first missionary journey Paul and Barnabas appointed presbyters in every church (Acts xiv. 23).

(c) The "anointing with oil" here can have no solemn sacramental signification, for it was not an anointing before death, but it was simply to be used as a means for the recovery of the sick person. Such an anointing seems to have been long practised among the Jews as a medical remedy: compare Jer. viii. 22; xlv. 11; li. 8, and especially St. Luke x. 34, where the good Samaritan pours oil and wine into the wounds of the poor wounded man who fell among thieves; and St. Mark vi. 13, where the twelve anointed with oil many that were sick.

(d) The words "shall save the sick," in verse 15, can only be understood as relating to the healing of the body, for the question of the forgiveness of sins is treated separately and quite independently in the following sentence.

The passage then signifies, that if any member of

a church was very ill, the presbyters of that church might be summoned to the bedside of the sufferer, that there they should pray over him, and in the name of the Lord anoint him with oil. St. James then adds: "And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall bring the sick man up out of his sickness." This promise of recovery from sickness, we must remember, is unconditional. In other words, a supernatural power of healing was entrusted to the assembled presbyters of any Christian church at that time, on condition of a certain simple means being used, accompanied with prayer offered in faith. How long this miraculous power spoken of by St. James was continued to the Church we know not. *It probably soon ceased* along with the other kindred gifts—the *charismata*, alluded to at length by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xii. 9, 10, such as gifts of healing, of prophecy, of tongues, of interpretation of tongues, &c. It has been suggested, with some probability, that these powers, certainly possessed by the early Church, were bestowed on the Day of Pentecost.

Though ecclesiastical history is silent respecting the period of the cessation of these miraculous gifts in the Church, we can trace, from incidental notices in the few very ancient records we possess of the first age of Christianity, the gradual fading away of this divine power. Justin Martyr and Irenæus, at Rome, Ephesus, and Lyons, bear witness to the continuance of these great gifts during the second century. "Others," so writes Irenæus, "heal the sick by imposition of hands." Tertullian, writing at the close of the second and at the beginning of the third century, in Carthage, alludes to the *cures worked by Christians*; while Origen, at Alexandria, a few years later on in the third century, paints, as it were, a picture of the fading glories of the age of miracles. In his treatise against Celsus he says, "Traces (*ἵχνη*) of miracles are in some sort found amongst Christians; . . . we have ourselves seen them." And again, in the same writing, "Still traces of that Holy Spirit, which was seen in the form of a dove, are retained (*σώζονται*) amongst Christians; they eject demons, *they perform cures*, and they enjoy some visions of things future, according to the will of the Lord."

In less than 100 years later, somewhere about the middle of the fourth century, Eusebius, the historian, while writing with full and entire faith in these miraculous powers bestowed upon the Church, evidently speaks of them as belonging to a past generation. He wrote of them without any idea of such miracles being wrought in his days. The power of working miracles, gradually for a long time on the wane, had finally disappeared from the Church before the accession of the Emperor Constantine the Great. But though miraculous *charismata*, among which we must reckon the power of healing by the presbytery, dwelt on by St. James, were no longer possessed by the Church, the custom of anointing, which in the first instance had reference exclusively to bodily disease, seems to have been continued almost solely with a view to the be-

stowal of spiritual grace to the soul; and what at first was done through a loving reluctance to believe in the cessation of miracles in the Church, was continued, though the miraculous power spoken of by St. James existed no longer. But for some 900 years no clear reference to it as a *sacramental rite* occurs. Belarmino (see the Bishop of Ely on the Sacraments) quotes a reference from Innocent III. to this rite at the end of the twelfth century. Extreme unction as a sacrament is enjoined by the Roman Catholic Church at the Councils of Florence¹ and Trent,² A.D. 1439 and A.D. 1551. The Council of Trent directed that the anointing should not take place except where recovery *is not to be looked for*.³ (Council of Trent, Sess. xiv.) This is very different from the injunction of St. James, which directs the anointing, accompanied with prayer, and promises, as a sure result, the recovery of the sick.

The English Reformers retained a form of anointing the sick in the first Service Book of King Edward VI., though it does not appear that they attached any sacramental efficacy to it, but merely sanctioned its use if the sick person desired it.⁴ All reference to anointing with oil was omitted in the service for the visitation of the sick in the second Service Book. A beautiful passage from Trautman is quoted by Dr. Schaaf in his *History of the Apostolic Church*, on the disappearance of such *charismata* or miraculous gifts as the oil-anointing spoken of and enjoined by St. James in the celebrated passage we have been commenting on:—"As in the case of marriage, the festivity of the wedding-day cannot always last, any more than the inspiration of the first love, when the seriousness and steady activity of the common pilgrimage just begun comes on; as, according to the universal order of nature, the blossom must fall away if the fruit is to thrive, though, on the other hand, the fruit does not appear without the preceding blossom, so that gush of heavenly powers on the Day of Pentecost *could not, must not continue* in the Church. It could not, because the earthly human nature is not able constantly to bear the bliss of ecstacy and such mighty streams of power from above, as is shown by the example of the three chosen disciples on the Mount of Transfiguration. It must not, because the continuance of the blossom would have hindered the development of the fruit. The splendour of these higher powers would unavoidably have fixed the eye and the heart too much on externals, and the proper object and work of faith, the inward conquest of the world, would have been neglected."

¹ Extreme unction is still practised in the Greek Church, but it is not esteemed as a sacrament.

² The Council of Trent declared extreme unction to be a sacrament, instituted by Christ, conferring good, remitting sins, and comforting the infirm.

³ "Qui tam periculose decumbunt ut in exitu vitæ constituti videantur." (Council of Trent, Sess. xiv., quoted by Wordsworth on St. James v. 11.)

⁴ The first Service Book (1549) directed—"If the sick person desire to be anointed, then shall the priest anoint him upon the forehead and breast only, making the sign of the cross." Then followed the prayer to be used for pardon of sins and restoration of bodily health.

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.—II.

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THE TIGRIS.

THE reader will remember that of the two streams which combine to form the Euphrates, the more southerly one, called Murad-Chai, was in a direction from east to west, and that it joins the Frat at Kebban-Maden. The southern boundary of its course is the northern side mountain range called Mush-Dagh, which is in truth a continuation towards the east of the great Taurus or rather Anti-Taurus of Asia Minor, which runs like a spur from the Taurus in a N.E. direction. Between Kebban-Maden and Someisat, or rather Ram-Kalah, some fifty miles lower down, the Euphrates describes a figure somewhat like the letter S, "where thro' the serpent river" coils. In the high land on the south side of the Mush-Dagh, at an elevation of 5,050 feet above the sea, is the principal source of the Tigris, at a point south-west of the lake Göljik, which will be found in the maps within the upper loop of the S, a few miles east of the place where, as Pliny says, the Taurus fails to resist the river Euphrates, which forces its way through the mountain in a cataract. This is in lat. $38^{\circ} 20'$, long. $39^{\circ} 25'$. For about twenty-five miles the Tigris runs north-east, and then turning southward at Arghana-Maden, where again there are mines, through a high table-land, it reaches Diarbekir, anciently Amida, situate on its right bank, about 150 miles from its source, and is crossed by a stone bridge a short distance below the city. It then turns to the east, and runs for about 105 miles till it reaches Til, or Tilleh, where it receives the united waters of the Bitlis, the Sert, and the Bohtan, anciently the Centrites, rising in the Bohtan mountains, forming altogether a stream of equal size with the main branch itself, and called sometimes the Eastern Tigris. It had also, between Diarbekir and this point, received another large stream from the north, which is sometimes regarded as a source of the main river. From Til the Tigris flows first south and then south-east through a hilly country past Jezireh, a town which, as its name denotes, stands on an island formed by the main river and a tributary stream, 842 feet above the Persian Gulf. Having received on its left bank (east) the Khabour, it passes the town of Mosul on its right hand, opposite to which are the remains of the city of Nineveh, 353 feet above the level of the gulf. Below Mosul it is joined successively on the left hand by the Greater and the Lesser Zab, and becomes about 500 yards in breadth, until, a little above Samarah, it enters the great alluvial plain of Chaldaea. From Samarah it makes a bend to the east before passing through the important city of Baghdad, built on both sides of its stream, and connected by two bridges of boats. About five miles below Baghdad it is connected with the Euphrates, now not more than eighteen miles distant, by the Saklawiyeh

canal; and about twenty miles below this it receives the Diyaleh or Shirwan, an important river. In lat. $32^{\circ} 30'$, seventy miles above Kornah, at Kut-el-Amarah, a river called Shat-el-Hie, which becomes nearly dry in summer, branches off to the Euphrates; and after a bend towards the north-east, and a somewhat circular course of 241 miles, the Tigris coalesces with the Euphrates at Kornah, after a course of 1,146 miles from its source. From Kornah the united stream, now about half a mile wide, and called Shat-el-Arab, bordered by date-tree forests, the haunt of innumerable and gigantic mosquitoes, and affording abundant pasture for buffaloes, flows nearly south-east towards the sea, after a course of about 120 miles. During its course it receives two large affluents on the left bank, the Kerkhah and the Karun, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Basrah, an important town of 60,000 inhabitants, distant from Kornah about forty miles, and about seventy from the sea, stands on a creek on the right bank of the Shat-el-Arab, which is navigable with ease for ships of 500 tons burthen; and at the mouth of the Karun is Mohammerah, a miserable town, swarming with mosquitoes, in an important situation, belonging to Persia. Like the Euphrates, the Tigris is annually swollen by floods, but to a greater extent than its neighbour, owing to the greater number and more important character of its affluents, which rise at the time of the melting of the snow in the high lands of Armenia and Persia. It is navigable for small vessels as high as Diarbekir—*i.e.* for 1,000 miles of its course. In ancient times there were numerous canals joining the Tigris and Euphrates, conveying to one river the superfluous waters of the other, and irrigating the country between them. Extensive remains of these still exist, but they are in great measure neglected: the waters of both rivers are allowed to waste themselves in unwholesome marshes, and the immense advantages arising from the fertility of the soil are to a great extent thrown away and lost.

The river Tigris is called in canonical Scripture Hiddekel, under which name it occurs in Gen. ii. 14, and Dan. x. 4, where it is called the "great river," a term usually applied to the Euphrates. But the name Tigris is found in Tobit vi. 1, in connection with Nineveh, *ib.* xi. 1. The two names do not at first sight appear to be related, but let us dissect them. The main part of the word Hiddekel appears to come from a Persian word *Tigera* or *Tighra*, which means "swift," also an arrow, and hence perhaps a tiger, with the same notion of swiftness. The modern Arabic name for the river is *Dijleh*. This appears to be the same as the name *Diglito*, by which Pliny says a part of it was called, and which, according to him, was the Median word for an arrow. Thus if we change *d* into *t*, and *l* into *r*, a change very common in language, we shall see that the stem-syllables of Hiddek-el, Digl-ito, Dijl-eh and

Tigr-is represent nearly the same word, whose elements, we may observe further, are seen also in the name of the Assyrian king Tigl-ath Pileser.

In course of time the land has encroached on the sea to a great extent, owing to the vast amount of sediment brought down by the two rivers during their inundations. If this process has been always going on at the same rate as it does now, it appears from the accounts by ancient geographers of certain cities in their time, that the rate of the gain in land has been no less than thirty yards per annum: thus in the time of Abraham the sea must have reached inland sixty-four miles or thereabouts further than at present, towns whose remains are existing inland must have been then on the sea-coast, and the Chaldeans, "whose cry is in the ships," must have been a more distinctly maritime nation than we should otherwise suppose. (Isa. xliii. 14; Pliny, vi. 127; Fürst, *Lex.*, i. 378; Niebuhr, *Voy.*, ii. 166; Ainsworth, *Res.*, p. 194; Smith, *Anc. Hist.*, i. 215.)

Within the space enclosed by these two great rivers, so nearly as to be almost an island, and called in a wide sense by Greek and Roman writers the *Mesopotamia* or "mid-river-land;" by modern Arabs *Al-Jezireh*,

"the island," a region of about 700 miles in length, and varying in breadth from 20 to 250 miles, and in the country immediately adjacent to their banks, were the ancient seats of the Babylonian or Chaldaean and Assyrian empires. The boundaries of these empires cannot be laid down with precise exactness, but we may take as a boundary between the Upper Mesopotamia, *Aram-Naharaim*, the "high land of the two rivers," and the Lower, or Chaldaea, a line which runs obliquely from near Hit on the Euphrates, in lat. 33° 45', to near Tekrit on the Tigris, in lat. 34° 35', from which point, or at Samarah, the low alluvial plain of the Lower Mesopotamia may be said to begin. This latter portion included the country possessed either by conquest or settlement by the race whose kingdom had its beginning in Babel, the land of Shinar, and from whom went forth Nimrod into Asshur, Assyria, and built Nineveh and Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, the "great city" (Gen. x. 10—12). We shall see hereafter that it included also, in what may perhaps be called Chaldaea Proper, the birth-place of the patriarch Abraham, the Hebrew, the "man from beyond," the founder of the Hebrew race, which came from beyond the river Euphrates.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.—III.

BY THE REV. CANON RAWLINSON, M.A., CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

III.



SCENE depicted on a tomb in Egypt, accompanied by a hieroglyphical inscription, has been thought to represent the arrival of Jacob's family in Egyptian territory,¹ and their presentation to the governor of a nome, by name Chnoumhotep. The people are called Anu, which is a term that was commonly applied at the time to the nomads of Palestine and the neighbouring Arabia. The chief's title is *khak*, or "king," and his name is read as Absha or Abshah.² He brings with him thirty-six persons, among whom are several women and children, and conveys his children and his goods on asses. The chief himself and his followers are in features, complexion, and costume decidedly Semitic.³ Recent criticism holds that they are not the Israelites; but still it is with reason thought that the scene "is strikingly illustrative of the arrival of the Israelites in Egypt."⁴ It shows how foreigners, even though nomads, were welcomed and hospitably received by

the Egyptian monarchs of about the time of Joseph. It indicates an inclination on the part of such persons to take refuge under certain circumstances with the Pharaohs. It shows that their coming would attract the attention of the government; that they would, if their rank required it, be received as persons of distinction; that their number would be put upon record; and that the Egyptian government would occupy itself with their location and employment. Altogether, the scene, though it probably does not represent the actual arrival of Jacob, gives us a most lively picture of what (it is probable) actually happened on his arrival. The new-comers, on entering an Egyptian nome, would be brought before the nomarch, or governor, who, regarding the matter as one of high ceremony, would remove his sandals before giving them audience.⁵ They would be introduced into the presence of the local chief by Egyptian officials, one of whom would present to him a description of their number, quality, and wishes. They would then come forward, and would offer gifts, and make the ordinary obeisance or salaam, to the governor, who, on his part, would receive them courteously, but with dignity. The description received of them would undoubtedly be passed on to the Court, which would be consulted as to their treatment, and as to their ultimate destination. When the determination of the Court was known, it would be communicated to them; and

¹ See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii, pp. 295, 297; Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, pp. 40, 41. English Translation.

² Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 63. Compare the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i., p. 217.

³ *Ibid* p. 104.

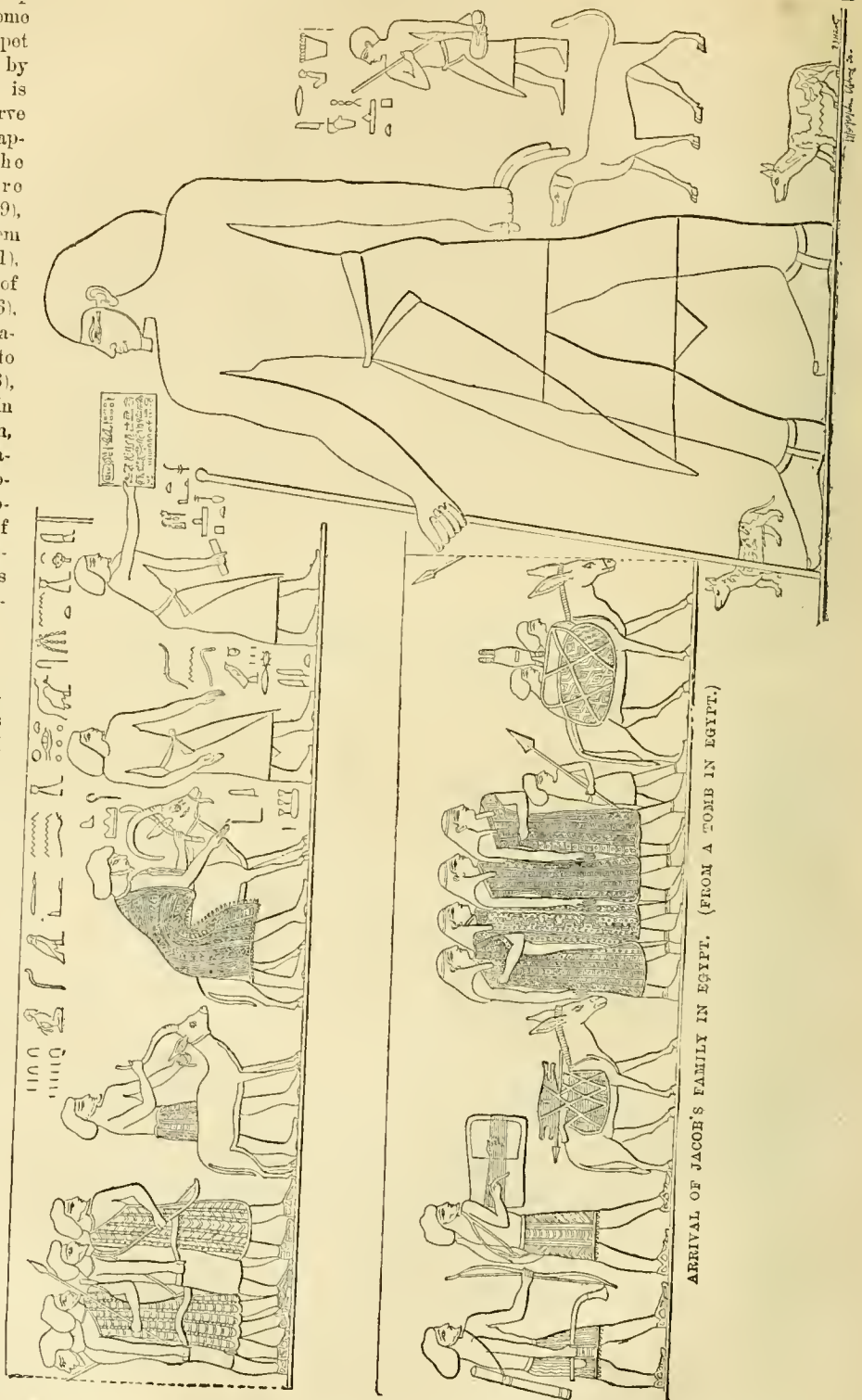
⁴ Bishop of Ely in *Speaker's Commentary* (1 s.c.). Compare Brugsch (1 s.c.), who says, "Ce tableau est donc un beau commentaire, qui illustre l'histoire des fils de Jacob arrivant en Égypte, et implorant les faveurs de Joseph pour eux et pour leurs troupeaux."

⁵ Canon Cook in *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i., p. 446.

they would take up their abode in some special land or spot assigned to them by the monarch. It is needless to observe how closely the appearance of the Israelites before Joseph (Gen. xlv. 29), his report upon them to Pharaoh (*ib.* 31), the exact statement of their number (*ib.* 26), the decision of Pharaoh with respect to them (ch. xlvii. 5, 6), and their location in the land of Goshen, or Rameses, by Pharaoh's order, harmonise with the Egyptian representation of the ordinary treatment, about Joseph's time, of nomadic immigrants.

IV.

Another scene, depicted on the walls of a mortuary chapel at Thebes, illustrates very strikingly the employment of the Israelites in forced labours, and especially "in mortar and in brick" (Exod. i. 14), under the Pharaoh "who knew not Joseph." Here, again, there have not been wanting persons who, struck by the suitability of the whole scene to represent the condition of the Hebrews in Egypt, have believed it to be an actual memorial of the oppression, set up in the time of the monarch who enforced it.¹ But modern criticism again interposes, and decides that, though the picture is



ARRIVAL OF JACOB'S FAMILY IN EGYPT. (FROM A TOMB IN EGYPT.)

¹ Rosellini, *Monumenti dell'Egitto*, vol. ii., p. 254; Hengstenberg, *Egypten und Mose*, ch. ii. § 1.

most valuable and curious as an illustration, it is not an actual representation of the labours of the Israelites.

"To meet with Hebrews in the sculptures cannot reasonably be expected," says Sir Gardner Wilkinson,¹ "since the remains in that part of Egypt where they lived have not been preserved; but it is curious to discover other foreign captives occupied in the same manner, overlooked by similar 'taskmasters,' and performing the very same labours as the Israelites described in the Bible." "Une peinture très-curieuse," says Dr. Brugsch,² "découverte sur les parois d'une chapelle funéraire d'Abdel-Quina à Thèbes, nous montre des prisonniers en plein travail, occupés de pétrir la terre, d'en former des briques et de construire les murailles d'un temple d'Ammon. Des Égyptiens armés de bâtons surveillent ce travail des étrangers, et des inscriptions nous apprennent que ce sont, 'Les captifs pris par sa Sainteté (Thothmes IV.) pour faire les constructions du temple de son père, Ammon.' Toute cette scène, que nous venons décrire," he adds, "et qui est reproduite sur l'une des planches accompagnant cet ouvrage, est un commentaire pour l'histoire de la servitude des enfants d'Israël en Égypte. En regardant la peinture Égyptienne, on reconnaît tout de suite la vérité de la description donnée par l'auteur du Pentateuque." The foreigners are seen digging the clay, moistening it with water, moulding it into bricks by the help of a wooden form, carrying the bricks, depositing them, and finally returning from their labour. All is done under the eye of the Egyptian task-master, who stands or sits rod in hand, and calls out from time to time, "Work without faintness." An indication is given of the amount of the "tale" required in one part of the representation, where the bricks are arranged in rows, and a labourer is evidently employed in completing a rectangle, which will contain fifty-five bricks when it is finished.

v.

We are told by writers of the Lower Empire, that an inscription existed in their day at Tangiers, in North Africa, written in the Phœnician

language and character, which recorded the fact that the inhabitants regarded themselves as descendants of the Canaanites who had been driven out of their own land by Joshua. The terms of the inscription are reported with some little variety;³ but by comparing the three accounts of it which have come down to us, we may gather that it ran pretty much as follows:—"We are Canaanites who fled from the face of Joshua, the son of Nun, the plunderer." Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius, who accompanied him into Africa, appears to have seen the inscription. It was, he says, inscribed (in duplicate?) on two pillars of white marble, which stood near the great fountain in the city of Tigisis.⁴ It has been suggested, that the Tangierenes of Procopius's time would have been unable to decipher and translate correctly a Phœnician legend, and that consequently no credit ought to be given to their report of what the inscription contained.⁵ Had the natives of the place, however, while pretending to translate, drawn wholly upon their imagination, we should probably have found more variety in the current versions of the inscription than is actually the case. And we should scarcely have remarked in them the remarkable Aramaism, "from the face" (*ἀπὸ προσώπου*). It is, moreover, doubtful whether the natives would really have felt any difficulty at all in deciphering a Phœnician inscription. Such inscriptions were certainly set up from time to time in North Africa, in the earlier period of the Roman empire; and though Latin came, no doubt, to be more and more



BRICK MAKING IN EGYPT, B.C. 1400.

⁶ Moses of Chorené, the earliest writer who reports them, says, "Inscriptio vero talis est:—'A Joshua latrone profugus nos præfecti Chananeorum, venimus hic habitatum.'" (*Hist. Armen.*, i. 18.) Procopius, the next witness, makes the words—'ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν οἱ φυγόντες ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ληστοῦ Ναυή. (*De Bell. Vandali*, ii. 10.) Finally, Suidas tells us, καὶ εἰς μέχρη τῶν αἰτωμάτων πλάκες ἐν τῇ Νουμίδῃ, γράμματα Φοινικικὰ ἐγκεκολλημένα ἔχουσαι, τῇ Φοινικῶν γλῶσσῃ λεγόντα ὡς, κ. τ. λ.

⁴ Having mentioned Tigisis, or Tangiers, Procopius proceeds—ἐνθα στίλαι δύο ἐκ λίθων λευκῶν πεποιημέναί ἄγχι κρήνη εἰς τῆς μεγάλης γράμματα Φοινικικὰ ἐγκεκολλημένα ἔχουσαι, τῇ Φοινικῶν γλῶσσῃ λεγόντα ὡς, κ. τ. λ.

⁵ Kenrick's Phœnicia, p. 68.

¹ *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii., p. 78.

² *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 106.

the ordinary form of speech, it is impossible to say when exactly the knowledge of Phœnician ceased. St. Augustine says¹ that the natives talked Phœnician in his day, which was only about a century before Procopius. It is, of course, highly improbable that the inscription, if it really existed, was set up within many centuries of the time of Joshua; but still it may have been a genuine *native* document, not owing its origin to Jews or Christians (who would certainly not have designated Joshua as "the plunderer"), nor even derived in any way from refracted rays of Jewish or Christian intelligence. The idea that the Canaanites, when driven out from Palestine, fled to North Africa is in no respect Biblical. It was a native tradition, and there is no reason to regard it otherwise than as having a foundation in fact. The nations whom Joshua drove out, may well have forced their way through Lower Egypt to the wilder regions of the West, and carried with them a knowledge of the name and parentage of their hated conqueror. The inhabitants of the region about Hippo called themselves, in St. Augustine's time, "Canaanites."² Those of the country still further to the West held the same belief, and at some period, which can only be vaguely dated as probably³ between B.C. 550 and A.D. 100, expressed their belief in an inscription, in which they at the same time mentioned the occasion of their removal from their old country, and the name of the man who had driven them out.

VI.

A hieroglyphical inscription still existing at Karnak near Thebes,⁴ in Upper Egypt, throws considerable light on the expedition of Shishak into Palestine, of which we have a short account in Kings (1 Kings xiv. 25, 26), and a longer one in Chronicles (2 Chron. xii. 2—9). Shishak, called Sheshonk or Sheshonk on the monuments, and Sesonchis or Sesonchosis by Manetho,⁵ ascended the Egyptian throne about B.C. 980 or a little earlier, according to calculations based upon exclusively Egyptian data.⁶ He reigned twenty-one years, and towards the close of his reign made an expedition, which he has commemorated on the external wall of the great temple at Karnak. The mode of commemoration is by a representation of himself, and a list of the various cities, countries, and tribes conquered by him, or made tributary, during the expedition. The number of the names was originally 133; but of these thirty-two are wholly, and fourteen others partly illegible. Of the remaining eighty-seven, about fifty-five have been identified with

more or less of probability, while above thirty still defy the comparative geographer. From the fifty-five identifications, many of which are quite certain, it appears that the list contains three classes of names, mainly grouped together—(1) Levitical and Canaanite cities of Israel; (2) cities of Judah; (3) Arab tribes lying to the south of Palestine. We are told in Chronicles that "Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem with 1,200 chariots and 60,000 horsemen, and people without number; and took all the fenced cities which pertained to Judah, and came to Jerusalem" (2 Chron. xii. 2—4). We find in the Karnak inscription indications of the capture by Sheshonk of Adoraim, Aijalon, and Shoco, fenced cities of Judah which Rehoboam had recently fortified (2 Chron. xi. 7, 10); and of Gibeon, Beth-tappuah, Beth-lebaoth, Beth-anoth, and Azem, towns of somewhat less consequence included within Rehoboam's kingdom. We have no mention of the taking of Jerusalem; but we have a curious entry, in the twenty-eighth place upon the list, which is perhaps a notice of Rehoboam's submission, though it must be granted that this explanation of the entry in question is far from certain, and indeed involves considerable difficulty. The Egyptian characters are read as YUTeH-MARK or YUDeH-MALK, for the sounds of *t* and *d*, as also those of *l* and *r*, were undistinguished in ancient Egypt. This has been translated, "the kingdom of Judah" (Champollion); "Judah, king" (Bunsen); "Judah, a kingdom" (R. S. Poole); and "Judah the royal" (Lenormant⁸). But none of these translations is satisfactory. MALK corresponds to the Hebrew *melek*, "king," and not either to *malkûth*, "kingdom," or to *m'lûkah*, "royal." The translations of Champollion, Poole, and Lenormant are thus grammatically impossible. Baron Bunsen's rendering, so far as grammar goes, might stand. But what meaning would there be in the entry, "Judah, king?" Judah was not a king, but a kingdom; and "Judah, king," if the two words are in apposition, would be simply nonsensical. Is it not possible, however, that the phrase was intended to mean "Judah's king"—to stand, in fact, for *melek Jehudah*, the scribe having reversed the words through a misapprehension of the Semitic idiom? In that case the phrase would designate Rehoboam, who would be entered as a tributary individual, just as the Hagarites, the Kenites, and others are introduced as tributary tribes.

But the most interesting feature of the inscription is connected with the cities of the first group, those above alluded to as "Levitical and Canaanite cities of Israel." Here the Egyptian record goes beyond Scripture, but at once harmonises with the Biblical account, and throws additional light upon it. We learn from Chronicles (2 Chron. xi. 13, 14) that the Levites were ill-affected towards Jeroboam, and that in the early part of his reign many of them quitted the kingdom of Israel and transferred their abode to Judah, so

¹ Augustin. *Ep. ad Rom.*; Opera, vol. iii., p. 932.

² Ibid.

³ The Carthaginian dominion and language were not extended as far as Tangiers till about B.C. 550. The latest of the extant Afro-Phœnician inscriptions belong to the first century after Christ. (Gesenius, *Monum. Script. Linguae Phœn.*, p. 13, and pp. 313—328.)

⁴ See, for the inscription itself, Rosellini, *Monumenti*, No. cxlviii.; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii., Bl. 252; Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschriften*, ii., Taf. xxiv.; and for explanations of it, the last-mentioned writer and Stuart Poole in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii., pp. 1,290—1,294.

⁵ Sesonchis, according to Africanus (ap. Syncell.); Sesonchosis, according to Eusebius (*Chron. Can.* i.)

⁶ Stuart Poole (*Dict. of the Bible*, ii., p. 1,238).

⁷ *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. iii., p. 295.

⁸ *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i., p. 453.

strengthening Rehoboam and weakening the rival monarch. It is quite in accordance with this narrative to find that the portion of the Levitical order which remained behind, unwilling to tear itself from its homes, was likewise disaffected, and stood in a position of hostility to Jeroboam, which led him to employ the arms of his champion against it. The inscription of Shishak names at least eight Levitical towns within the limits of Israel which fell before his victorious arms during the course of his campaign in Palestine, and which must therefore have been on the side of Rehoboam. It adds, further, the information that a certain number of the old Canaanite cities, as particularly Megiddo and Both-shan,¹ had also to be reduced, from which we may gather that they too had fallen off from

Jeroboam, and had either placed themselves under his rival, or, more probably, asserted their independence. These cities had perhaps been first reduced by Solomon,² and would naturally take the opportunity, which the disruption of his kingdom offered, to reclaim their freedom. Shishak undoubtedly aimed at strengthening Jeroboam, and maintaining him in power as a check upon Rehoboam. He would therefore feel it necessary to put down all opposition to him within the limits of the Ten Tribes, and place him in quiet possession of his whole kingdom. We gather from the inscription that this was done effectually, and that in this way Jeroboam was enabled firmly to establish his sway, and to found a monarchy which endured between two and three centuries.

¹ On the Canaanite character of these cities, see Josh. xviii. 11, 12; Judges i. 27; v. 19.

² See Dean Howson's article on "Megiddo" in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, vol. ii., p. 311.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.—V.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

MOLE.

NO true mole has as yet been found in Palestine, but there is a small mole-like creature, the mole-rat (*Spalax typhlus*), which is common in many parts of the country, and which there is much reason to identify with the Hebrew word *chephôr pērôth*. There is another Hebrew name, *tinshemeth*, which occurs only in the list of unclean animals (Lev. xi. 30), and which is rendered "mole" in our version; but this latter term probably denotes some kind of lizard, and will be considered when we come to treat of the reptiles. The other name (which in most MSS. occurs as two words, *chephôr pērôth*, but which in three MSS. is read as a single word) occurs only in Isa. ii. 20: "In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and to the bats." The Hebrew word clearly points to some "burrowing" or "digging" animal, from the root *châphar*, to "cut," "bore," "dig;" and the word, if read as *one* instead of *two* words, may be referred to the reduplicated form *chapharphar*—i.e., to "dig excessively" or "repeatedly," an idea very suitable both to moles and mole-rats. The mole-rat, although in general external form bearing a close resemblance to the true mole, is really a very distinct animal, and belongs to the order *Rodentia*, or gnawing animals, and not to the *Insectivora*, or insect-devourers, like the mole proper and other species of the same family of *Talpidae*. Dr. Tristram thus speaks of the mole-rat:—"The so-called mole of Syria is a very curious and interesting animal. It is the mole-rat (*Spalax typhlus*), with much of the external appearance of our mole, but considerably larger, ten or eleven inches long, of a silvery grey colour, without any external eyes or tail, but with a very large ear-orifice, though not apparent

through the fur. It is a rodent, with very powerful incisors, like the squirrel's, but much longer, and a broad naked muzzle. It lives in underground communities, making large subterranean chambers for its young, and for store-houses, with many runs connected with them, and decidedly partial to the loose *débris* about ruins and stone-heaps, where it can form its chambers with the least trouble. In this respect it differs from the mole, and suits the Scriptural allusion. There are many of these animals about the walls of Jerusalem, where they burrow in the rubbish. Their food is entirely vegetable, and consists chiefly of bulbs; and in the gardens they commit some havoc among the carrots and onions. We caught many, and I kept them alive for some time in earthen jars (as they instantly gnaw through wood), and fed them on onions and soaked bread. They were quiet in the day-time, but incessantly restless at night." The local Arabic name for this creature is *khlant*, a corruption apparently of the Arabic *khuld*, which word we have discussed under the subject "Weasel." The *Spalax typhlus*, or "blind digger," as the words mean, is found in the southern parts of Russia, and is known by the name of *slépez*—i.e., "the blind" (animal). The eyes are mere rudiments, not bigger than poppy-seeds, and hidden beneath the skin; consequently it must be quite blind. When irritated it is said to snort and gnash its teeth, a bite from which is very severe. There is a strange superstition current in the Ukraine, that the hand which has squeezed one of these creatures to death has the power of curing scrofula or king's evil with a touch. The mole-rat belongs to the family *Aspalacidae*, order *Rodentia*.

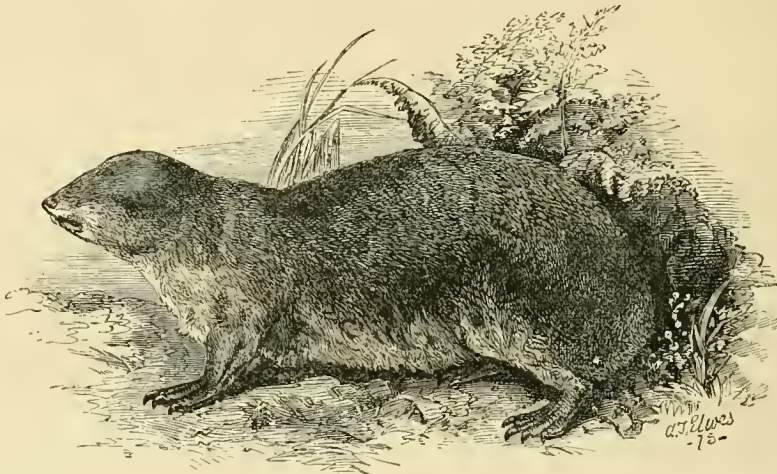
MOUSE.

It is probable that by the Hebrew word *'akhbar* is to be understood not only the common mouse of

the field or of the house, but any small destructive rodent; the root of the name meaning "to bite in pieces," or "to gnaw." The mouse is mentioned in Lev. xi. 29 as one of the unclean creeping things forbidden as food; in Isa. lxvi. 17 it is said, "They that sanctify themselves and purify themselves, in the gardens behind one tree in the midst, eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse, shall be consumed together." In 1 Sam. vi. 4, 5, five golden mice, images of the mice that marred the land, are mentioned as part of the trespass-offering which the Philistines were ordered to send to the Israelites when they returned the ark. The mice that marred the land of the Philistines were probably some kind of field-mice, of which several kinds occur at the present day in the Holy Land. The short-tailed field-vole, commonly known as the field-mouse (*Arvicola arvalis*), is very

"Me in my vowed
Picture the sacred wall declares to have hung
My dank and dropping weeds
To the stern god of sea,"

"Slaves and captives, in gratitude for the recovery of their liberty, offered chains to the Lares; retired gladiators their arms to Hercules; and in the fifth century a custom prevailed among Christians of offering in their churches gold or silver hands, feet, eyes, &c., in return for cures effected in those members respectively in answer to prayer" (*Speaker's Comm.*, ii., p. 270). The field-mouse is said by Fürst to have been dedicated and sacrificed to certain dark deities, and its flesh consumed at sacrificial feasts. To this custom the prophet Isaiah refers. Herodotus says that when Sennacherib invaded Egypt in the time of Sethôs, Vulcan sent a great multitude of field-mice, which devoured all the quivers and bows of the Assyrian army, as well as the



MOLE-RAT (*Spalax typhlus*).

common there, and perhaps there is not a more destructive little creature in existence than it: in our own country extensive injury both to newly-sown fields and to plantations has often been caused by this little agricultural pest. In the years 1813 and 1814 the ravages were so great in the New Forest and the Forest of Dean, that considerable alarm was felt lest the whole of the young trees in those extensive woods should be destroyed by them. In explanation of the passage in 1 Sam. vi. (images of mice as trespass-offerings), it must be remembered that it was a prevalent custom amongst heathen nations to make offerings to the gods expressive of the particular mercy received. Those saved from shipwreck offered pictures of the shipwreck, or the clothes which they had on at the time. Compare the lines of Horace—

"Me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat nvida
Suspendio potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo" (*Od.* i. v.);

and Milton's translation—

things by which they managed their shields; thus were the Assyrians overthrown. Herodotus adds that "there stands to this day in the Temple of Vulcan a stone statue of Sethôs, with a mouse in his hand, and this inscription, 'Look on me, and learn to reverence the gods.'"

The smaller *Rodentia* are well represented in Palestine; the rat and mouse, several species of short-tailed voles, the marmot, three species of dormice, the hamster and jerboa are found there. Of the latter animals (genera *Dipus* and *Alactaga*) Canon Tristram writes: "In Palestine they are confined to the sandy and desert districts, where they abound. We obtained four species. Nothing can be more beautiful than the gambols and kangaroo-like bounds of these pretty creatures, as they leap with amazing speed over the sand, and then suddenly disappear in their burrows. As is well known, with extremely short fore-legs, their hind-legs are as long as the body, and the tail considerably longer, while the fur is as soft as that of the chinchilla. In one of the small desert species before me (*Alactaga arundinis*)

the body and hind-legs are each five and a half inches long, the whisker upwards of three inches, and the tail eight inches, with a fine bushy end, black tipped with white. By this enormous tail the little creatures steer themselves in their leaps—we might almost say flights—as they bound over the plains. The Arabs consider the jerboa a dainty morsel.” The hamster (*Cricetus auritus*) is eaten in Northern Syria, and may be included under the 'akhbar mentioned by Isaiah as the abominable thing some of the people ate. This creature is as destructive in Palestine as in the eastern parts of Europe, and commits great devastation among the corn. It is

Gesenius, the Arabic 'akhbar, which is identical with the Hebrew, is sometimes used to denote the male of the jerboa, the ordinary Arabic word for this interesting little rodent. The jerboa, the sand-rat, and the dormouse are to the present day all eaten by the Arabs, and probably this was the case in ancient times.

One species of dormouse, (*Syoxus glis*, Linn.) was a favourite article of food amongst the Romans, who used to make breeding-places, called *gliraria*, for these little creatures. Varro (*De Re Rusticâ*, iii, 15) tells us how they were constructed. A place was built round



JERBOAS.

said that it lays up great stores of beans and other food for the winter's consumption, sometimes amounting to the weight of 100 pounds. Sand-rats (*Psammomys* and *Gerbillus*) of several species burrow about the roots of bushes in the desert parts of the country, and among the rocks in the hilly districts. But the most singular rodents of the country, according to Dr. Tristram, are the porcupine-mice (*Acomys*), which inhabit only the ravines and barrens about the Dead Sea and the southern desert. Three species were noticed. "They are most beautiful little creatures, of a light sandy colour above and white beneath, and covered all over the back with bristles like a hedgehog. In one species these bristles, which are enormous for the size of the animal, extend only half-way down the back. They are scarcely larger than a house-mouse, and are very little known." According to

with a wall, all little crevices being carefully stopped to prevent the dormice escaping; small oak-trees were planted to supply acorns; walnuts and chestnuts being also thrown into the enclosure. Holes were made for the mice to make their nests in, and a small quantity of water was supplied them. They were fattened in large earthen jars, being supplied with acorns, walnuts, and chestnuts. "Quibus in tenebris," adds Varro, "cum cumulatim positum est in doliis, fiunt pingues." According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* viii. 82), M. Scaurus when consul (B.C. 54) banished dormice from the tables. The modern Italians still eat the dormouse.

The ancients were well acquainted with the sleeping habits of these animals. Martial (*Ep.* xiii. 59) makes the dormouse say—

"Tota mihi dormitur hyems, et pinguior illo
Tempore sum, quo me nil nisi somnus alit."

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—VI. THE PATRIARCHS.

ISAAC.

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.

THE dates and incidents in the life of Isaac may be tabulated as follows. In most instances the dates are specified in the passages referred to. His age at the time of Jacob's flight to Padan-aram is not directly stated in the sacred narrative. But as Joseph was thirty years old when presented to Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 46), and nine years elapsed (two of abundance and two of famine) before Jacob went down into Egypt, and as Jacob was 130 years old when he stood before the Egyptian monarch (Gen. xlvii. 9), Joseph being then thirty-nine, it seems a necessary inference that the birth of the latter must have taken place in the ninety-first year of his father's life. If we further assume, as has generally been done, that Joseph's birth took place in the fourteenth year of Jacob's sojourn in Mesopotamia, the flight from Beer-sheba must have occurred when Jacob was seventy-seven (i.e., 91—14) and Isaac 137 years old. But we shall have occasion to refer again to this topic.

ISAAC. Age.	ABRAHAM Age.	JACOB. Age.	Incident.	Record.
Birth 25	100 ...	...	Sacrifice on Mount Moriah.	Gen. xxi. 5. xxii. 1—14.
37	137	...	Death of Sarah .	xxiii. 1.
40	140	...	Marriage of Isaac.	xxv. 20.
60	160	...	Birth of Esau and Jacob.	xxv. 26.
75	175	15	Death of Abraham	xxv. 7.
100	...	40	Marriage of Esau.	xxvi. 34.
123	...	63	Death of Ishmael.	xxv. 17.
<i>Between</i> 75 and 137	...	<i>Between</i> 15 and 77	Dealings with Abi- melech.	xxvi.
137	...	77	Flight of Jacob .	Compare Gen. xli. 46 = xli. 53; xlv. 6 = xlvii. 9.
151	...	91	Birth of Joseph .	Gen. xxx. 25.
157	...	97	Return of Jacob from Haran.	xxxi. 41.
168	...	103	Joseph cast into the pit, act. 17.	xxxvii. 2.
180	...	120	Death of Isaac .	xxxv. 23.

A glance at this table reveals how little comparatively is told us of Isaac. He is born somewhere in the neighbourhood of Gerar, in the 100th year of his father's life. His birth rekindles the old feud between Sarah and Hagar, which reaches its height when, at the feast made on the day of the weaning, Ishmael is seen making scornful mirth of all this great ado about the newborn child. At Sarah's imperious demand, supported by the Divine direction, Hagar and Ishmael are sorrowfully sent forth by Abraham to seek another home. Isaac remains the sole and undisputed heir of the promises.

In the first forty years of his life one incident alone in which he took part is recorded. His age at the time

is uncertain. Josephus has fixed it at twenty-five. He has passed, at least, the age of childhood, and is intelligent enough, when climbing the hill along with his father, to see in the wood, the fire, and the knife, tokens of a designed sacrificial offering, and to put the question, "My father, behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for the burnt-offering?" Content for the time with the evasive answer, he bears the ass's load of wood up the long ascent, sees the altar built, the wood arranged. What passed then between father and son, as, with trembling lips, Abraham told him of the Divine command, and inculcated the great duty of submission, remains untold. But there was no attempt at escape—no remonstrance, no resistance. He gave himself willingly to be bound and to be laid upon the altar. That moment, when his father grasped the knife and the flash of its cold glittering blade fell upon his eye, could he ever forget; or could there ever pass from his memory the sudden sound of the arresting voice, the sight of the lamb caught in the thicket, followed up by the oath and blessing pronounced upon Abraham and his seed? If ever any one in early life had the benefit and blessedness of self-sacrifice and entire submission to the will of God imprinted sensibly upon the heart, it was Isaac in that hour. His heroic act, second only to that of his father, showed how fully he had imbibed his father's spirit—the one near the close of his career, the other at its beginning—revealing how ready they both were to give all up to God. No higher evidence of the simplicity and strength of Isaac's faith in God could have been given.

Sarah dies when Isaac is thirty-seven. We know something about what she was as a wife to Abraham, but little of what she was as a mother to Isaac, and about as little of what he was as a son to her. In the passage which records her death and burial he is never mentioned. His figure is lost in the shadow of that stately form of Abraham, bowed down with sorrow, doing the last honours to the dead. That Isaac fully shared his father's grief—that the tie between mother and son was tender and strong—is clear from the fact that it took three years and Rebekah besides to comfort him after his mother's death.¹ These three years transpire, and the wound remains unhealed. It has not occurred to him to fill otherwise his mother's vacant tent. But to his thoughtful father it appears that the time has come, by marriage of his son, to provide for the great promises made about his seed being carried out. He had heard some years before of children and grandchildren born to his brother Nahor at Haran. Apart from all religious motive, the strong prejudice of

¹ Gen. xxiv. 67; xxv. 20.

country, age, and tribe, points him to a member of his own family as the fittest wife for his son. He puts the matter into the hands of the old and faithful steward, in whom we readily recognise the Eliezer of Damascus, whom fifty years before he had thought to make his heir, and who now "ruled over all that he had." The narrative of the bridal embassy and its results, as given in the 24th chapter of Genesis, among the longest in the book, offers to the eye one of the minutest, liveliest, most varied pictures of Oriental manners and customs in that primitive patriarchal time. The large outfit for the journey—ten camels, and "all the best belonging to his master in his hand;"¹ the evening meeting by the well-side outside the city; the coming forth of Rebekah, pitcher on shoulder; her emptying the water into the trough to give the camels to drink; the costly nose-ring and bracelets given; the reception by Laban; the ungirding of the camels, and the bringing them into the house; the water for Eliezer's feet-washing, and the "men's feet that were with him;" the jewels and raiment for the bride; the rich presents for her relatives; the meeting with Isaac on return; the lighting off the camel; the putting on the veil—so unchangeable are Eastern manners, that there is not a single one of all these incidents to which an exact parallel has not been produced in the customs of the Bedawin of our own day.² But there is one feature—the most marked of all in the narrative—to which no such parallel can be produced—the common faith of master and servant in the overruling providence of God. "What," said the old and cautious steward, when the mission was first proposed to him, "if the woman be not willing to follow me." There were many arguments at hand—earthly advantages to be found in union with his family—that Abraham might have told Eliezer to urge and to rely upon; but the reply is, "The Lord God of heaven which took me from my father's house . . . he shall send his angel before thee." Eliezer shared his master's confidence in that guidance. He prays to God, and fixes on a sign by which the maiden he is in search of may be made known to him. He prudently does not make that sign consist in a spontaneous offer of service at the first. She might not be the kind of person he was in search of who would take the somewhat forward step of being the first to address a stranger at such a place and hour. Nor does he make the sign consist in her mere compliance with his request, but in her doing more than was required. And when the exact and superabundant fulfilment of the predetermined tokens came, and he found besides that it was Nahor's own granddaughter who stood before him, "he bowed down his head and worshipped the Lord, and he said, Blessed be the Lord God of my master Abraham, who hath not left destitute my master of his mercy and his truth. I being in the way, the

Lord led me to the house of my master's brethren" (ver. 27). The prompt resolution not to eat till he had told his errand bespeaks the man of energy as well as faith; and when, after his judicious address (the first speech reported), the consent of Laban and Bethuel is given, again he worshipped the Lord, "bowing himself to the earth." It had been said of Abraham by the Lord himself, "I know him that he will command . . . his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord." In this head of the household how fully was this word confirmed; what a broad and bright reflection here of the prudence, the firmness, the activity, the energy, the courtesy, the piety of Abraham!

In these arrangements Isaac took no part—does not appear even to have been consulted. It was consistent with the usages of the time that the child should leave the settlement of such affairs in the father's hands. But from the strong injunctions given to Eliezer by Abraham (in contemplation, apparently, of his own removal by death), not to let Isaac marry a Canaanite, nor suffer him to go back to Haran, it would seem, besides, that Abraham was well aware how soft and easy the disposition of his son was, and how much he needed a wise, firm hand to guide him. The prosperous issue of Eliezer's mission was as satisfactory to the father as it was gratifying to the son. Isaac had returned from Beer-sheba, and was living at his favourite haunt by the well of Lahai-roi—an out-station about as far south from Beer-sheba as it was from Hebron. Nourishing in a congenial neighbourhood his love of quiet and seclusion, he is out in the field meditating at the eventide, when Rebekah approaches. All that Eliezer has to tell (perhaps some message to this effect had already come down from Beer-sheba) is that the consent of all the parties immediately concerned had been obtained. Isaac hails at once Rebekah as his wife. "Very fair," of bright and keen intelligence, alert, and energetic, she was the very kind of bride he needed; and the simple expression that "he loved her, and was comforted after his mother's death," tells what an affectionate husband she found in him.

But twenty years go by, and there are no children; all the more trying this that these very years saw son after son added to the household of Abraham. Despite the sight of Keturah's growing family, it does not occur either to Isaac or Rebekah to employ the expedient resorted to in like circumstances by Abraham and Sarah. Satisfied with each other, and content with the Divine ordering, they wait till at last, in answer to their prayers, Esau and Jacob are born. Their grandfather was then 160 years old. He witnessed the joy of the parents at their birth, and for fifteen years thereafter they grew under his eyes.

Some time before his death he sent his children by Keturah, with sufficient allowances, away from him into the east country, where they became the founders of Arabian tribes: so that at the close Esau and Jacob were the only children by his side.

Abraham had known Rebekah for five-and-thirty years, and fifteen years must have let him see much of

¹ For the proper translation of ver. 10, see Murphy on *Genesis*, p. 395.

² See Thomson's *The Land and the Book*, pp. 591–593; *Pictorial Bible*, pp. 63, 64, 65; Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, vol. ii., p. 351; Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs*, as quoted by Dr. Kitto.

the different dispositions of her two sons, and much, too, of the different feelings of the two parents as to each. With what a wondering eye must he have watched the two boys in their childish gambols and varying pursuits. How often would he call them to him to tell them the strange story of his own life, trying to fill their young spirits with the thought of all that God had been to him, and all that He had promised to be to his children's children after him. To that God he could and he did commit all, in faith. But did no presentiment of a troubled future cast its shadow over his spirit, as he closed his eyes upon the group gathered round his deathbed?

As the two brothers grew up—the restraint of their grandfather's presence removed—the contrast between their characters revealed itself more fully. The rough, strong, daring, impetuous Esau, impatient of waiting on slow-moving herds shut up in valleys, takes to the breezy uplands—to the rocky hills; to the exciting life of the hunter; to the chase of the wild gazelle. The peaceful, timid, shy, observing Jacob cleaves to the tent and the pasture-ground, under his mother's guidance, and giving to her good help, gathering round him and her all the comforts of home life.

The father loves too much the one son, the mother the other. That Rebekah should have liked best the child that clung to her most—in whose sidelong, cunning ways she saw, even in childhood, her own love of management and intrigue budding forth hopefully—was natural enough. Isaac's preference for Esau may seem less so; yet how often are parents pleased to see in their children the qualities they want themselves. So retiring, so placid, so unenterprising, so unenergetic himself, the bold, brave, daring Esau fills his quiet eye with the full light of parental love. He listens with delight to the evening tales brought back from the distant hunting-grounds—of hot pursuit and hazardous encounter, of imminent peril, of hair-breadth escape. He is not insensible even to the gratification of eating the game brought in; perhaps to him a new kind of food, with a flavour that he highly relished.

Isaac was seventy-five at the time of his father's death, and, as we have seen, was 137 at the time of Jacob's flight to Haran. All that we know about him during the sixty-two intervening years is told us in a single chapter of Genesis (xxvi.). Within its short compass is related everything in his recorded history which has an independent and distinctive character of its own, and is not wholly secondary and subordinate to some event in Abraham's life on the one hand, or to Jacob's on the other. In the absence of all note of time, it is impossible to say when in the course of the sixty-two years the events narrated in this chapter occurred.

Isaac had often heard his father tell of the famine that had happened in his days, and which had driven him down to Egypt. Now, a hundred years or so afterwards, a like famine falls upon the land. Imitative—as all such natures as his are—full of reverence for his father's example in all things, Isaac's first impulse is also to go down to Egypt. Meditating a retreat to that land, he goes “unto Abimelech, king of the Philistines,

unto Gerar.”¹ He is arrested here. The Lord appears to him, and peremptorily forbids his going. His father had been allowed to do so, but he is prevented. Was this done with kind and pitiful regard to that greater softness and yieldingness of disposition, which might have made Egypt a place of exposures and perils, with which he was unfit to cope?

This is the first of the only two direct communications from God with which Isaac was favoured. It interests us to notice a feature common to both of them. “Go not down into Egypt,” said the Lord; “sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee, and I will perform the oath which I swore unto Abraham thy father.”²

Fifty years and more had passed since Isaac had heard the living voice of Jehovah utter that oath to which, now when God for the first time speaks to himself, He so particularly refers: “By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, for because thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son: that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed . . . and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed; because thou hast obeyed my voice.”³ The oath began and ended with assigning Abraham's great act of obedience as one ground at least upon which the promised blessings were to be bestowed. And now, when after so long an interval this oath is quoted—as if to bring its original preface and conclusion freshly before Isaac; as if to repeat and enlarge the special lesson they contained—the Lord says, “I will perform the oath . . . because that Abraham obeyed my voice, and kept my charge, my commandments, my statutes, and my laws.”⁴ Soon after, when closing his strife with the herdmen of Gerar, Isaac went up to Beer-sheba, the Lord, for the second and only other time, “appeared to him the same night, and said, I am the God of Abraham thy father: fear not, for I am with thee, and will bless thee, and multiply thy seed for my servant Abraham's sake.”⁵ Thus it was that upon the only two occasions on which the Lord was pleased to hold personal intercourse with Isaac the renewal of the promises to the son was linked in a peculiar manner with the obedience of the father—a rebuke, it might have been thought, of the spirit of self-complacency, had Isaac been a different man from what we take him to have been; but rather let us regard it as a reiterated allusion to the faith and obedience of a father whom Isaac always loved to honour, his debt to whom he was ever ready to recognise, whose example he was ever ready to follow. All through this section of his life we trace the strong disposition to copy his father's conduct. Placed thus in like circumstances, he says of Rebekah, as Abraham had said of Sarah, “She is my sister.” As the weaker man he is spared the trial to which Abraham was exposed. His wife is not taken from him. The protection comes before the peril. The discovery of the relationship is made. The peremptory edict of Abimelech is issued, and Isaac is permitted to dwell in the land in peace.

¹ Chap. xxvi. 1. ² Chap. xxvi. 3. ³ Chap. xxii. 16–18.

⁴ Chap. xxvi. 5.

⁵ Chap. xxvi. 24.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—VII.

THE PATRIARCHS.

ISAAC (*continued*).

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.

THERE follows a season of repose and extraordinary prosperity. Excited by the exigencies of the famine, or inclined to it by his own taste for a fixed rather than a nomad life, and returning to the habits of his forefathers,¹ Isaac has recourse to tillage. He "sowed in that land, and received in the same year a hundred-fold." In those eastern lands "the rates of increase vary from thirty to a hundred. Sixty-fold is very good, and was not unusual in Palestine. A hundred-fold was rare, and only in spots of extraordinary fertility."² The town of Gerar, in the vicinity of which this first attempt at agriculture was made, lay, as we believe, on the southern edge of the great plain which stretched up northward till it joined that of Sharon. Of this plain, Mr. Grove tells us that "its fertility is marvellous; for the prodigious crops which it raises are produced, and probably have been produced almost year by year for the last forty centuries, with no manure beyond that naturally supplied by the washing down of the hill-torrents, without irrigation, without succession of crops, and with only the rudest methods of husbandry."³ The largeness of the return in the case of the first year's crop at Gerar may have been exceptional, but it was in harmony with the enlargement, in other directions, of Isaac's possessions. "The man waxed great, and went forward, and grew until he became very great: for he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants"—a memorable instance of the meek inheriting the earth. But the great prosperity was attended by its usual shadow. The Philistines envied him. To understand the form in which this envy expressed itself, we have to remember how difficult and important a work the sinking of a well was in that country at that time, and how large the privileges that it conferred. Through a soft and yielding soil it is easy enough to penetrate till the living spring be reached, but in the limestone land of Palestine the shaft had often to be sunk through many feet of solid rock. The first borers of such shafts earned not only the exclusive right to use the well dug at such cost of labour, so long as they kept it open, but to cultivate the land around made arable by irrigation. Hence the

dread of the Philistines as to the wells dug by Abraham. They feared that this powerful tribe which had come among them might not only acquire a claim to the use of the wells, but to the permanent possession and cultivation of the adjacent lands. So soon as Abraham's back was turned, they closed up the wells that he had dug. These Isaac, with his great store of servants, re-opened more than fifty years afterwards. The alarm created thereby among the Philistines became so great that Abimelech demanded his departure. Isaac so far complied as to remove to the valley of Gerar, identified with the Wady Jerúr, which lies about twice as far south from Beer-sheba as Beer-sheba lies from Hebron. Here Isaac found other wells which his father had opened and the Philistines had closed, with which he dealt as he had done before, re-opening them and giving them their old names. The herdmen of the valley are as alarmed as the inhabitants of the town. The alarm increases when, not satisfied with the old wells as insufficient now for the increased flocks and herds, Isaac's servants proceed to dig new ones. They have just opened one in the valley when the Gerarites gather round them in hostile attitude, exclaiming, "The water is ours." "It is ours," might the men who had just sunk it have replied. Round the well and for the well there might have been a bloody strife. But the gentle Isaac interferes, calls his men away, gives the new-dug well the name of Esek (*strife*), and retires from the valley northward on the way to Beer-sheba. A second spring is found, a second well is about to be opened. Around it a like strife rises. He calls it Litnah (*hatred*), and makes another move among the hills. Here he finds a place where, without contention, he is permitted to dig a well. He does so, and calls its name Rehoboth (*room*), for "now," said he, "the Lord hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land."

Having provided thus a plentiful supply of water in his own favourite "south country," Isaac goes up to Beer-sheba, where, on the very night of his arrival, for his comfort and encouragement, the Lord appears for the second and the last time, and renews the promise. Intending to remain some time here, he establishes a camp, erects an altar, and calls upon the name of the Lord. Here, too, was a well that his father had opened, which the Philistines, as Beer-sheba lay outside their borders, had not closed up. But the growing requirements of an encampment so enlarged as his had now become demand another well. His servants proceed to sink it. The work is in progress when an imposing embassy from Gerar, headed by the king and his chief officers, appears. Abimelech, when he hears all about Isaac being chased, as it were, from well to well by the

¹ "The indisputable truth is that Abraham, like his father, Terah, was neither a Bedouin Arab nor a nomad, but a Semitic townsman, possessing, before he removed into Canaan, a fixed residence within the city of Haran; and the wandering life of himself and his son Isaac and grandson Jacob, instead of being in accordance with the ordinary state of society, was a marked and deliberately intentional exception."—*Jacob's Flight*, p. 264. Dr. and Mrs. Beke's indignation at Abraham's being spoken of so frequently now-a-days as a Bedouin sheikh has such foundation as is given in the passage now quoted. Otherwise it cannot but be regarded as exaggerated and misplaced.

² Murphy on *Genesis*, p. 425.

³ *Smith's Dictionary*, art. "Palestine."

excited herdmen, has become afraid that they have gone too far. Some means must be taken to avert hostility with such powerful neighbours. He comes to ask that the old covenant of peace made between himself or his father and Abraham be renewed. Isaac's reception is at first distant and cold enough—not more so, we should say, than was deserved; but he soon relents. It is not in his nature to harbour long a grudge, to refuse offered friendship, or neglect an opportunity of doing as his father had done. At night, therefore, they feast together, he and the Gerarites. In the morning they rise early, and renew the oath and covenant. Abimelech and his servants depart. The same day Isaac's servants come to tell him that they have got down to the living water, and he gives to this new well the same name that Abraham had given to the one not far off, whose opening had been distinguished by a like covenant and a like oath.

This story of Isaac's digging the well, and having such an interview with Abimelech, and entering into a treaty of peace with him, and sealing that treaty with an oath, and calling the place Beer-sheba ("the well of the oath"), is it but the old story of Abraham re-told, but attached now to his son? If so—if the tales were one—there should be but one well. How stands the fact? What witness does the place itself bear to the truthfulness of the narrative as given in the Book of Genesis? The first traveller in modern times who visited, and as we may say discovered, Beer-sheba, was Dr. Robinson. Having, without knowing it, followed the very track which Isaac took from the valley of Gerar northward towards Hebron, "we reached," he says (April 12th, 1838), "Wady es-Sebá, a wide water-course. . . . Upon its northern side, close upon the bank, are two deep wells, still called Bir es-Sebá, the ancient Beer-sheba. . . . The larger one is 12½ feet in diameter, and 44½ feet deep to the surface water, 16 feet of which at the bottom is excavated in the solid rock. The other well lies 55 rods W.S.W., and is 5 feet in diameter and 42 feet deep. The water in both is pure and sweet, and in great abundance; the finest, indeed, we had found since leaving Sinai. . . . Both wells are surrounded with drinking-troughs of stone for camels and flocks, such as were doubtless used of old for the flocks which then fed upon the adjacent hills. The curb stones were deeply worn by the friction of the ropes in drawing up water by hand."¹ Since this account was written, Beer-sheba has had many visitors, two of the latest being Dr. Tristram and Mr. Palmer. "About two o'clock," says the former (February 3rd, 1864), "we reached Beer-sheba, where the tents were already pitched round one of Abraham's wells. . . . In front and behind is a vast uneven plateau, almost green, pastured over by thousands of goats, horned cattle, and camels, while several Arab encampments were in sight, drawn to this favoured spot by the grateful wells and the comparatively abundant herbage. . . . The native visitors to our camp

pointed out with all the pride of race that the wells were the work of Ibrahim-el-Khalil, 'Abraham the friend.' The well above the rock was built with finely-squared large stones, hard as marble; and the ropes of the water-drawers for 4,000 years have worn the edges of the hard limestone with not less than 143 flutings, the shallowest of them four inches deep. The ancient marble troughs were arranged at convenient distances round the mouth in an irregular circle, some oblong, most of them round, for the convenience of the cattle. From their style and material they are probably coeval with the original well. All day long our men or the Bedouin herdsmen and their wives were drawing water in skins, and filling these troughs for the horses, camels, cattle, and sheep, recalling many a scene in the lives of the patriarchs, of Rebekah, and of Zipporah."²

"Beer-sheba," says Mr. Palmer, "is perhaps one of the most interesting spots in the desert, connected as it is with some of the earliest scenes of Bible history. The deep well of solid masonry upon which we gazed was in all probability the identical one dug by Abraham, the father of the faithful, himself. The name Bir Seba which he gave it still clings to the spot; the Bedawin, to whom the Scriptures are unknown, still point with pride to the great work which their father Ibrahim achieved; and as they draw water from it for their flocks, the ropes that let the buckets down still glide along the same deep furrows in the masonry by which the patriarchs let down theirs. . . . In the immediate neighbourhood are also traces of the other four wells which once existed there; and Arab tradition informs us that 'the Beni Murr dwelt by seven wells (Seba Beyúr)—each well had seven tanks, each tank had seven troughs, and each trough had seven horses drinking thereat.'"³

At Beer-sheba Isaac is once more among the scenes of his childhood, where he remains till the next, the only other, recorded incident of his life occurs. Had we nothing but the narrative given in the 27th chapter of Genesis to found upon, we might have believed that this incident happened shortly before Isaac's death. Happily, however, by a somewhat curious and very interesting comparison of events and dates in the lives of the son and grandson, as given in the succeeding chapters, we can fix precisely the age of Isaac at this time. Joseph was thirty years of age when he first stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt. Seven years of plenty (Gen. xlv. 6) and two of famine intervened before Joseph's brethren were sent down to Egypt, and sent back to bring their father with them to that land. When Jacob was introduced to Pharaoh, and the king asked him, "How old art thou?" he answered, "The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years" (Gen. xlvii. 9). As Joseph was at this time thirty-nine, it must have been in the ninety-first year of Jacob's life that

² *The Land of Israel*, pp. 372, 373.

³ *The Desert of the Exodus*, vol. ii., pp. 388, 389. From the narrative of Van de Velde it appears that in his hasty visit he missed altogether seeing the two principal wells, and met with the other five at the bottom of the valley.

¹ Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, vol. ii., pp. 300, 301.

he was born. This birth occurred when Jacob, by his fourteen years' service, had earned the right to leave Padan-aram (Gen. xxx. 25). If the flight from Beer-sheba took place fourteen years previously, Jacob was then seventy-seven years old. Isaac being sixty years older than Jacob (Gen. xxv. 26), would consequently be 137. As he lived to be 180 (Gen. xxxv. 28), it must have been so many as forty-three years before his death that it is said of him that he was "old, and his eyes were dim that he could not see." The infirmities of age have come upon him prematurely. He is blind, infirm, bed-ridden. He remembers that his half-brother Ishmael had died fourteen years before, at the very age to which he had now attained (Gen. xxv. 17). He imagines that his own dissolution is near. He resolves formally and solemnly to invest his eldest and best-liked son Esau with all the rights which primogeniture bestowed. As the age of written documents had not yet come, it was the custom at this time for fathers before their death to call their children to them and deliver what we may call an oral will, in which it was indicated what each was to inherit. Within the family of Abraham this custom had a new character and sanctity attached to it. The heritage here to be transmitted embraced benefits and blessings over which the parent had no personal control. His flocks and herds, his gold and silver, he might divide out among his children as he pleased. The higher blessings of the covenant he was to bestow as God might direct. In the case of Abraham this direction was given long before the patriarch's death. He was distinctly told that it was in Isaac his seed should be called. The son of the bond-woman was not to be heir with the son of the free-woman. For Ishmael and his other children by Keturah he provided in his life-time (Gen. xxv. 6), so that the remaining property fell at once upon his decease into the hands of Isaac. He did not need to make a death-bed division of his personal estate. We meet, accordingly, with no such formal act of death-bed blessing in his case as we do in the cases of Isaac and of Jacob.

Believing himself to be near death, Isaac summons his favourite son, and bids him go and procure for him some of his favourite food, that he might eat and drink, and, revived and strengthened thereby, might bless him before he died. Let us try to place ourselves in his position at this time. His father's example, which he was always so willing to follow, offered here no precedent. Instead of one son marked out at once by his maternity and the Divine designation, Isaac has two sons of the same mother. If but one could inherit the blessings of the covenant, what so natural or so proper as that it should be the first-born. True, Rebekah had informed him of a communication from the Lord made to her before the children were born, to the effect that the elder should serve the younger. But did that imply a transfer to the younger of all the rights of primogeniture, and specially of the blessing of Abraham? True, he had been told of a transaction between the brothers themselves, in which Esau had sold his birth-right. But could a transaction of such a doubtful character, in

which the address of one brother took such mean advantage of the momentary impulse of the other, afford anything like a sufficient ground for setting aside the claims which priority of birth entailed? Besides, the communication to Rebekah, and the bargain between the brothers, had taken place, the one nearly eighty, and the other more than sixty years before. During all the intervening period, in neither of the two special revelations made to him, had any intimation of the will of God in reference to this matter been given. Surely if it were the Divine purpose to interpose and reverse the natural order of things, some indication of this would have been given, similar to what had been given in his own case to Abraham. In absence of any such direction, was he not at liberty to follow the course which custom, reason, and his own inclination conspired to dictate? On the other hand, it may be said that he ought to have given more weight to the communication made to Rebekah; he ought not to have allowed partiality for Esau to have swayed him as throughout it did; he ought to have seen in Esau's early act of despising the birth-right, and in his whole character and career—making so light of parental authority in his marriages, and showing such indifference to the faith of his fathers—a clear enough indication that he was not worthy to be the heir of the covenant. He should have paused before, in this furtive manner, without the knowledge of Rebekah and Jacob, he got the blessing conveyed to his favourite. He should have waited for counsel from on high ere he assumed and exercised the right of bestowing the theocratic blessing as he pleased. With his personal estate he might deal as his father before him had done, but the great and peculiar blessing of the covenant was not in his hands to give. Isaac himself is obviously not at ease—a dim foreboding that something would go wrong is upon his spirit. He wishes to hide the thing from Rebekah—to take advantage of the common tent incident of game brought in to him by Esau to get his design accomplished. He sends him out to hunt. He waits impatiently for his return. It comes too quickly. He questions, he handles, he kisses—all confirms the bold, the impious assertions made by the deceiver. He yields, for it is two senses against one. Yet that voice rings troublingly in his ear. "The voice," he exclaims in pitiful perplexity, "is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." And when Esau bursts upon the scene, and the deception practised on him reveals itself, it is not bare indignation, as it otherwise should have been, that makes him tremble "very exceedingly;" it is the latent consciousness that he had been trying to thwart a higher purpose than his own, and had been strangely, and, so far as the human instruments in it were concerned, disgracefully thwarted. For he had felt the touch of the Divine finger opening his lips in prophecies that took, as ordinarily, a poetic form. The afflatus from on high had in measure been upon him, and yet there was so much of himself—of his own purposes and intents—still left as to make it very evident that his dominant design was to thwart the prophecy that Rebekah said

had been delivered. "God give thee," he said, thinking that he speaks of and to Esau, "of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine: let people serve thee, and *nations bow down to thee: be lord over thy brethren, and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee: cursed be every one that curseth thee, and blessed be he that blesseth thee*" (Gen. xxvii. 28, 29). Compared with the blessings pronounced by God himself over Abraham and Isaac, the two things of a fertile land and rule and dominion over others appear as common to all the three. But the last and crowning part of the former blessings—the one that took in spiritual blessings ("In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed")—is wanting here. There is confinement of the blessing to mere secular advantages; while in the two phrases we have emphasised as peculiar to the occasion, one can scarcely fail to recognise a blow from a hand too weak to strike out otherwise, and openly levelled at the mother's favourite child. This quite consists with our idea of Isaac's character. Affectionate, pliable, placable, of a serene and meditative piety, but of no great force of character, nor depth of spiritual discernment—too open to impressions from without, with too little of intense conviction within to correct or modify them—wanting the firmness and fixity of that faith for which his father throughout, and his son in the later period of his life, were so distinguished. Yet how strongly and tenderly does our sympathy go with Isaac upon this last occasion in which he appears before us on the stage of life. Whatever weaknesses, moral and spiritual, were his, must have been increased by total blindness, and such prostration of strength, that his usual position was that from which Esau invited him to rise. Lying there, bedridden within his tent, so feeble, so lonely, unable to occupy himself with outward things; his favourite son so often and so long away from him; left to his own ruminations, with no revelations from heaven to guide and cheer under the pressure, it may have been, of more than ordinary debility; provoked, perhaps, by something that Jacob or Rebekah had said or done, he makes the vain attempt to secure the blessing for Esau. He is out-manœuvred—made to do the very thing he had been so anxious to avoid. One can well imagine what a tumult of conflicting thoughts and emotions shook his breast, as he trembled so "very exceedingly." Yet, when the invisible hand presses again upon the inner springs of thought and feeling, and he utters the short but singularly comprehensive prophecy as to the future of the seed of Esau, the inward eye is fully opened; no earthly shadow dims or blurs the vision. He weeps with Esau, does all he can to comfort him; but he bows to God, whose hand he recognises as making even the duplicity of man to praise. He shakes off the infirmity of faith under which he has been labouring, and says even of the treacherous Jacob, in whom he had been taught in so singular a way to recognise the heir of the covenant blessing, "I have blessed him, yea, and he shall be blessed."

Esau's resentment of the wrong done to him is fierce and, for the moment, vindictive. What Abel was to

Cain, what David was to Saul, Jacob had become to him. His purpose is to slay his brother. One thing alone restrains him—the thought of his father. That it did restrain tells much in his favour. But the restraint will soon be over—let his father die in peace, and then the supplanter shall be slain. We do not believe that he would have executed the purpose; for there was fitfulness, tenderness, and generosity in him as well as wrath. His father's death would have softened him—the common household grief would have taken off the edge of his malice. But Rebekah does not think so. She sees no safety for Jacob but in instant flight. Again she has recourse to artifice, and again succeeds. She awakens Isaac's fears of another marriage with the hated daughters of Heth, and gets him to send Jacob away to Padan-aram; her secret understanding with Jacob being that she would send a messenger after him to tell him when it would be safe for him to return. That messenger was never dispatched; that return she did not live to witness. It was in all likelihood her death which took Isaac up from Beer-sheba to Mamre, to bury her—as we know he did—beside his father and mother in the cave of Machpelah.

The long period of forty-three years that intervened between the flight of Jacob and his own decease was almost wholly spent in Hebron. But how do these years roll on? Slowly and wearily it must have been. During the first twenty of them he hears nothing of Jacob, who is as good as lost to him. Rebekah is dead, Esau away in the distant mountains of Scir, with his wives and children round him there. Isaac is utterly alone. At last a rumour reaches him of Jacob's being back in Canaan. Perhaps a hurried visit to Hebron is paid. It is not, however, till the wanderings from Succoth to Shechem, and Ephrath and Edar, are over (and no note of the time spent in them is given), that Jacob, with all his sons and daughters and grand-children, and vast herds of many kinds of cattle, reaches Hebron. The arrival of such a host after such an interval of solitude was well fitted to excite, but of Isaac's reception of it not a word is said. He was still living—it was so many indeed as twelve years before his death—when Joseph was cast into the pit, and the coat of many colours brought to Jacob, and he rent his clothes and mourned for his son as dead; "and all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be comforted" (Gen. xxxvii. 35). Why is it that no mention whatever is made of Isaac as sharing in this bitter grief? Why is it that he is not named as among the comforters? Our only explanation is, that he had lain so long, sightless, wifeless, childless, shut up in dreary loneliness from all converse with outward things, that the stream of his existence had become so narrowed and weakened that it was too feeble to be affected even by such occurrences as the advent of Jacob and his family, and the father's wailing over the imagined death of his son. When at last Isaac's death drew near, Esau was sent for and came. Our hope is that there was vitality enough left in Isaac to discern that

both his sons were then soothing his latest hours; that with no danger of mistake, he could say of the hands laid gently under him, "They are the hands of Esau;" of the voice whispering lovingly into his ear, "It is the voice of Jacob." As he expired at Hebron in his 180th year, Joseph was lying in prison in Egypt, waiting his summons unto Pharaoh.¹

Looking back upon the life of Isaac, the few frailties and failures it displays are lost in the remembrance of his sublime act of submission and self-surrender on Mount Moriah; his veneration for his father's character, and constant willingness to walk in his steps; his humility in accepting all from God as coming to him for his father's sake; his attachment to his mother; his affection for his wife; his fondness—undue it may have been, yet touchingly tender—for the rough but

generous Esau; the unexpressed and unostentatious, but deep, serene, meditative piety which sustained and cheered him throughout the long lonely years before his death. From his chief characteristic comes the name by which he shall ever be best known and best described—the gentle Isaac. His truly was a spirit easy to be entreated, open to forgiveness, shut against malice, incapable of revenge; showing much of the temper inculcated by Him of whom on Mount Moriah he was the type; persecuted at one well, fleeing to another; compelled to go one mile, going before his compellers twain; the meekest, most placable, most patient, most peace-loving, most home-loving of the patriarchs. Between the lives of Abraham and Jacob that of Isaac lies, as the quiet Highland loch lies between the towering mountain whose streams feed it at the one end, and the river which at the other it sends forth on its long and winding and often troubled course. There is little around that loch's sides to attract or arrest the eye; but its waters are pure, and clear, and tranquil; its surface often so calm as perfectly and beautifully to mirror—by day the mountain of its birth, and by night the lights of heaven.

¹ It is said in Gen. xxxvii. 2, that Joseph was seventeen years old when his brethren sold him to the Midianites. He was, as we have already seen, ninety-one years younger than his father, and 151 years younger than his grandfather. When he was seventeen Jacob was 108, and Isaac 168. It must, therefore, have been twelve years before Isaac's death that Joseph was cast into the pit. At Isaac's death Joseph was twenty-nine. As he was thirty when he was presented to Pharaoh, he must then have been in the prison.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.—V.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—ST. PETER.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

"Searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow."—1 PETER i. 11.



T. PETER here represents the prophets of the Old Testament inquiring to what season, and to what kind of season, the Spirit of Christ that was in them was pointing when it was testifying the sufferings that were appointed for the coming Messiah, and the glories that would follow after. The question at once suggests itself—What is the meaning of the words "Spirit of Christ?" Without doubt they signify, *not* the Spirit bearing witness concerning Christ, but the Spirit which Christ has and gives—which Spirit inspired the prophets before the incarnation.

So real and vivid was the picture of the sufferings and the subsequent glories of the coming Messiah, that the prophets are spoken of as earnestly asking the question, "When these things should take place; what kind of season was the Spirit pointing to? Would they be permitted to see during their earthly life what they had beheld so clearly, so definitely in a vision?" This passage shows that in Peter's mind no shadow of doubt existed concerning the pre-existence of Christ before the incarnation, for it was Christ's Spirit which inspired the prophets to speak so definitely concerning him. This statement of St. Peter sets a seal on the

purely Messianic interpretation of so many of the Old Testament prophetic passages; as, for instance, relating to the sufferings of Christ (Isa. liii. and Ps. xxii.); relating to the glories which should follow the suffering (Ps. xxii. xvi., cx., cxviii.; Isa. viii. and xxviii.; Dan. vii. and ix.).

It is peculiarly belonging to Peter's teaching, this dwelling on the sufferings of Christ, and then, in the same breath, on the glories which follow them; and Christ he puts forward as the example, the copy to be followed by man, who through toil and suffering alone can attain to rest and to glory.

"Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit, in which² he also went and preached to the spirits in prison."—1 PETER iii. 18, 19.

This is perhaps the most disputed passage in the New Testament. It has been profusely commented on by commentators of every age and of all schools of thought. It is best at the outset to admit that it contains difficulties; no man as yet has been able fully to explain it. Apart from its interest as a great historical statement, a large proportion of theologians see in it a deep and (with our present lights) an almost unexplored mine of comfort. In the words of one of the latest writers on this text, "It throws blessed light on one of the darkest enigmas of Divine justice—the

¹ See for a more detailed exposition of this passage, No. VI.

² "In which" translates the Greek more accurately than the "by which" of the English version.

cases where the final doom seems infinitely out of proportion to the lapse which has incurred it."

The three great questions involved are—

- (a) *When* did this preaching of our Lord take place?
 (b) What was the *nature* of the preaching in question?

(c) *To whom* was this preaching addressed?

(a) The mission to the "spirits in prison" took place *after* the resurrection. The glorious Missionary was the risen Lord. He had ceased to live the life subject to the conditions of the flesh; he had been made alive again in the Spirit, and then in that complex resurrection life he did the work referred to in our text. To limit the duration of our Lord's working in another world, as some would wish, to those few hours which intervened between the death on Friday afternoon and the resurrection on Sunday morning, would darken the blessed light which the statement concerning this preaching *seems* to throw on many a hard question which puzzles men. May not these inspired words of Peter hint to us that our Lord's redemption work is far more extensive than men usually conceive? (Compare Col. i. 20 and Eph. i. 10.)

(b) What now was the nature of the preaching? Certainly not an announcement of condemnation. This monstrous interpretation has been well and ably maintained; but to dismiss all other arguments which have been urged against it, we would simply ask, would such a proclamation of horror ever have formed part of

the office of the loving and pitiful Redeemer? Without doubt the preaching was an announcement of glad tidings—viz., that in some way or other the "spirits in prison" were to be sharers in the blessed results of the atonement.

(c) Who were the "spirits in prison" to whom our Lord preached these good tidings? Clearly in this plain historical statement we must limit the preaching of good news to those poor souls of the antediluvian race who *once* were disobedient. "*Once*" certainly gives us a hint that before their death they had been brought to repentance, and, as it has been well said, "surely those who perished in the most awful of God's temporal judgments, would more than any need to look for the comfort of Christ's presence, and that consolation which his preaching in the region of departed souls would afford to those prisoners of hope." But while the strict interpretation of the words of our text imposes this careful limitation, no thoughtful Christian can resist the persuasion that the blessed preaching was not limited to those who perished in the deluge, but that these unhappy ones were selected "merely as a sample of the like gracious work on others." This extended view of the Lord's preaching to the spirits in prison is no mere outcropping of modern speculative thought, but was held in the early Church with different modifications by writers like Hermas, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and Justin Martyr.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.—IV.

ORDER VI.—CRUCIFERÆ.

BY W. CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE Crucifers form a large and well-marked natural group of plants, with a singularly uniform and easily recognisable type of flower. The cruciform arrangement of the four petals of which the flower is composed suggested the name of the order. The Crucifers are most abundant in temperate and cold climates; they become mountain plants within the tropics. Europe and Asia Minor are their head-quarters, but they are scattered over the whole globe; they always form part of the scanty vegetation met with in the most distant boreal regions, and on the limits of the eternal snow on high mountains.

Whether as worthless weeds, or beautiful garden flowers, or valuable articles of food, they must have forced themselves on the attention of the most careless observers. The shepherd's purse, rockets, and cresses are common wayside and hedge weeds; the small white flowers of the vernal whitlow-grass, the smallest of our British land flowering plants, brighten many a dreary waste in early spring; our meadows and pastures are adorned with the lady's smock, and our cultivated fields are too frequently overrun with rape, charlock, and mustard. In the garden few plants surpass in fra-

grance the wallflower or the stock. But best known among the crucifers are the species which supply important articles of food: the starch stored up in the roots of the turnip and radish, in the swollen stem of the kohlrabi, in the leaves of the cabbage, and in the inflorescence of the cauliflower, make these plants valuable esculents; while the pungency of the horse-radish, water-cress, and especially of the mustard, secures for these an important place as accessories of our diet. The ancient Britons are said to have stained their bodies with the blue dye obtained from the leaves of woad, a cruciferous plant, with numerous small yellow flowers, formerly largely cultivated as a dyestuff, and often occurring as a weed in cultivated fields.

The plants of this order bear very much the same relation to the vegetation of Palestine as they do to the flora of Britain. Though the actual number of species is nearly double those found here, the majority of them belong to the genera which include the British species. Only eighteen of the one hundred and thirty species are however, common to the two countries, and these are chiefly our more abundant weeds, which occur in corresponding localities in Palestine—that is to say, in cultivated grounds and by the wayside. Among them

may be mentioned charlock, white and black mustard, shepherd's purse, bitter cress, London rocket, and the small vernal whitlow-grass. A considerable proportion of the new forms are small species found in the Alpine or sub-Alpine regions of Hermon, on the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges. The most curious crucifer in Palestine is one which finds its northern limit in the sub-tropical region in the lower valley of the Jordan. Though no reference is made to this plant—the rose of Jericho (*Anastatica hierochuntina*, Linn.)—in Scripture, it deserves some notice here because of the numerous superstitions which have been associated with it. It is a small woody annual, more nearly related to the cabbage than to the rose, with a short stem which breaks up immediately after emerging from the earth into several branches, on which are borne the obovate leaves and the spikes of small white flowers. The seed-vessels have two ear-like appendages at the top, and contain two seeds. When the plant has ripened its seed, like other annuals it dies, and as the sap leaves the leafless branches they curl inwards, and give the plant the appearance of a ball of wicker-work with the short stem for a handle. When in this dead state it is easily loosened from the soil; thus liberated it is driven about by the wind, scattering its seed as it rolls along. If it is blown into water or wetted by rain the moisture absorbed by the branches causes them to relax, and spread themselves flat again, as if life were renewed. The plant retains this hygrometric property of expanding when moistened, and curling up when dry; and from this it derives its generic name, *Anastatica*, meaning “resurrection flower;” while its specific designation, *hierochuntina*, is an adjective from the Latin form of Jericho, in the neighbourhood of which city it has been collected by pilgrims who have ascribed to it the most wonderful virtues. A similar hygrometric property has been noticed in other plants, such as a species of *Lycopodium* from Brazil, and another from Mexico, and in the capsules of *Mesembryanthemum* from the Cape of Good Hope. The name “Rose of Jericho” has been incorrectly given to these plants. The plant here described and figured is a native of Syria and Northern Africa. In Palestine it

is called Kaf Maryan, or Mary's flower, because tradition says that it first bloomed at the time of the birth of our Saviour, and paid homage to his resurrection by remaining expanded till Easter.

The only cruciferous plant mentioned in Scripture is the mustard, *Σινάμιν*. It was referred to by our Lord on three different occasions, and occurs only in the Gospels where the narrative of these occasions are given. In the only instance when the apostles asked for a spiritual blessing from their Master, He replied, “If ye had faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye might

say unto this sycamine-tree, Be thou plucked up by the root, and be thou planted in the sea; and it should obey you” (Luke xvii. 6). Again, when teaching His disciples that no obstacle should be able to stand before a confiding faith in God, He said, “If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove” (Matt. xvii. 20). And lastly, in the parable of the mustard-seed, the growth of the kingdom of heaven from the smallest beginnings to ultimate universality is compared to the growth of the mustard. “It is like a grain of mustard-seed, which, when it is sown in the earth, is less than all the seeds that be in the earth: but when it is sown, it groweth up, and becometh greater than all herbs, and shooteth out great branches; so that the fowls of the air may lodge under the shadow of it” (Mark iv. 31, 32).

In these passages the Saviour obviously refers to

the smallness of the mustard-seed as a fact well known to his auditors. Indeed, the Jews used the phrase “small as a grain of mustard-seed” just as we similarly compare small things to a peppercorn. The grain of the mustard is not absolutely the “smallest of all seeds,” though it was popularly and proverbially so, and, moreover, the husbandman knew it as the smallest seed which passed through his hands. To avail at the phrase because plenty of smaller seeds are known is puerile. Jesus, in speaking to his unlettered apostles and the multitude, necessarily used popular language and popular figures.

We learn from Pliny and others that the use of mustard as a condiment was known to the Greeks and Romans; and it is more than probable that it was



ANASTATICA HIEROCHUNTINA, Linn. Rose of Jericho. A dead plant with incurved branches, and a living plant. Half the natural size.

similarly employed by the Jews. Until comparatively recent times there was never any question as to the identification of the common black mustard (*Sinapis nigra*, Linn.) with the mustard of Scripture; but the late Dr. Royle, conceiving that this plant did not meet all the requisite characteristics of the sacred narratives, investigated the matter afresh, and published the results in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1844. He came to the conclusion that *Salvadora Persica*, Linn., was the true plant. Captains Irby and Mangles had already suggested that this was probably the mustard-tree of the Gospel, when in their travels they met with it near the Dead Sea in 1817-18. They say, "It has a pleasant though strong aromatic taste, resembling mustard, and if taken in any quantity produces a similar irritability in the nose and eyes. The leaves of this tree have the same pungent flavour as the fruit, though not so strong. We think it probable that this is the tree our Saviour alluded to

in the parable of the mustard-seed, and not the mustard-plant, which is to be found in the north; for, although in our journey from Bysan to Adjelou we met with the mustard-plant growing wild, as high as our horses' heads, still, being an annual, it did not deserve the appellation of a tree; whereas the other is really such, and birds might easily, and actually do,

take shelter under its shadow." (*Travels in Egypt, &c.* chap. vii.) The *Salvadora* is a large shrub or small tree, with a slender stem, rising some ten feet before it branches. The leaves are thick, long, and somewhat narrow, and the numerous small flowers are produced in clusters

at the ends of the branches. It is a native of Scinde, Persia, Arabia, and Egypt. Dr. Royle noticed that *Salvadora* was called *kharjal* in the north-west of India, and that the common Arabian name *khardal* was also used for mustard, and further that *Sinapi* of the Gospels was translated by this word in the Syriac version; and this is no doubt the same with the Hebrew *chardal* used in the Talmud. He thus sums up his reasons for maintaining this identification. "The plant has a small seed, which produces a large tree with numerous branches, in which the birds of the air may take shelter. The seed is possessed of the same properties, and has a name *khardal*, of which *sinapi* is the true translation, and which, moreover, grows



SALVADORA PERSICA, Linn. Half natural size. Called by some "The Mustard-tree" of Scripture.

abundantly on the very shores of the Sea of Galilee where our Saviour addressed to the multitude the parable of the mustard-seed."

Dr. Royle has somewhat misapprehended the requirements of the Gospel narratives. It is obvious that the plant of the parable was sufficiently familiar to the common people in the days of the Saviour to supply in

its seed a familiar proverbial expression for minuteness. Further, that it was a plant likely to be sown in a "garden" of herbs; and though it attained to the stature of a tree, it was nevertheless a herb, and was indeed not a tree among trees, but a tree as compared with the less conspicuous herbs among which it grew. There is no reference to birds building their nests in the branches; the Greek word means nothing more than that the birds sat on the branches. *Salvadora* is a true perennial woody tree, and very unlikely to be found in gardens, or to have been known to the Jews. It is one of those southern plants which reaches its northern geographical limits in the abnormal sub-tropical region of the Dead Sea. It has been frequently found there; specimens exist in the recent collections of Lowndes and Hayne. The statement that it occurs further north is certainly an error.¹

All the allusions in the parable are in keeping with what is known of the true mustard-plant (*Sinapis nigra*, Linn.) in the East.

¹ The *Salvadora* is very abundant on the shores of the Red Sea. The Abyssinians, who call it Adai, cut the branches into fragments three or four inches long, and splitting up the one end into a number of stiff fibres, they form a very rude tooth-brush. M. Courbon says they spend almost all their leisure time in using this brush. Bove collected this *Salvadora* in the Sinai desert. The Palestine plant is a different species from the one found to the east of the Indus, which has oval leaves and stalked flowers.

This plant is indigenous to Palestine, as it is to Britain, and is common everywhere. In spring the whole surface of the valley of Acre is gilded with its yellow flowers, just as our own corn-fields are somewhat later

in the year made yellow by the unwelcome flower of the wild mustard or charlock. Its growth is very rapid, and under the influence of a garden soil and a Palestine sun, the mustard would grow up rapidly and soon outstrip its companions, becoming like to a branching tree among the herbs of the garden. We have seen the testimony of Irby and Mangels as to the height it attains in Palestine; and Dr. Thomson records that he has seen it as tall as the horse and his rider on the rich plain of Acre. It is a small grain, producing a large result; the least of the husbandman's seeds becoming the greatest of the husbandman's herbs. This is the point of the parable, and gives the only sense in which the kingdom of heaven is like a



SINAPIS NIGRA, Linn. Mustard. Natural size. (Mark iv. 31, 32.)

grain of mustard-seed. The late Dr. James Hamilton thus charmingly illustrates the figure:—"The mustard is a tiny seed which, sown in a favourable soil, shoots up and becomes to all intents a tree; so that there is no longer any proportion betwixt its 'shadowing shroud' and the germ from which it sprang. Such is the kingdom of heaven; such is the history of real religion in an individual mind, in a community, in the world at

large. Some word in season dropped into the ear, or reverting to his memory, the desperado and blasphemer is converted; and that mustard-seed, that faithful saying, is developed into the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' or the 'Ohney Hymns.' The one copy of the Scriptures which had been brought away from the ship *Bounty*, and which at last changed into a Christian community the mutineers and their children, was a mustard-seed; so was the Gospel which Columba and his companions brought from Ireland to Iona, and which, transferred to the mainland, became a mighty tree, so that the hills of Caledonia are now covered with the shade. The little text, 'The just by faith shall live,' in the mind of Martin Luther, was the mustard-seed from which shot up the glorious Reformation. The cradle of Bethlehem,

the cross of Calvary—that cradle so obscure, that cross such a 'foolishness,' such a 'scandal'—were each of them a grain of mustard-seed, the little and unlikely germ from which a tree of life has risen, extending its branches over every continent, and inviting beneath its canopy the millions of mankind."

The idea that the mustard was selected because of any inherent quality, medicinal or otherwise, is obviously beyond the true scope of the illustration. To trace analogies between the penetrating, pungent, or fiery nature of the seed and the attributes of the kingdom of heaven, as some have done, is to indulge in fancies or conceits which have no foundation either in the parable, or in the leading idea that it illustrates.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—VIII.

THE PATRIARCHS.

MOSES.

BY THE REV. J. P. NORRIS, M.A., CANON OF BRISTOL.

I.—THE COTEMPORARY EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

THE Bible is essentially historical. It is a record of certain revelations which God has given to man from time to time—revelations of Himself, of what He has done for us, and of what He expects us in return to do for Him. And these revelations claim to be accepted as historical facts. The faith of the Christian rests on the facts of the birth, death, and resurrection of our Lord. The faith of the Israelite rested on the facts of Abraham's call, the Exodus, the conquest of Canaan. What is supernatural in these facts is so bound up with what is historical, that the two cannot be separated. What confirms our faith in the one confirms our faith in the other.

It happens, therefore, very providentially that, while certain modern habits of thought are making belief in the supernatural difficult to some minds, criticism and research are tending every year to strengthen the certainty of those historical facts with which the supernatural revelation is inseparably interwoven.

Most strikingly has this been the case with the most important of all the Old Testament records, the record of the Exodus. Just when the destructive criticism of unbelievers was trying to prove it all legendary—trying, by a studied exaggeration of every apparent difficulty, to shake our faith in it—it pleased God to open up to us the buried monuments of that kindred nation with which Israel at this period was so closely connected. Slowly out of these monuments we are reconstructing Egypt's history. We cannot yet speak of the results with confidence; but thus much we may safely assert, that the Egypt portrayed on these stones and papyrus-rolls is precisely the Egypt implied and required by the Mosaic narrative. And, further, something has already been done—something that may well serve as the preface to a life of Moses—to fill up

the blanks and clear up the difficulties of the sacred history.

What we want most of all to fill up is that blank in the inspired narrative between the death of Joseph and the birth of the great lawgiver. At the close of Genesis the curtain falls on a patriarchal family mourning round the deathbed of an honoured chieftain, high in favour at the Egyptian court. It rises and reveals to us the descendants of that same family, multiplied into a nation of hundreds of thousands, but enslaved and broken-spirited, groaning under an oppressor's rod in the brick-fields of the Nile valley.

How long was the intervening time? what change of dynasty had taken place? who and of what race was the Pharaoh who exalted Joseph? who and of what race the Pharaoh of the oppression?—these are questions that we long to answer. Slowly and laboriously, with the help of the inscriptions which every year is bringing to light, learned men are assigning dates to Manetho's lists of Egyptian kings,¹ and here and there we are already able to identify them with the Pharaohs of the Bible.

Thanks to an inscription in some quarries in Upper Egypt,² we have been able to identify the Shishak of Rehoboam's reign with Sheshonk I. of Manetho. His accession must have been about B.C. 930, twenty-two

¹ Manetho (B.C. 280) and Eratosthenes (B.C. 240) were natives of Egypt, and its historians. Manetho was a priest of Heliopolis, employed by Ptolemy Philadelphus to translate into Greek the lists of kings inscribed in the temples. His work, therefore, was cotemporary with the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. Fragments of it have been preserved for us by Josephus, Africanus, and Eusebius, giving the names of three or four hundred kings arranged in thirty dynasties. But the chronology is hopelessly confused.

² "An inscription at the quarries of Silsilis, in Upper Egypt, records the cutting of stone in the twenty-second year of Sheshonk I. (or Shishak) for constructions in the chief temple at Thebes, where we now find a record of his conquest of Judah." (Champollion, quoted by Mr. Stuart Poole.)

years after the building of Solomon's temple. Now can we, by calculating backwards, identify the Pharaoh of the Exodus with any of Manetho's kings? In I Kings vi. 1 we read that Solomon's temple was commenced in the 480th year after the Exodus. And on this evidence the Exodus is commonly dated B.C. 1491. Going backward from Sheshonk through Manetho's list, this date would bring us, according to the best interpreters, to the beginning of his eighteenth dynasty; and a recent discovery has most curiously verified this. Among the ruins of a temple at Elephantine two stones were found; on one was the name of the builder of the temple, Thotmes III. (a king of Manetho's eighteenth dynasty); on the other an inscription stating that the 28th of the month Epiphi was the festival of the rising of Sothis (Sirius). From this M. Biot calculates the date to be B.C. 1445. As Thotmes was engaged in foreign wars¹ until near the end of his reign of forty-eight years, his accession must be dated about 1490. And his predecessor, Thotmes II., would thus appear to have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus.²

According to Manetho's list,³ eighty years from the death of Thotmes II. would carry us back to Aahmes (or Amosis), the king who conquered and expelled the shepherds, and re-established on the throne the Theban or native dynasty (the eighteenth of Manetho). But according to Holy Scripture, eighty years from the Exodus take us back exactly to the accession of that "new king, who knew not Joseph and his brethren," and who, about the time of Moses' birth, began to enslave and oppress the Israelites. If this be so, what light is thrown on the Bible narrative! How many difficulties are at once cleared up!

For instance, if any ask how it came to pass that the Egyptians, who hated foreigners with a more than Chinese bigotry, received Joseph and his family so readily, the answer is now obvious: it was not the Egyptians, but one of the shepherd kings who preceded Aahmes, himself a foreigner, who thus befriended Joseph.⁴

Again, we find Joseph, who knew that the Egyptians held shepherds in abomination, carefully instructing his brethren to say to Pharaoh that they were shep-

herds by occupation. How was this? We answer, Pharaoh being himself of shepherd race, this was the sure way to commend the Israelites to his favour, besides ensuring to them what Joseph wished, a separate territory.

Again, we find Pharaoh making the most active of the Israelites rulers of the royal cattle: this employment of foreigners would be a serious difficulty if we supposed Pharaoh to be a native Egyptian.

Again, the way in which Pharaoh, by adopting Joseph's policy after the famine, became lord of all the soil of Egypt, implies relations between himself and his subjects which are at once accounted for by supposing him to be one of the alien shepherd kings.

Lastly, and most of all, the complete change of dynasty and reversal of policy implied in the phrase, "there arose a new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph and his brethren," is in perfect accord with this view of Egyptian history, which would place the expulsion of the shepherd dynasty, and the re-establishment of native kings upon the throne, precisely in this interval between the death of Joseph and the birth of Moses. How curiously correct, as we now see, is the phrase that this new Pharaoh "said unto his people"—a phrase that could hardly have been used by the preceding kings; and how natural, too, that Pharaoh, dreading a return of the shepherd race, should wish to expel also their old allies and fellow-herdsmen, the Israelites of Goshen!

There are several minor points, too, in the narrative that harmonise with the Egyptian records of this period. Aahmes, after expelling the shepherds, captured Avaris, their capital city, and made it his residence. Now Avaris is "Tanis," or the Zoan of Scripture,¹ close upon the borders of Goshen; there accordingly Moses would have the ready access to the king implied in the narrative of the plagues. There, too, the Nile is free from crocodiles, and there only an infant could be exposed with any chance of living.

Again, Amenophis, the successor of Aahmes, is described on the monuments as making an expedition into Ethiopia, his mother's native country. This connects itself at once with the tradition preserved by Josephus that Moses in his youth joined such an expedition, and with the Scripture statement that he married an Ethiopian wife.

Again, Professor Rawlinson tells us (Herod. Append. ii. 18) that *horses* first appear on the Egyptian monuments in the reign of Amosis, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty. How curiously this tallies with the express mention of the *horses* in the overthrow of his successor, "The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea!"

Lastly, the striking blank in the monumental records during the last years of Thotmes II. would be at once accounted for, if we suppose that the disasters of the

¹ From an inscription at Karnak, he appears to have invaded Assyria and conquered Nineveh, implying some connection between this eighteenth dynasty and Assyria, which may perhaps account for that curious passage in Isaiah (lii. 4), where the Pharaoh of the oppression is termed an Assyrian.

² Canon Cook's *Excursus* at the end of Vol. I., Part I. of the *Speaker's Commentary*.

³ As interpreted by M. Brugsch, and so quoted in the *Speaker's Commentary*.

⁴ It is difficult to understand how Kitto, in his *Bible History* (1841), can agree with Sir G. Wilkinson that the Pharaoh of the oppression was Amosis, the founder of the Theban dynasty (eighteenth), and yet assert that "a close examination of the historical evidence demonstrates that the shepherd race had been expelled from Egypt before the time of Joseph; and this is confirmed beyond dispute by the graven testimony which the old monuments of that country now offer." He agrees with Wilkinson that Joseph's Pharaoh was Osirtasen I., of the Tanite (Zoan) dynasty, only adopting Hales' date (1863 B.C.) instead of Usher's (1706) for Jacob's descent.

plagues and the terrible overthrow in the Red Sea darkened the close of this king's reign.

One difficulty yet remains to be cleared up. Was the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt 215 years, as Usher gives it? or was it 430 years, as others¹ have maintained?

In Gen. xv. 13 we read, "Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years." And in Exod. xii. 40, the period seems to be defined more exactly: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years." From these two passages some have inferred with much confidence that 430 years intervened between Jacob's journey into Egypt and the Exodus. But how is this to be reconciled with the genealogies? Levi was past middle age when he went down into Egypt, and Moses was his grandson only on the mother's

side, and great-grandson on the father's. Three or four generations could not possibly span a period of 430 years.² The above passages have therefore been far more probably explained to mean that the whole period of the sojourning in Canaan and in Egypt from God's covenant with Abraham down to the Exodus should be 430 years, reading the passages thus: "Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs (and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them) four hundred years:" "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel (who dwelt in Egypt) was four hundred and thirty years." And it is remarkable that both the Greek and Samaritan versions insert the words "and in Canaan" in the latter text, making the sojourning cover the whole period from Abraham to the Exodus. That St. Paul so understood it is clear from Gal. iii. 17, where he says that the law was given 430 years after God's covenant with Abraham.

¹ The *Speaker's Commentary*, for instance, and most modern scholars. The view adopted in the text is that of Augustine, Jerome, Fynes Clinton, and Mr. Stuart Poole of the British Museum.

² In Gen. xv. 16, the word "generation" may be used in the sense of "century;" "in the fourth generation" being intended to be equivalent to the "four hundred years" of the 13th verse; or it may refer to the four generations from Jacob to Moses, spanning the latter half of the 400 or 430 years.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.—IV.

BY THE REV. CANON RAWLINSON, M.A., CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VII.



PASSAGE of Israelite history, which falls about a century later than the time of Rehoboam, has received very remarkable illustration from the most important inscription as yet discovered within the limits of Palestine. In 1868, the Rev. F. A. Klein, a French clergyman employed by the English Mission at Jerusalem, discovered in the Moabite country to the east of the Dead Sea the remarkable document which has become generally known throughout Europe as "the Moabite stone" or "the stèle of Mesha." This was a pillar in black basalt, about 3½ feet high by 1 foot 9 inches wide, and of about the same thickness, containing on one side an inscription in thirty-four lines, averaging about thirty letters each, for the most part in a fairly legible condition. The character employed was speedily recognised by scholars to be that which is commonly called the Phœnician, but which should perhaps be called "the Western Asiatic," since it was used not only by the Phœnicians, but most certainly also by the Jews, the Moabites, and some of the Assyrians, and probably by other races geographically in contact with these. It was at first hoped that the stone might be transported whole to Europe; but the fear and jealousy of the natives having been unfortunately aroused, such removal was found impossible. A paper cast of the inscription was in the year 1869 fortunately secured by M. Cler-

mont-Ganneau, of the French consulate at Jerusalem; but this cast did not reach M. Ganneau's hands in a satisfactory condition, since it had been removed before it was dry, and, when it arrived, was torn and crumpled. Soon afterwards the stone itself was destroyed by the natives, who lit a fire about it, and drenched it with cold water when it was red-hot, by which means they broke it into fragments. The fragments have for the most part come into the possession of European scholars. Among them two are of considerable size, and contain between them one half of the inscription. The remainder are small, but being numerous they have helped greatly towards the recovery of the text; and the result is that, of the thousand letters which the stone originally contained, 669, or more than thirteen-twentieths, have been deciphered and assigned, probably, to their right position; M. Clermont-Ganneau's paper cast, illegible as it was without help, having furnished the means of emplacing the several fragments, with almost absolute certainty.

The inscription, thus recovered with certain small exceptions, is so important that it will be given at full length.¹ (N.B. The words in brackets have been supplied conjecturally.)

"I am Mesha, the son of Chemosh-gad, King of

¹ I have followed, in the main, Dr. Ginsburg's version (*Moabite Stone*, London, 1870); but have occasionally preferred a different rendering.

Moab, the Dibonite. My father reigned over Moab thirty years; and I reigned after my father. And I erected this stone to Chemosh at Karkhah [a stone of salvation], because he saved me from all despoilers, and let me see my desire upon all my enemies. Omri was King of Israel, and he oppressed Moab a long time (*lit.* many days); for Chemosh was angry with his land. His son succeeded him, and he also said, 'I will oppress Moab.' In my days he said, ['Let us go] and I will see my desire on him and on his house,' and Israel [said], 'I will destroy it with an everlasting destruction.' Now Omri took the land of Me-deba, and occupied it [he, and his son, and his son's] son, forty years. [But] Chemosh [had mercy] on it in my days. And I built Baal-moon, and I made the ditch there; and I [built] Kirjathaim. And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of [Ataro]th from of old; and the King of Israel had fortified A[t]aroth; and I assaulted the wall and took it, and killed all the [warriors of] the wall, for the well-pleasing of Chemosh and Moab. And I removed from it [all the spoil], and offered (?) it before Chemosh in Kirjath; and I placed therein the men of Siron, and the men of [Zereth-]Shachar. And Chemosh said to me, 'Go, take Nebo from Israel.' So I went in the night, and I fought against it from the rising of the morning until noon, and I took it, and I slew in all seven thousand [men; but I did not kill the women and ma]idens, for to Ashtar-Chemosh I devoted [them]; and I took from it the vessels (?) of Jehovah, and offered them before Chemosh. And the king of Israel fortified Jahaz, and occupied it when he fought against me; but Chemosh drove him out from before [me]. And I took from Moab two hundred men, all chiefs, and raised the war-shout against Jahaz, and took it, to attach it to Dibon.

"I built Karkhah, the wall of the forest, and the wall of the mountain; and I built its gates, and I built its towers; and I built the king's house; and I made the prisons for the men . . . within the wall. And there was no cistern within the wall in Karkhah; and I said to all the people—'Make for yourselves every man a cistern in his house.' And I dug the ditch for Karkhah with [the chosen men of] Israel. I built [Ar]oer, and I made the road across the Arnon. I built Beth-Banath, for it was destroyed. I built Bezer, for [it was cut down by] fifty [men] from Dibon: for all Dibon was now obedient. And I . . . Bikran, which I added to my land; and I built . . . and Beth-Diblathaim, and Beth-Baal-Moon; and I placed Moabites there [to possess] the land. And Horonaim . . . dwelt there . . . And Chemosh said to me, 'Go down, fight against Horonaim and [take it] . . . Chemosh in my days . . . year . . . and I . . .'"

Now, two things were evident, as soon as this inscription was placed in the hands of European scholars—in the first place, that its names, personal and geographical, coincided with those of the Old Testament; and secondly, that both in the forms of its letters and in its grammar it was excessively archaic. Mr. Emmanuel

Deutsch, one of the first Semitic scholars of the age, at once pronounced the characters employed to be more ancient than any previously known of the Phœnician type.¹ But the Phœnician inscriptions previously known reached up to as high as the year B.C. 750,² so that the document was certainly earlier than that date. How much earlier, it was impossible definitely to say; but the differences between the writing and that of the Phœnician documents most nearly approaching it in date were so numerous and so considerable,³ as to imply an interval of something like one or two centuries at the least. Thus palæography was able, by itself, to indicate as the lowest probable date of the inscription the century between B.C. 950 and 850.

The matter of the inscription, when it had been put together, deciphered, and translated, was found to harmonise most completely with this view, and to fix the date of the stone very nearly to the year B.C. 900. The document was seen to be a record set up by a certain "Mesha, king of Moab," in order to commemorate his successes in a war which he waged with a king of Israel, who was not named, but who was evidently either the son or the grandson of Omri.⁴ Now Scripture tells of a Moabite king of this name, who was engaged in wars successively with two grandsons of Omri—viz., Ahaziah and Jehoram. It was impossible to doubt—and, after a little consideration, no scholar, however sceptical, was found to doubt—that the "Mesha" of the inscription was the Mesha of the Second Book of Kings, the "Omri" of the inscription the celebrated founder of Samaria, and the struggle commemorated that of which Scripture contained notices in the statement (2 Kings i. 1) that "Moab revolted against Israel after the death of Ahab," and in the account (2 Kings iii. 4–27) of a campaign against the revolted monarch conducted by Omri's grandson, Jehoram. The document harmonised with Scripture in representing Moab as having for many years suffered a grievous oppression⁵ at the hands of the Israelite kings, as having shaken off the yoke within forty years of the accession of Omri, and as having regained its independence under a king called Mesha. Its geographical harmony with Scripture was still more remarkable. Of the sixteen places mentioned in the inscription as situated in the Moabite country, all but three are distinctly assigned to that region in the Bible;⁶

¹ Letter to Times Newspaper of March 3, 1870.

² See an article by Sir Henry Rawlinson in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* for the year 1865.

³ These differences have been pointed out by the present writer in an article in the *Contemporary Review* for August, 1870 (pp. 105–112, and plate).

⁴ The passage which must have placed this point beyond doubt is unfortunately mutilated. A conjecture of Dr. Ginsburg supplies the words, "his son's son," in line 9 of the inscription.

⁵ See 2 Kings iii. 4.

⁶ Dibon in Josh. xiii. 9; Isa. xv. 2; Jer. xlviii. 18; Medeba in Josh. xiii. 9; Isa. xv. 2; Kirjathaim in Josh. xiii. 19; Jer. xlviii. 1, 23; Baal-Moon or Beth-Baal-Moon in Numb. xxxii. 38; Josh. xiii. 17; Ataroth in Numb. xxxii. 34; Zereth-Shachar in Josh. xiii. 19; Nebo in Numb. xxxii. 38; Isa. xv. 2; Jer. xlviii. 1, 22; Jahaz in Josh. xiii. 13; Isa. xv. 4; Jer. xlviii. 21; Aroer in Josh. xiii. 9; Jer. xlviii. 19; Banath or Beth-Banath in Numb. xxi. 20; Josh. xiii. 17; Bezer in Josh. xxi. 36; Beth-Diblathaim in Jer. xlviii. 22; and Horonaim in Isa. xv. 5; Jer. xlviii. 3, 34.

and of the two places which occur in more than one form in the inscription, one appears with the same amount of variation in Scripture.¹ A city, said in the inscription to have been in the possession of the "mon of Gad from of old," is declared in the Book of Numbers to have been built by the Gadites in the time of Moses (chap. xxxii. 34).

The harmony of the inscription with the little that Scripture tells us of the manners and customs of the Moabites is also striking. The one and only God recognised in the inscription is Chemosh; and we hear in Scripture of Chemosh as "the abomination of Moab" (1 Kings xi. 7), and of the Moabites as the "people of Chemosh" (Numb. xxi. 29). Once Chemosh is denominated "Ashtar-Chemosh" in the inscription; and Scripture shows us Ashtaroth² as a name held in honour in the Trans-Jordanic country (Deut. i. 4; Josh. xii. 4; Gen. xiv. 5, &c.). The "pleasing" of Chemosh by the massacre of all the warriors who defended Ataroth, is in accordance with what Scripture tells us of the bloody character of the rites by which he was worshipped (2 Kings iii. 27; Amos ii. 1). The care taken by Mesha to fortify his cities throws light on the declaration that "the spoiler of Moab" should "destroy its strongholds" (Jer. xlviii. 18). The devotion of the "vessels of Jehovah" to Chemosh lends force to Jeremiah's words—"Moab shall be destroyed, because he hath magnified himself against Jehovah" (xlviii. 42).

But the inscription of Mesha does not merely confirm and illustrate Scripture. Like the monument erected by Shishak at Karnak,³ it gives us much additional information with respect to events only lightly touched on in the Bible, helping to fill out the very brief narrative of the writer of Kings. We learn from it that the Moabites, who were reduced to subjection by David (2 Sam. viii. 2; 1 Chron. xviii. 2), and were no doubt among the tributaries of Solomon (1 Kings iv. 21, 24; 2 Chron. ix. 23—26), regained their liberty before the accession of Omri;⁴ that Omri re-conquered them early in his reign, and put a yoke upon them which was regarded as oppressive;⁵ that Ahab, Omri's son, who succeeded him, continued this oppression; that it lasted for a period which might be called, *roundly*, "forty years;" that at length, Mesha, the Moabite tributary king, who had succeeded his father in the sovereignty, regarding himself as divinely commissioned by his god, Chemosh, rebelled; that a war of independence followed with varied success, but that ultimately Mesha prevailed, recovered the various strongholds which the Israelites

had fortified in his territory, and established his sway over the whole Moabite country. While thus employed we find that he not only made himself master of Moab Proper, but also took possession of a number of towns which, at the occupation of the Holy Land, had been seized and peopled by the Reubenites and Gadites; e.g., Baal-Meon, Medeba, Kirjathaim, Ataroth, Nebo, Dibon, and Jahaz.⁶ The result was that Moab, on its re-establishment as an independent kingdom, was very much more powerful than it had ever been before the time of David, and became one of the most dreaded enemies of the Jews and Israelites during the later period of the two monarchies.⁷ Hence the numerous denunciations of the Moabites by the prophets of the later kingdoms, as Isaiah, Amos, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel,⁸ who view Moab as one of the strongest and bitterest antagonists of the chosen people.

One point still remains doubtful when we seek to assign to the inscription its exact relation to the narrative of 2 Kings. According to some, it is a mere amplification of the verse, "Then Moab rebelled against Israel after the death of Ahab" (2 Kings i. 1), which is repeated two chapters later (2 Kings iii. 5) in the form, "But it came to pass, when Ahab was dead, that the king of Moab rebelled against the king of Israel." According to others,⁹ it is an account of the entire struggle between the two countries from the first declaration of independence to the final triumph of Moab some time after the expedition of Jehoram, of which we have an account in 2 Kings iii. 6—27. The first view would make the whole narrative of the war, as given in the inscription, cover a space of less than two years, the two years of the reign of Ahaziah (generally considered to be B.C. 897 and 896). The second would regard the narrative as including the whole period from the accession of Ahaziah (B.C. 897?) to the final establishment of the independence (after the failure of Jehoram's expedition), about B.C. 885. It is difficult to decide between these two views. The latter rests mainly on the statement of the inscription, that the oppression commenced by Omri (not earlier, it is thought, than B.C. 925) lasted "forty years;" the latter on the considerations, that "forty years" may be a mere round number, standing for anything above thirty,¹⁰ and that Omri's reduction of Moab may have fallen as early as B.C. 930.¹¹ In that case thirty-four years would have elapsed from the subjugation by Omri to the re-establishment of Moabite freedom, a space of time which an Oriental would, not improbably, express by the "forty years" of

¹ The two are Kirjathaim, which appears also under the form of Kirjath, and Baal-Meon, which is also called Beth-Baal-Meon. We find Baal-Meon in Numb. xxxii. 33; Beth-Baal-Meon in Josh. xiii. 17.

² The application to the male deity, Chemosh, of a name commonly given to the female deity, Astarte or Ashtoreth, only, is parallel to the use in the Septuagint version of the expression, *Βαλ* (Hos. ii. 8; Zeph. i. 4).

³ See above, p. 106.

⁴ It is a reasonable conjecture that they seized the opportunity offered by the disruption of Solomon's kingdom, in the first year of Rehoboam, to make themselves independent.

⁵ Compare 2 Kings iii. 4.

⁶ See Numb. xxxii. 34—38; Josh. xiii. 16—19.

⁷ 2 Kings xiii. 20; xxiv. 2.

⁸ Isa. xv. and xvi.; Jer. xlviii.; Ezek. xxv. 8—11; Amos ii. 1—3; Zeph. ii. 8—11.

⁹ Dr. Ginsburg is the most important advocate of this view. (See his *Essay on the Moabite Stone*, pp. 14, 15, 33, &c.)

¹⁰ Note that the five numbers, which alone occur in the inscription (30, 40, 50, 200, 7,000) have, all of them, the character of round numbers.

¹¹ Dr. Ginsburg himself admits that the conquest of Moab by Omri immediately after his accession, and while he was still engaged in the civil war with Tibni, is "not impossible for such a powerful general" (p. 53).

the Moabitic text. On the whole, we incline to this latter view, and to the opinion of M. Schlottmann and the Comte Melchior de Vogué, that the pillar was set up in the second year of the Israelite king, Ahaziah, about B.C. 896.

VIII.

An inscription of an Assyrian monarch, known as Shalmaneser II., who reigned (like Mesha, king of Moab) in the ninth century B.C., throws considerable light on the relations subsisting between the kingdoms of Judah, Israel, and Syria during the period treated of in the latter part of the first, and the opening portion of the second, book of Kings. We find in Kings that during the earlier times of the divided monarchy one of the most powerful of the countries with which the Jews and Israelites came into contact was Syria, a country which had for its capital city Damascus, and was ruled by kings, of whom the most important were Benhadad I., Benhadad II., and Hazael. We find Syria under these kings sometimes in alliance, but generally at war with Israel or Judah, or both; sometimes suffering defeat; but for the most part aggressive, manifestly stronger than either of the two Palestinian kingdoms, and especially successful against Israel, with whom Syria is engaged in a contest that has scarcely any pause or break. Benhadad I. makes a league with Asa, the grandson of Rehoboam, and assists him against Baasha of Israel, whose territory he invades on the north, taking various cities and ravaging the whole land of Naphtali (1 Kings xv. 18—20; 2 Chron. xvi. 2—4). Benhadad II. engages in war with Ahab at the head of an army to which contingents are furnished by thirty-two kings (1 Kings xx. 1), invades his country with a large force of horse and chariots, and besieges his capital, but is beaten off. He resumes the offensive, however, with a similar army, the next year (xx. 26), attacks the Trans-Jordanic territory with above 127,000 men, but is again beaten off and suffers great losses, whereupon he makes an ignominious peace (xx. 29—34). There is then a remarkable interval, which is expressly noticed, of "three years without war between Syria and Israel" (1 Kings xxii. 1). This pause is followed by the well-known expedition of Ahab and Jehoshaphat against Ramoth-gilead, for the purpose of recovering it, which fails totally, and in which Ahab falls (1 Kings xxii. 29—36). War continues between Benhadad and Jehoram, the son of Ahab (2 Kings v. 2; vi. 8—23), and at last Samaria is a second time besieged by the great Syrian monarch, and only delivered by miracle (2 Kings vi. 24—33; vii. 1—6). After this, Benhadad II. is murdered by one of his chief officers, Hazael (2 Kings viii. 15), who makes himself king in his room, and continues the war with Israel, first against Jehoram (2 Kings viii. 29), and then against Jehu (2 Kings x. 32, 33), whom he "smites in all his coasts," ravaging, if not conquering from him, the entire Trans-Jordanic territory.

[Such is the general condition of Lower Syria and Palestine in the ninth century B.C., which the first and

second books of Kings disclose to us. Now, the inscription¹ placed by Shalmaneser II., king of Assyria, on a certain black obelisk which may be seen at the British Museum, harmonises very strikingly with this whole account. Shalmaneser relates that he warred in Southern Syria during the space of about sixteen years, or from the sixth to the twenty-first year of his reign, and tells us that his adversary was at first a certain "Bin-idri, of Damascus," whom cuneiform scholars generally identify with Ben-hadad II.,² and afterwards—from his eighteenth to his twenty-first year—a "Khaza-il, king of Damascus," who is beyond a doubt the Scriptural "Hazael."³ He represents these monarchs as his chief enemies in these parts, estimates the force which they could bring into the field at above 80,000 men, notes that they are particularly strong in chariots, and tells us that one of them, Bin-idri, was at the head of a confederacy of at least fifteen kings (compare the "thirty-two kings" of 1 Kings xx. 1). On the first occasion on which he encounters Bin-idri, there was, he says, among the allies who lent that monarch aid, a chief known as "Ahab of Jezreel,"⁴ who brought into the field a contingent of 10,000 footmen and 2,000 chariots. There cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the chief thus designated was Ahab, the son of Omri, king of Israel, who had built himself a palace, where he commonly held his court, at Jezreel.⁵ The fact that Ahab, though both previously and subsequently at war with Benhadad, on this occasion sent a contingent to help him, is at first sight strange and startling. But if the attack of Shalmaneser followed closely (as there is reason to believe it did⁶) upon the peace made between Benhadad and Ahab (1 Kings xx. 34), we can well understand that Ahab may have been willing to succour his neighbour, with whom he was certainly on terms of amity for three years after the conclusion of the peace (1 Kings xxii. 1). The first attack of Assyria on the independence of Southern Syria would naturally be felt by the various kings

¹ This inscription was partially translated by Sir H. Rawlinson in the early days of Assyrian decipherment (1849), and was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* for 1850 (Art. x., pp. 431—448). It was subsequently, when the knowledge of the language and character was much increased, translated in full by the late Dr. E. Hincks, whose version will be found in the *Dublin University Magazine* for October, 1853.

² The "Benhadad" (בְּנֵהדָד) of the Hebrew text was read by the LXX. as "Benhadar" (בְּנֵהדָר), with which "Bin-idri" would correspond closely. Similarly, in 1 Chron. xviii., we find "Hadar-ezer" for "Hadaizezer."

³ The "Hazael" of 2 Kings is in the original הַזָּאֵל, i.e., "Khazael," the first letter being the strong guttural *heth*.

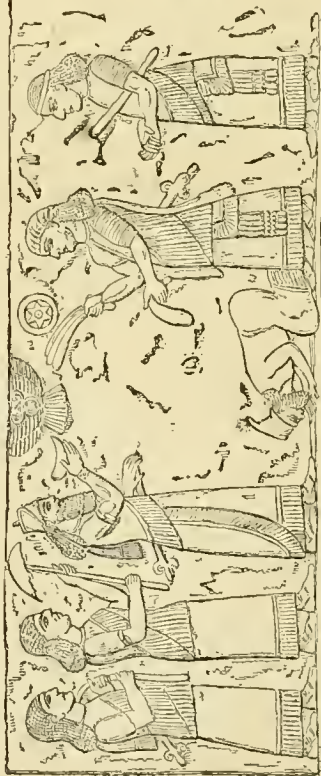
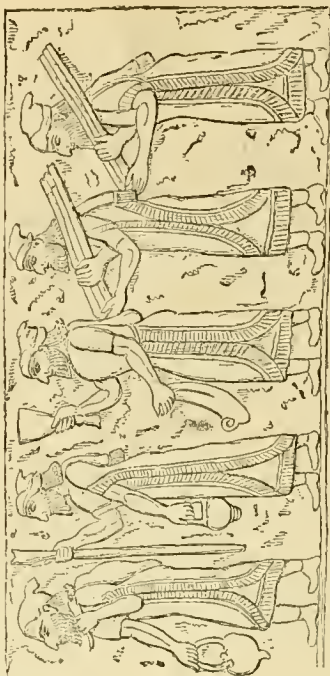
⁴ It has been doubted whether the Assyrian word represents the Hebrew "Jezreel" or "Israel." Those words are very nearly similar (יִזְרְעֵל and יִשְׂרָאֵל), and the Assyrian literature may represent either. But, on the whole, it is thought that "Jezreel," rather than "Israel," is intended.

⁵ See 1 Kings xviii. 46; xxi. 1.

⁶ The inscription of Shalmaneser records a tribute taken from Jehu, which cannot well belong to any later time than his twenty-first year, after which he made no expedition into Syria. The mention of Ahab occurs in the annals of his sixth year, or fifteen years previously. But Ahab died twelve or thirteen years before the accession of Jehu, whence it follows that the facts related of Ahab must belong to the close of his reign, or the time immediately preceding his last Syrian expedition.

of those parts as a common danger, and would induce them to forget their private quarrels and unite in offering resistance to the new and formidable invader. The resistance offered was practically successful; for though the Assyrian monarch claims to have gained a victory over the confederate army, it is plain from his own showing that he made no conquest, but retired baffled from the encounter. It seems to have been under these circumstances that Ahab, having now a double claim upon the Syrian king—a claim of justice (1 Kings xx. 34: "The cities which my father took from thy father, I will restore"), and a claim for service rendered—pressed for the restoration of an important Israelite city, which had not yet been surrendered to him according to the treaty. But Benhadad, puffed up by his recent success, turned a deaf ear to the demand. He refused to give up Ramoth-gilead; and so the short peace (noted in 1 Kings xxii. 1, because of its being so exceptional) came to an end, and the war followed in which Ahab was killed. When, a few years later, Shalmaneser made a second, and afterwards a third, expedition against Benhadad, and that prince had hard work to make head against the invader, it appears from the Black Obelisk inscription that Israel held aloof and lent him no further assistance. It was natural that Jehoram, who must have then been king, should resent the treatment of his father, and the continued retention of Ramoth-gilead, which was still occupied by the Syrians (2 Kings viii. 28). He looked probably without much alarm on expeditions which had more the character of raids than of attempts at conquest, and was not altogether displeased to see his neighbour and rival weakened.

Towards the close of his reign, we find from 2 Kings that Jehoram attacked the Syrians, who were at the time under Hazael, the murderer and successor of Benhadad (2 Kings viii. 29). The inscription of Shalmaneser makes it probable that this attack synchronised with an Assyrian invasion of Syria, and was adventured



on because the main forces of Hazael were engaged in repelling the Assyrian invader. Hazael had to meet Shalmaneser in the twelfth year after Ahab had lent aid to Benhadad; and if that aid was lent, as we have shown to be probable, in the last year but one of Ahab's life, it would be exactly twelve years later that Jehoram made his expedition. As might have been expected under the circumstances, it was successful; Ramoth-gilead was recovered (2 Kings ix. 14), and remained thenceforth in the hands of the Israelites.

Thus far the inscription of Shalmaneser harmonises with the Scriptural narrative, and throws light upon it, but discloses no new fact of much moment beyond the circumstance of Ahab having on one occasion sent troops to the help of Benhadad. In its concluding notice, however, of Syrian matters, the inscription makes an addition to the Biblical record, which is of first-rate interest and importance. An epigraph attached to one of the groups of figures, which accompany and illustrate the inscription, informs us that Jehu, the successor of Jehoram on the throne of Israel, made his submission to the Assyrian monarch (within, as it would seem, ten or twelve years after Jehoram's war with Hazael), and consented to pay him a tribute. The group itself represents the ambassadors of the Israelite king, six in number, of whom the first prostrates himself at the feet of the great king, while the remainder advance towards him in procession, bearing in their hands or upon their shoulders the various articles of which the tribute is composed. Two Assyrian officers introduce the envoys, and one of these officers reads their names, and perhaps a list of the articles which they bring, from a scroll, which he holds in his left hand. We have here the earliest representation that has come down to us of persons belonging to the chosen race; and though perhaps the artist did not aim at much accuracy of

costume or physiognomy, yet there must ever attach an interest to his delineation of the contemporaries of Jehu and Elisha.

THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—IV.

THE PENTATEUCH.

LEVITICUS.

BY THE VERY REV. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

LEVITICUS, the name of the third book of the Pentateuch, is properly an adjective, and was given to it because this section of the Law is almost entirely occupied with the rules and regulations which the Levites were to observe in the service of the sanctuary. But similar matter is found both in Exodus and Numbers, and it does not appear that these three books were originally divided from one another. Certainly the Hebrew name, "*And he called,*" taken as usual from the opening words, properly belongs only to the twenty-fourth section of the fifty-four into which the Jews divide the whole Pentateuch, and which consists of Lev. i.—vi. 7.

As usual the book is extremely desultory in its arrangement; in some instances laws are repeated; in others those upon the same subject are separated by extraneous matter. We seem, in short, to have them as Moses from time to time enacted and published them in the wilderness. But while there is little doubt that the sacrificial and ritual observances of the Jews were the especial work of this great lawgiver, yet it would be a mistake to suppose that they were entirely new. The Jews had received a sacrificial system from the patriarchs, and in Goshen had some sort of constitution both in civil and religious matters. There are reasons for supposing that the Feast of Tabernacles was thus not a recent institution, but an old observance of the people. But Moses remodelled everything, and adapted it to the new state of things which was to be established in Palestine, and also under the spirit of prophecy made the ritual of the tabernacle rich in types of the sacrifice of our Lord.

From the time of Abraham the Israelites had been a people in covenant with God; and circumcision was the outward and visible sign of that covenant, answering to baptism with us. This rite apparently had been strictly observed in Egypt (Josh. v. 5), but most strangely Moses in Midian had neglected to circumcise his own sons (Exod. iv. 24—26), nor was circumcision practised in the wilderness (Josh. v. 2—5). Yet upon it all the rest depended; for the sacrificial system supposed the worshipper to be already in covenant with God, and was his appointed means of approach to him.

The first great division of sacrifices is into (1) those of animals, and (2) those of meat and drink for the altar in the court, and of meat and incense for the holy place within the tabernacle. The latter is the *minchah*, or "unbloody offering," referred to so strikingly in Mal. i. 11, as that which under the Gospel is to become universal in the Church, to the exclusion of animal sacrifices. Of these, besides special offerings, such as the paschal lamb, the red heifer, and the scape-goat,

there are three chief classes—namely, those in which the bodies were entirely burnt; sin-offerings, which were only partly burnt, while the rest was given to the priests; and peace-offerings, in which the flesh of the victim was divided between the altar, the priest, and the sacrificer. Such a sacrifice was in its main aspect a feast.

The animals offered in sacrifice were strictly confined to those five kinds which Abraham had offered (Gen. xv. 9). Probably they were the only animals which, in those days, were both regarded as clean and were domesticated. Oxen, sheep, and goats were man's earliest friends, and of birds the domestic fowl, originally a native of India, was probably unknown in Palestine until the time of Solomon, while the dove and pigeon were reared in coets in very early days. Great care was taken in the selection of the animals, which were to be entirely free from blemish, and, with one special exception—the bullock of seven years old offered by Gideon—were not to exceed the age of three years, the limit also of Abraham's sacrifice. When brought to the altar the victim was carefully examined by the priest, and if pronounced perfect was bound to the north side, and the person who offered it having first pressed his hands upon its head, himself then slew it, though apparently he might appoint a priest as his deputy. The priest then took the blood, and sprinkled it round about the altar, or rather poured it out of the bowl into a channel formed round the rim of the altar, while the sacrificer was engaged in flaying the carcase and cutting it into pieces.

Thus far the rites were the same in all cases; but in the sin-offerings the priest had to take some of the blood with his finger, and touch with it the horns of the altar, while the rest was poured out at its base. If the sin-offering was for the whole congregation, or for the high priest, some of the blood was also brought within the sanctuary, and the priest sprinkled it with his finger seven times before the vail, and put some of it upon the horns of the altar of incense. No doubt there was some means contrived to permit the blood to drain away from the altar; not perhaps in the wilderness, where sacrifices were very rare (Amos v. 25), but afterwards in Palestine. In Jerusalem we are told that a drain conveyed the blood from the altar to the brook Cedron.

Burning a whole victim must have been a difficult process, but apparently it was resorted to only in the more solemn sacrifices. Such a sacrifice was called *'olah*, "an ascending," because the odour of the victim went up with the smoke; occasionally, however, it is called *kalil*, "whole, complete," and we are then probably to understand that the burning was continued

till the whole was actually consumed. In all cases the victim was cut in pieces, which were first sprinkled with salt, and then arranged upon the pile of wood "in order," *i.e.*, the hind-quarters were placed lowermost; then the entrails and viscera, carefully washed, and the fat; next the fore-quarters, and finally the head at the top.

In the case of sin and peace offerings the only parts burnt were the kidneys with the fat round them, and the fat covering or contained in the intestines. The Jews carefully distinguished this internal fat, called *chelev*, from the fat upon the carcase itself. The latter was to be eaten, but in no case whatsoever might the *chelev* be eaten. It is the part which with us goes to the tallow-chandler, though we eat the kidneys and the suet round them. In the case of sheep the fat tail was also to be burnt (Lev. iii. 9).

In most sacrifices a very considerable portion of the victim was the perquisite of the priests. Of the burnt-offerings, the flesh being entirely consumed upon the altar, the hides alone remained their property. Of the sin and trespass offerings the whole of the carcase seems to have been given them, but as the flesh was considered "most holy," it was to be reverently eaten within the precincts of the tabernacle (Lev. vi. 25, 26). Of the peace-offerings, the brisket and right shoulder were the priests' share, and might be taken home for the use of their families. The rest belonged to the sacrificer, who with it feasted his family and friends. Two curious rites were observed in dedicating those portions of the victim reserved for pious uses. The shoulder, which belonged to the priest who had performed the sacrifice, was heaved, *i.e.*, was lifted up, apparently once only, before the Lord; while the breast, which was for the common use of all the priests, was waved, *i.e.*, was moved to and fro, several times. Both these symbolical actions represented the setting of anything apart for the service of Jehovah. Thus the offerings for the building of the tabernacle, the gold, silver, fine linen, jewels, &c., were heaved (Exod. xxv. 2, marg.); while the silver and bronze were waved (xxxv. 22). A meat and drink offering, consisting of flour, oil, and wine, accompanied every burnt-offering and peace-offering, but not the sin-offerings. A small portion of each was consumed upon the altar, and the rest belonged to the priest.

Most of the sacrifices were voluntary and occasional offerings, but some were of a national character. Thus every morning and evening a lamb of a year old, *i.e.*, a full-grown sheep, was burnt upon the altar with its appropriate meat-offerings. By this burnt-offering was symbolised the daily consecration of the nation to Jehovah; while the *minchahs*, or meat-offerings, were partly eucharistic, being the sanctification of man's food to his use by the offering of a portion of it to God; and further, as the offerings were not of food in its natural state, but prepared by human labour, they also signified that all our works are due to God, and should be consecrated to his service.

Though both the bloody and unbloody sacrifices were known from the earliest times (Gen. iv. 3, 4), yet it was

Moses who first arranged them systematically. He too brought out the mystical significance of the blood. In Abel's sacrifice it is the fat which is especially mentioned; and burnt-offerings, consisting probably in the main in burning the fat of the victim, were the usual mode of worship with the patriarchs. Sin-offerings seem to have been entirely unknown till the Law, but we have an instance of peace-offerings in the sacrifices slain by Jacob, which were followed by a feast, at which the flesh of the victims formed the choicest portion of the repast (Gen. xxxi. 54).

The idea of the peace-offering is plainly that of a reconciliation. Just as Jacob's sacrifices consumed in friendly union showed that he and Laban were friends, so the sacrifice partly burnt upon the altar, partly eaten by the priests, but chiefly consumed at a feast by the sacrificer and his friends, signified that he was in covenant and amity with God. But such a sacrifice in its full signification could be offered only by one whose conscience was at peace. Like the Lord's Supper with us, it was the token of acceptance. The worshipper can sit at the table of the King only when he is acknowledged to be his true and loyal follower.

Very different was the idea of the sin-offering. It spoke of a conscience ill at ease, and brooding over the breach between itself and God. Naturally, therefore, it was the creation of the law; for "by the law is the knowledge of sin" (Rom. iii. 20). And apparently it was only to be offered by a penitent. A sinner who persisted in his sin was "cut off from among the people" (Numb. xv. 30); there was no way of access to God provided for him. But sin-offerings were for those who were in communion with God, but were temporarily under his displeasure. They were to be offered, therefore, either for offences committed through ignorance or inadvertence, or for offences followed by repentance.

But the burnt-offering was the one ancient form of sacrifice, of which the rest were but modifications. In them, too, a part was reverently consumed by fire upon the altar, but in it the whole victim was offered to God. Its name, however, *olah*, "an ascending," shows that its main idea was not so much that of the destruction of the victim, on the head of which the offerer had pressed his hands, as the entire dedication of the believer—body, soul, and spirit—to God. He was to mount upwards to God, to surrender himself to him, and endeavour to do his will. And it was this devotion of the soul to God, of the creature to the Creator, which made the burnt-offering a "sweet savour" to Him. Man rising above the earth and mounting heavenwards is, in all ages, the fulfilling of our heavenly Father's will, and was the lesson of this the earliest form of sacrifice.

And this form of sacrifice seems to have been common to all branches of the Semitic race. When Jethro visited his son-in-law, he offered burnt-offerings and also peace-offerings; for these latter must have been the sacrifice at which Jethro feasted Aaron and all the elders of Israel (Exod. xviii. 12). In retaining these Moses was working upon the old lines; but it was left to him to reveal the significance of the blood. Till

his time no special importance seems to have been attached to it. It is in the Levitical law that its spiritual meaning is fully developed. Its mystical meaning had been pointed out long before when Noah was forbidden to eat it, as being the life, that is, the physical means by which animal life is supported. As such it represented the higher element in man. On the one side was his flesh and bones, the material and earthly components of his being; on the other was the blood, which animated them and carried to them that whereby they were maintained in existence. Withdraw the blood, and they fell back by an inevitable decay to that dust out of which they had been taken. The blood, then, was the symbol of the immaterial, of that which lives by itself, and is indestructible and immortal. In short, it was the soul, and in the Hebrew the word used to Noah literally signifies the soul. "Flesh with the soul thereof, which is the blood thereof, ye shall not eat" (Gen. ix. 4). And so again, "For as to the soul of all flesh, its blood is for its soul" (Lev. xvii. 14). In all cases, therefore, it was holy, and might never be eaten, for it was God's. As the symbol of the immaterial and immortal, it was sacred to Him who is immaterial and immortal.

It was in the passover that Moses first brought out its typical meaning. In many ways this sacrifice stood apart from the rest of the Levitical institutions; for each head of a family was himself the priest, who not only was to slay the victim, but even to sprinkle the blood upon the lintels (Exod. xii. 7). No part, too, of this sacrifice was burnt, but the whole was eaten by the people. The blood alone was God's part, and was offered to him as a propitiation for the first-born. Sprinkled with it, the house was protected from the inroads of the destroying angel. And so the blood of our Lord is the propitiation for the souls of men. By death he offered his soul as a sacrifice to God, and so made atonement for our sins. And the lamb was not to be burnt, but eaten; it was not to be consumed by fire, but to be the food and nourishment of the sacrificer; and thus it symbolised the Christian's duty of feeding spiritually upon Christ; and the Passover became the type first of Christ's death, and then of the rite whereby that death is showed forth—the Supper of the Lord.

In the sin-offerings the person of the sacrificer was touched with the blood, while some of it was put upon the horns of the altar, or sprinkled before the vail, and the rest poured out at the base of the altar. All these ceremonies were new, and symbolised the sanctification of the offerer. God had accepted the blood of the victim, and the person of the offerer, touched by God's own portion, was now God's, dedicated to him and sanctified to his service. A real union between God and man was clearly signified in the altar and vail being dyed by the same blood by which the man also was dyed. The blood poured out at the base of the altar was merely the overplus, and probably had no mystical signification.

In all other sacrifices—burnt-offerings, peace-offerings, trespass-offerings—the blood was not sprinkled,

as rendered in our version (*e.g.* Lev. xvii. 6), but was dashed upon the altar. Sprinkling was all but entirely confined to the sin-offerings, and was done either with the finger or with a bunch of hyssop; but the verb is quite different from that used with respect to all other offerings. In them the blood was caught in a large basin or bowl, called *mizrak*, "the pouter," out of which it was cast upon the altar. Its spiritual significance plainly was that the real inward life or soul of the offering was due to God, and must be devoted entirely to him. It was no partial offering, but the entire consecration of all that was best in man to his Creator.

It remains to say a few words about the scape-goat and the red heifer. The former was one of the ceremonies of the great Day of Atonement. Clad then in garments of spotless white, the high priest thrice entered within the vail, being permitted to do so only on that one day of the year. The first time he carried incense; the second, the blood of the priest's sin-offering; the third, the blood of one of two goats, which together formed a sin-offering for the nation. For in this, as in the case of the two birds offered upon the healing of a leper, the symbolism was not completed by the death of the victim, and thus two animals were selected similar in size and colour, one of which, chosen by lot to live, took up the meaning upon the death of the other, and carried it forward to the end. In the Hebrew this goat, rendered in our version "the scape-goat," literally is "the goat for Azazel." In the revised version the words are rendered thus: "Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats: one for the LORD (*i.e.* Jehovah), the other lot for Azazel. . . . The goat on which the lot fell for Azazel, shall be set alive before the LORD to make atonement for him, to send him away for Azazel into the wilderness" (Lev. xvi. 8, 10). What is the exact meaning of Azazel, a word which occurs only here, is most uncertain. Some think it means "the goat dismissed," others that it is a name for the wilderness, and others that of an evil demon. This probably is the right notion, as it was an ordinary opinion of the Jews that the wilderness was the abode of evil spirits (Isa. xiii. 21). Of the meaning of the sacrifice there is no doubt. One goat, chosen by lot, was sacrificed as a sin-offering for the nation, whose sins were then carried far away into the desolate wilderness, back to him who is the author of sin. In no more complete manner could the absolute removal of sin be typified. The victim, restored as it were to life by the substitution of another in its place, carries away all the guilt of the people into regions remote from all human ken.

Remembering that the two goats were but one sacrifice, the typical representation of our Saviour's death is most clear. He needed indeed no sin-offering first, as Aaron (Lev. xvi. 6; Heb. vii. 27), but was himself the nation's one perfect offering for sin, carried by himself as the true High Priest within the vail, and there presented before God. And no sooner has he entered than the vail is rent from the top to the bottom, to show that access to

the Deity is now open to every believer, without any further priest or sacrifice. Finally having made the one perfect atonement, and reconciled God and man, he entirely removes man's guilt, and throws it back upon him who first tempted man to sin. As a symbol of man's joy at deliverance, and also of the glorification of Christ's human nature which followed upon his humiliation (Phil. ii. 9), the high priest now laid aside his garments of white, and put on the golden garments that were for "glory and beauty."

Lastly, in the sacrifice of the red heifer the purifying effects of the atonement were set forth. It was instituted after the plague which smote the multitude for their share in the sin of Korah, and probably was connected with lustrations for the cleansing of the camp and people, not merely from ceremonial defilements, but for sanitary purposes. The impression it made upon men's minds is shown by its forming the subject of the second Sura of the Koran, where it occupies many pages. A red heifer, perhaps because man, Adam, was formed from the *adamah*, or red ground, was taken outside the camp, and there entirely burnt. Its ashes were then carefully gathered, and laid up, to be used afterwards in all rites for purification from ceremonial defilement. So we read in Hebrews (xiii. 11, 12) our

Lord suffered without the gate, on the outside of Jerusalem—suffered, that is, separately from his people, that they might be sanctified from the guilt of sin by his blood.

The prophetic teaching of these sacrifices was often, no doubt, veiled from the worshippers; but they showed them at all events their need of one to come between them and God, of one who, as both priest and victim, could enter into the holy place, and intercede for them with God. And besides there was their plain teaching. The offerer, himself stained by sin, was to sacrifice to God an innocent and unblemished victim, and by the contrast was humbled for sin, and a deeper sense of guilt was brought home to him, seeing that for his fault the innocent must die. Next there was the mounting upwards of the victim to God, leaving this vain world behind, and so showing what is man's real duty, and his best hope. Finally there was the teaching that the soul is God's. That which is man's true and better life, the immaterial as opposed to his material part, is consecrated to Him who is the true author of man's life; and thus man was taught, even if it were but dimly, that he has in him something godlike and divine, and could not therefore have been created merely for a temporary and earthbound existence.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—IX.

THE PATRIARCHS.

MOSES (*continued*).

BY THE REV. J. P. NORRIS, M.A., CANON OF BRISTOL.

I.—COTEMPORARY EGYPTIAN HISTORY (*continued*).

HOLY Scripture, as we have seen, favours the shorter chronology. The Egyptian monuments favour it also, for in the ruins of the great temple at Tanis (Zoan) a tablet was found eight years ago, dated in the reign of Rameses II., and 400 years from the era of "Set the Golden," the Baal or sun-god of the Phœnician branch of the shepherd kings. Now the *first* of the shepherd kings is styled "The beloved of Set." Counting backwards 400 years from Rameses II., whose date is the middle of the fourteenth century B.C., we obtain 1750 B.C. as the date of the first shepherd king—260 years before the Exodus. If, then, we have good grounds for believing that it was a shepherd king who received and befriended Joseph, we must adopt the shorter (215), not the longer (430) period for the Egyptian sojourn. This shorter term, tallying as it does with the genealogies, and with the passage in Gal. iii., and reconcileable (as we have seen) with Gen. xii. 13 and Exod. xii. 40, and confirmed by the Egyptian monuments, would doubtless have been accepted by all, but for the supposed difficulty of accounting in this brief period of 215 years for the enormous multiplication of the Israelites. But this difficulty has been

gratuitously exaggerated by nearly all who have discussed it.

It is true we read that "all the souls that came of the loins of Jacob," and migrated into Egypt, "were seventy souls." And it is true that the number that marched out of Egypt was 600,000 males, besides women and young children—implying a population of 2,000,000 perhaps. But we need not suppose that *seventy* multiplied into 2,000,000. The seventy are exclusively the male members of the patriarchal family, "of the loins of Jacob." Each adult would have his wives, and each of the twelve patriarchs would have hundreds of herdsmen and retainers. The immense size of these patriarchal households we know: when Abraham rescued Lot, he took with him 318 trained servants "born in his own house." Isaac's household was mightier than the Philistines could support. When Jacob met Esau, he formed his herdsmen and retainers into two bands.

Each of the twelve patriarchs, when they went down into Egypt, would probably carry with him a household of this size; and all the males born in the house being circumcised, their descendants would be reckoned as "children of Israel." Thus the original number that multiplied into 2,000,000 was not seventy, but more

probably some 2,000 or 3,000. And with this agrees the narrative, which tells us how they brought all their flocks and their herds with them, implying a very large number of servants and herdsmen, and how a large tract of country was at once assigned them.

Now remembering how emphatically the writer mentions the prolific increase of the people ("they were fruitful and increased abundantly, and multiplied and waxed exceeding mighty, and the land was filled with them"), we may well conceive them doubling their population in every twenty years; and this would suffice to multiply 2,000 into 2,000,000 in 215 years. Thus the commonly received chronology of the Mosaic record may be cleared from difficulty and brought into very satisfactory harmony with the monumental history of Egypt, so far as it has yet been deciphered.

The following table exhibits the net results of these investigations:—

n.c.	
1921	The call of Abraham.
1750	The rise of the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings of Egypt.
1706	Jacob's migration into Egypt.
1572	Re-establishment of the native dynasty (the 18th) under Aahmes, the "new king that knew not Joseph."
	The order for the destruction of the infants, apparently in the three years that intervened between the birth of Aaron and of Moses.
1491	The Exodus.
1349	Death of Rameses II., supposed to be the Sesostris of the Greeks.
1012	The building of the Temple in the 430th year after the Exodus (1 Kings vi. 1).
990—970	Sheshonk I. of the 22nd Dynasty, who may be clearly identified with the Shishak of Rehoboam's reign.

II.—FROM THE BIRTH OF MOSES TO THE NIGHT OF THE PASSOVER.

Enough has now been given of the cotemporary Egyptian history to explain how critical was the epoch at which Moses was born. One hundred years of royal favour had made the Israelites in Egypt a most prosperous nation. "Great, mighty, and populous" (Deut. xxvi. 5); skilful artificers and weavers (Exod. xxxv. —xxxix.), with a military as well as civil organisation apparently (Exod. v. 19; vi. 26); "mightier than their enemies" (Ps. cv. 24);—such were they, when a change of dynasty brought a sudden reverse, and the new Pharaoh resolved to crush them. Bondage with hard labour being insufficient, the horrible decree of infanticide went forth: "Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river."

There was a man of the priestly tribe of Levi, Amram by name, whose wife, Jochebed, a Levite also, had borne him two children already before the fatal decree; their third child was so fair she could not endure to lose him. When she could conceal him no longer, she placed him in a covered basket, made watertight with pitch, among the papyrus rushes of the river's brink, the elder, Miriam or Mary, lingering near the spot to watch.

Pharaoh's daughter coming to bathe, and walking along by the water-side, saw the basket, and bade one of her maidens draw it to land. "And when she had opened it, she saw the child; and, behold, the babe

wept. And she had compassion on him, and said, This is one of the Hebrews' children." Miriam seeing all, took courage to come forward, and offered to call a Hebrew woman who should nurse the child for the princess, and ran and fetched her mother. "And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it. And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son."

That the child was altogether adopted by the princess and educated as an Egyptian, appears clearly from the Egyptian name¹ given to him, and from the tradition preserved from Stephen's words that he was "educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." Whether he spent his early life at Avaris (Zoan), comparatively near to Goshen, or, according to Josephus, at Heliopolis, nearer to Memphis, we cannot now say. Wherever it was, it may safely be inferred from Exodus (ii. 11), and from Stephen's words (Acts vii. 23), that until he was forty years of age he had no intercourse with his countrymen.

Then came the decisive choice of his life on which the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews lays so much stress. Should he choose the Egyptian career which God's providence (might he not so have argued?) seemed to open before him, a career of high rank and wealth, and abundant opportunities as an Egyptian statesman of befriending his own nation as Joseph had done? Or should he renounce all this, and cast in his lot at once, for better or for worse, with his oppressed people? He wavered not; *this* was not the land which God swore unto his fathers to give them.² He remembered the promise made Abraham, that "after four hundred years the nation whom they shall serve will I judge," said God. The time was come. Therefore, "by faith, Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ" (for the Anointed One and the anointed people were mystically identified,³ and the invisible Christ was with his "church" in Egypt, as later "in the wilderness"⁴)—"esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt; for he had respect unto the recompense of the reward."⁵ Was Moses conscious of all this when he formed his great resolve? More so, perhaps, than hasty readers think. At any rate, he saw consciously that the *cause of God* required it of him; and to an Israelite "the

¹ The Coptic form of the name is preserved in the Greek *Μωϋσῆς* (mo, "water;" *ushe*, "saved"), or according to the *Speaker's Commentary*, *mesu*, "brought forth." The Hebrews gave him a name as near to this as they could, *Mosheh*, from the Hebrew *מָשָׁה* *mashah*, to "draw forth." The Coptic name is not an unusual one in the inscriptions.

² Deut. vi. 23.

³ So Ps. cv. 15, "Touch not mine Anointed, and do my prophets no harm." So, too, "Out of Egypt have I called my Son," as applied in Matt. ii. 15.

⁴ Acts vii. 38.

⁵ Heb. xi. 26.

cause of God" meant the Promise, the Messianic hope, One ever with them whom they saw not, "the Angel of the covenant."

"It came into his heart," is St. Stephen's phrase, "to visit his brethren." And when "he looked upon their burdens," when he saw them crushed to the earth by their oppressors, a burning desire fired his soul, which he felt as a call from God, to be their deliverer. But how should he commence? how make known to them his mission? how win their confidence? An opportunity seemed to offer itself. "Seeing one of them suffer wrong"—the monuments enable us to picture what he saw, the prostrate Israelite, and the Egyptian standing over him with his bastinado—"he defended him, and avenged him that was oppressed," and "looking this way and that, and seeing no man, he slew the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand." But he who would be a deliverer must at the same time be a reformer. And Moses knew it. To smite the oppressor was not enough; he must unite and discipline the oppressed. And this was his next effort. "The next day he shewed himself unto his brethren as they strove, and would have set them at one again, saying, Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another? But he that did his neighbour wrong thrust him away, saying, Who made thee a ruler and judge over us?" Thus defeated—for he had both provoked the anger of the Egyptians, and failed to rally round him the Israelites—he fled, fled to those Arabian wilds near Sinai, where another branch of Abraham's family, the Midianites, shepherded their flocks. May we recognise in them the shepherd race, so recently expelled from Egypt, the kinsmen of the Pharaoh who had befriended Joseph and his brethren? If so, how natural that Moses should seek their protection! He became the shepherd and son-in-law of their priest and prince—their *sheikh*, as he would now be called—Jethro.² And there in the family of Jethro forty long years are spent. How these years were occupied, whether he may not have found time to explore the old homes of his race, the land that was one day to be theirs, whose geography seems so familiar to him in the pages of Genesis, or how his impetuous spirit, during these long years of patient waiting, was schooled into "meekness," we are not told.

Not until the fortieth year was it revealed to him that the time was ripe, and that he might now with appearance of success undertake the deliverance of his people. The revelation was clearly a surprise. Indeed, it seems probable that up to this time Moses had not known God in the higher sense in which Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph had known Him. The covenant to him was a tradition, and as such most precious to him; but a tradition only. For two hundred years God had not spoken to any of his people; there had been no "open vision."³ No wonder, then, that Moses hid his face,

and was afraid to look up, when 'out of that mystical light came the Divine voice calling him by name, and bidding him draw near, for it was the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob, that was speaking to him.

Most strikingly do we see the change which those forty years had wrought in Moses, in the deep humility of his reply, when the Lord now lays his commission on him:—"Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh?" There is no fear, only the mistrust of self which long years of disappointment had taught him. No less striking is the calmness with which he accepts the commission when assured that He who spake to him would be with him. God would be with him, but by what Name would He reveal himself?

We shall not fully understand this question or the answer unless we bear in mind, that what a graven image or some outward symbol was to all other nations, that a *Name*, and a *Name* only, was to the Israelite. Again and again they are reminded that they had never "seen a similitude," only had they heard a Voice, and heard a Name proclaimed. And that Name—known to the patriarchs indeed, but not understood by them—is now more fully revealed to Moses as the name by which especially God willed that His covenant people should know Him, I AM, "Ehyeh" (modified into "Jahveh," or "Jehovah"⁴), implying absolute *existence* and nothing more—forbidding, as it were, further inquiry. It is to be regretted that in our English translation "the LORD" has been always substituted for the proper name Jehovah.

Thus commissioned and instructed, Moses bade farewell to Jethro, and set forth. He was eighty years of age; but if forty years after this it could be said of him that "his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated," then much more now, we may be sure, he was in the possession of perfect energy and strength. Incidentally we learn one reason for the long delay of these forty years: "Go, return into Egypt: for all the men are dead that sought thy life." The generation that had first rejected him⁵ were thus punished for their sin—having forfeited for their lifetime the deliverance meant for them, just as their children in their turn forfeited, for another lifetime, admission to their promised land.

On the journey into Egypt, with his wife and children, occurred that obscure incident at the inn. Moses apparently was stricken with sickness; and his Midianitish wife taking it as a punishment for the neglect of their child's circumcision (a neglect for which she perhaps rather than Moses was responsible), herself performed the rite, not without some taunt, which led perhaps to their separation and her return to Jethro.

⁴ The true pronunciation is entirely lost: from a misunderstanding of Lev. xxiv. 16, the Jews abstained from pronouncing the original name. Exod. iii. 14 clearly indicates the true etymology from the verb *הָיָה*, *hayah*, or (in older Hebrew) *הָיָה*, *hawah*, which in the third person of the present would have *h* prefixed.

⁵ Acts vii. 35.

¹ This is Ewald's conjecture.

² Called also Renel (or Raguel, as the LXX. spell it), father of Zipporah and Hobab (for in Judg. iv. 11, *חָתָן* means brother-in-law).

³ 1 Sam. iii. 1.

Aaron his elder brother meeting him by God's appointment, the two re-entered Goshen together, and to the elders of their nation, Aaron—the fluent speaker—declared the commission which Moses had received, confirming his words with the promised signs of that wonder-working rod. And all the people believed, and “bowed their heads and worshipped.”

And now Moses and Aaron stand before Pharaoh: “Thus saith Jehovah, God of Israel, Let my people go, that they may hold a feast unto me in the wilderness.”

The demand is met by a contemptuous refusal, and the taskmasters are bidden to increase the severity of the Israelites' labour, obliging them to scatter themselves over the country to find their own straw for the brick-making. The mention of the “stubble” as still standing in the fields seems to imply that it was early spring, just after the corn was cut (a full year, therefore, before the Exodus); and not till the Nile was rising (in June) was Moses a second time sent to Pharaoh.

The Hebrew officers who had to make returns of the work to the Egyptian taskmasters were deputed to expostulate with Pharaoh, but reported to Moses their ill success. Then we are told that Moses “returned unto the Lord.” This phrase, implying a power on Moses' part of placing himself as it were in Jehovah's presence, will frequently recur. Does it mean that the bright light of glory which appeared first to him in the burning bush, was still with him? Exod. iii. 12 seems to imply it, and such passages as Exod. xxv. 22; Numb. vii. 89 indicate that it was distinctly localised, after the completion of the tabernacle. But how it may have been in Goshen is matter of mere conjecture. Possibly Moses there, like the patriarchs whenever they rested, had “built an altar to the Lord” (compare Gen. xii. 7; xiii. 18).²

Communing with him at that altar, or in the stillness of his tent, or wherever else it might be, God renewed his promise. God there declared to Moses that though the patriarchs had known Him as Almighty, yet the full meaning of his name Jehovah—that is, the intense *personality* implied in this name—had never been realised by them. To Moses it shall be realised; Jehovah will speak with him as friend with friend (xxxiii. 11). Such seems to be the meaning of this confessedly difficult passage.³

Thus emboldened, and armed with such wonder-working power as might well terrify the Pharaoh, Moses and

Aaron once more presented themselves at his court. For awhile the jugglers⁴ seemed to rival and so discredit their miracles. But when the third plague came, the terrible mosquitoes, the magicians themselves were overawed and confessed, “It is the finger of God!” Of these ten plagues two things may be observed:—*First*, they were thoroughly Egyptian; the discolouration of the Nile, the frogs, the mosquitoes, the flies, the murmin, the locusts, the gloom of the sandstorm, are all natural to Egypt; but, *secondly*, they were no less clearly miraculous, for they came at the command of Moses, and in terrible intensity, and afflicted the Egyptians, while they touched not the Israelites.

Again and again it is repeated that “Pharaoh's heart was hardened,” or that “God hardened Pharaoh's heart:” for, as one of the Fathers⁵ has remarked, “the same heat of the same sun softens wax and hardens clay:” so the gracious warnings which would have softened the heart of a better man, only hardened that of Pharaoh; according to the laws of God's providence declared by Christ, “He that hath (is disposed to have) shall have more abundantly, and he that hath not (is unwilling to have grace) from him shall be taken even that he hath.”

At length, in the spring of the following year, came the most terrible of all these ten chastisements, not without due warning, and the most careful preparation on the part of God's people, who were told that this would be final, and they must be prepared to march.

And first the warning. It was Moses' last interview with the king. “Thus saith Jehovah, At midnight there shall be a great cry throughout the land of Egypt, and all the first-born in the land shall die.” Then the Israelites were instructed to *demand*⁶ gold and silver from the terror-stricken Egyptians, and to have their herds and flocks, their clothes and household stuff ready for the march on the appointed night.

But this night, being “a night much to be observed,” no less indeed than the birthright of their life as a nation, was to be hallowed by a special service. In all their households the lamb had been slain as the sun went down, and was being eaten, as they stood staff in hand, their loins girded for the march, when there rose on the night air the long wail of the Egyptian mourners. The destroying angel had smitten their first-born. Not a house where there was not one dead! Well may the Israelite mothers, as they listened to the Egyptians' cry, and clasped their own first-born to their heart, have felt that they were indeed a redeemed people—redeemed by that lamb's blood on the doorstep which warned the destroyer to spare and “pass over.” So in the after years, when their children asked them, “What mean ye by this service?” they were

¹ Probably in the city of Tanis or Zoan (Ps. lxxviii. 12).

² From the narrative of Exod. xviii., where Jethro visits Moses “in his tent,” and offers sacrifice, and then (in Moses' tent, apparently) sits down to a sacred feast “before the Lord,” it would appear that it was in his own tent that Moses communed with Jehovah. With this agrees the Septuagint in Exod. xxxiii. 7, which speaks of Moses' tent (τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ) as the abode of God's presence before the erection of the tabernacle. (See Blunt's *Coincidences*, pp. 8–10.)

³ The difficulty is increased in our translation by the insertion of “by:” in the original it is, “My name Jahveh was I not known to them.” The name was not a new name (see Gen. xv. 7); but they had not known Him who bore the name, as Moses was to know Him. Nor was Moses to know Him as the Christian was to know Him. Christ seemed to claim the name when He said, “Before Abraham was I AM.”

⁴ The Jannes and Jambres of 2 Tim. iii. 8; see Lightfoot's savage *Fifth of November* sermon on this text. “Paul takes an argument from their own authors and concessions” (not asserting it by inspiration).

⁵ Theodoret, quoted by most of the Commentaries.

⁶ Why our translators rendered the common word *ἵκεν* by “borrow” it is difficult to see. They were to demand these gifts doubtless in compensation for their long unpaid labour.

bidden to reply, "It is the sacrifice of the passover to Jehovah, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt when He smote the Egyptians, and delivered our houses."

That very night Pharaoh sent in haste, saying, "Get you forth from among my people;" and the Egyptians were urgent to send them away, for they said, "We be all dead men!"

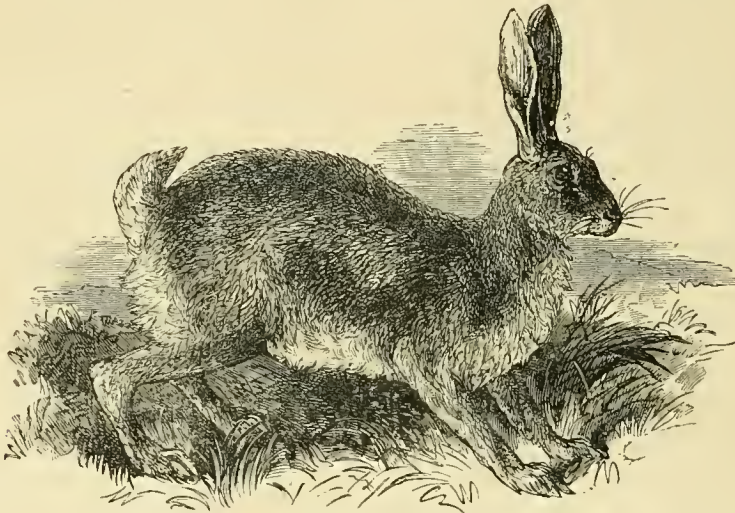
ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.—VI.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

HARE.

THIS rodent is mentioned only in the list of animals not allowed to be eaten by the Israelites—"The hare, because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof, he is unclean unto you" (Lev. xi. 6; Dent. xiv. 7). Of course it is well known that the hare is no rumi-

probably referred to an unused Hebrew root, *ranab*, "to run;" or it may be to the Arabic *anaba*, "to hasten" or "run quickly," which is very suitable to the swift hare. Very similar is the derivation of our English word *hare*, the Anglo-Saxon *hara*, the German *hase*, the Sanskrit *sasa*, "a hare or a rabbit," from the root *sas*, "to jump," "to move by leaping."



EGYPTIAN HARE (*Lepus Aegyptiacus*).

nant, and does not chew the cud; but as it is in the constant habit of twitching the lips, both when it is eating and at other times, it has been erroneously regarded as a ruminant. Goldsmith informs us that "the rhinoceros, the horse, the rabbit, the marmot, and the squirrel all chew the cud by intervals," which is utterly untrue. The simple fact is that all ruminants are bisulcate—i.e., divide the hoof into two parts—and all bisulcates are ruminant. The hornless ruminants belonging to the genera *Camelus* and *Llama* differ somewhat from other ruminants in the structure of the foot. The toes of the camel are conjoined nearly to the apex, and the feet are callous beneath; in the llama the sole is cloven as far as the middle of the fore-part. Hence, in point of fact, all ruminants are bisulcate, but not to an equal extent. The Hebrew word for the hare is *arnebeth*, and there is not a shadow of doubt that it is correctly rendered. Both the kindred languages and tradition point to the hare as the animal denoted by *arnebeth*; the etymology of the name is

Two species of hare, Dr. Tristram writes, are common in the Holy Land; and two others, perhaps only varieties or races of one of the others, are occasionally met with. "In the northern regions and all the wooded and cultivated portions of the country, the only hare is the *Lepus Syriacus*, which is there very common. It is of the same size and colour as the English hare, and extremely like it, but is rather shorter in the ear and broader in the head. It has four young at a birth. The common hare of the southern region of Judæa and of the Jordan valley is *Lepus Aegyptiacus*, a much smaller animal, scarcely larger than a full-grown rabbit, with very long ears and a light tawny fur. It is very abundant in the most desolate regions, and, like the last species, has four young at a birth. We found the leverets at various times of the year. There are two other species only occasionally to be met with on the south-eastern frontier, *Lepus Sinaiticus* and *Lepus isabellinus*, one the characteristic hare of Arabia, the other of the Egyptian desert" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 99).

Russell, in his *Natural History of Aleppo*, states that neither the Turks nor other natives are fond of the flesh of the hare, that the Arabs eat it, but the Armenian Christians from a religious scruple abstain from

non putant" (*B. G.* v. 12). But prejudice entertained by modern races against hare's flesh is far from uncommon. Burton tells us that the Somal Arabs will not touch it; M. Crantz says that the Greenlanders, if in



MEN CARRYING HARE, BIRDS, ETC. (BRITISH MUSEUM.)

it. Aversion to hare's flesh is not confined to Orientals; to this day, we believe, the Laplanders and some other Europeans regard it with horror. Formerly this aversion prevailed to a much greater extent than it does now. The ancient Britons were not allowed by their religion to eat hare, fowls, or geese, at least so says Cæsar: "Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas

want, will eat foxes rather than hares. Among the Hottentots the hare was eaten by the women, but was forbidden to men. M. Schlegel states that the prejudice against it existed amongst the ancient Chinese; it is curious also to remark that neither in the Danish *Kitchen-Middins*, nor in the Swiss *Pfahlbauten*, or lake habitations, have any remains of the hare been discovered,

with the exception of one or two bones. "The almost entire absence of the hare" Sir John Lubbock with much reason attributes to "the curious prejudice which was and is entertained by many races against the flesh of this animal" (*Prehistoric Times*, 2nd edition, p. 190). The following is Dr. Russell's description of hare-hunting in Syria:—"At present (1790 *cire*.) the gentlemen course with native greyhounds, assisted by a hawk of the same kind with that employed for antelopes. The company, consisting of twenty or thirty horsemen, servants included, draw up in a line at the distance of six or eight feet. Near each end of the line, which is termed the 'Barabar,' two brace of greyhounds are led by footmen; and advanced a little before the centre, the falconer rides.

"It should be remarked that the dog-leaders are surprisingly adroit in finding a hare, and are encouraged by a reward if they give proper notice, which is done by calling out deliberately, 'Yatoo!' (She sleeps!) In this order the Barabar advances slowly, and as soon as the hare is put up, one or a brace of the nearest greyhounds are slipped, and the falconer, galloping after them, throws off his hawk. Such of the company as choose follow; the others remain standing in the Barabar, to which the sportsmen return when the chase is over. The hare cannot run long when the hawk behaves properly, but sometimes, getting the start of the dogs, she gains the next hill and escapes. It now and then happens, when the hawk is fierce and voracious in an unusual degree, that the hare is struck dead at the first stroke; but that is very uncommon, for the hawks preferred for hare-hunting are taught to pounce and buffet the game, not to seize it, and they rise a little between each attack to descend again with fresh force. In this manner the game is confused and retarded till the greyhounds come in" (ii., p. 155).

The Arabs in the vicinity of Aleppo have a singular mode of cooking a hare. A hole dug in the ground is filled with dried brushwood, and upon this when thoroughly kindled the hare is laid without any preparation, or even removing the flue or entrails. When the fire has ceased blazing, the earth that had been dug out and laid round the edges, being now thoroughly heated, is raked over the hare, which is left thus covered up till sufficiently roasted. Its own gravy with a little salt composes the sauce. The dish is said by those who have eaten it to be excellent.

The *Lepus Ægyptiacus* is a native of the valley of the Nile as well as the two deserts; its figure occurs frequently on the Egyptian monuments, where the sculptor has not failed to indicate the great length of its ears. According to Horopollo (*Hieroglyph.* i. 26), when the Egyptians wished to denote an opening they delineated a hare, "because this animal always has its eyes open." The hare seems to have been one of the animals hunted by the Egyptians, and was probably used as food. The Coptic name is *pat-phat*, each of which syllables denotes "a foot," and perhaps has reference to the animal's swiftness. Figures of the hare are not uncommon in the Assyrian sculptures.

It is generally represented as carried by the hind-legs in the hand of an attendant upon the huntsmen, who were probably expert enough to transfix it with an arrow while running. That coursing the hare with greyhounds was also pursued by the Assyrians, is evident from a bronze dish which Mr. Layard found at Nimroud, and which is now in the British Museum. The dogs represented coursing hares are clearly of the greyhound type, and very different from the powerful mastiff employed in the chase of wild oxen or fierce carnivora (see page 57). Figures of eagles devouring hares are also sometimes represented. Rabbits are not indigenous to any of the Bible lands; they have been introduced into Syria. The original home of the rabbit seems to have been in Spain and the Balearic Islands (see on this subject our paper on "The Rabbit as known to the Ancients," *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* for March, 1869).

BAT.

The order known to systematists as *Cheiroptera* is well represented in Palestine, certain cavernous recesses being said to be literally swarming with these animals. The Hebrew word for "bat" is *'atalleph*, which, according to some, is derived from two roots—*'atal*, "to be dark," and *eph*, "flying," hence the "night-flyer." It is mentioned in the list of unclean birds forbidden as food to the Israelites (Lev. xi. 19; Dent. xiv. 18). The ancient Hebrews, like the Arabs, regarded the bat as a bird on account of the membranous expansion—so characteristic of this mammal—which bestows upon it the power of flight. Bats are mentioned with moles (mole-rats) by the prophet Isaiah, as frequenting ruins and desolate places: "In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver and his idols of gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and to the bats" (ii. 20). In the Book of Baruch (vi. 22) it is said of the Babylonian idols, "Upon their bodies and heads sit bats, swallows, and birds, and the cats also."

Of the bats of Palestine Dr. Tristram thus writes:—"One small species of short-tailed bat (*Vesperugo Kuhlii*), well known in the south of Europe, swarms in the quarries under the Temple at Jerusalem, and in the Cave of Adullam, to such a degree that it is almost impossible to keep a torch alight while creeping through the caverns. Another small species, with a tail as long as its body, and a singular horse-shoe nose, characteristic of several genera—*Rhinopoma microphyllum*—also found in Egypt, dwells in thousands in the caves by the Dead Sea and in the Jordan valley. In Galilee especially, near the Lake of Gennesaret, the caves are inhabited by clouds of a very large tawny-coloured bat, *Taphozous nudiventris*, an African species. In the wooded districts of the country we also found in caves a large fox-headed tawny bat (*Xantharpyia Ægyptiaca*), measuring more than twenty inches across the wings. Besides these several other species were collected by us; among others the greater horse-shoe bat, rather rare in England (*Rhinolophus ferrum-equinum*); another horse-

shoe bat (*Rh. clivosus*); the European mouse-coloured bat (*Vespertilio murinus*). The common long-eared bat of England (*Plecotus auritus*) flits constantly about the Sea of Galilee, and harbours in the glens near it; and other

Mr. Layard also speaks of the abundance of bats in a cavern near the hill of Koukab:—"We advanced cautiously, but not without setting in motion an avalanche of loose stones, which, increasing as it rolled onwards,



GRETHOUNDS CHASING HARES. (FROM AN ANCIENT DISH IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.)

South European and Egyptian species are met with. In Central Palestine, as in Britain, the bats are dormant during the winter, but in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, owing to the warmth of the climate, we found them active throughout the year" (*Nat. Hist. B.b.*, p. 46).

by its loud noise disturbed swarms of bats that hung to the sides and ceiling of the cavern. Flying towards the light, these noisome beasts almost compelled us to retreat. They clung to our clothes, and our hands could scarcely prevent them settling on our faces. The

rustling of their wings was like the noise of a great wind, and an abominable stench arose from the recesses of the cave" (*Nineveh and Babylon*, Sec. Exped., p. 307). Figures of bats occur in the tombs of Thebes and Beni Hassan; according to Horapollo, when the Egyptians would symbolise a man who is weak and audacious, they portray a bat, for she flies though destitute of feathers; and again, when they wished to represent a woman suckling and bringing up her children well, they portray a bat with teeth and breasts, as being the only winged creature which has teeth and breasts (*Hieroglyph.*, ii. 52, 53). Dr. Kalisch says that the bat was by some tribes eagerly caught and eaten, especially salted (Comment. on Lev. xi. 19). We may observe that a species of fruit-eating bat, the *kalong* of Sumatra and Timor (*Pteropus edulis*), a large creature, having an expanse of wings five feet, and a body a foot long, is at present eaten by the natives. The flesh, which is white, is said to be tender and good.

Leaving the *Rodentia*, we will now come to the *Ungulata*, a large order of hoofed quadrupeds, which modern zoologists now divide into two well-defined groups, the *Perissodactyla*, or "odd-toed" ungulates—containing the horse, tapir, and rhinoceros—and the *Artiodactyla*, or "even-toed." This latter is subdivided into four sections: (1) The non-ruminating or *Suina*, as pigs, peccaris, and hippopotami; (2) the enshoon-footed or *Tylopoda*, as the camels and llamas; (3) the *Tragulina* or Chevrotains, a group of small deer-like animals, once associated with the musk-deer; (4) the *Pecora*, containing deer, sheep, giraffes, antelopes, oxen, and goats. These three last divisions correspond with the order *Ruminantia* of Cuvier. Of the *Perissodactyla* mentioned in the Bible, we shall have to consider only the horse, the ass, and the mule; while under the *Artiodactyle* division, the wild boar, the hippopotamus, camel, deer, sheep, ox, and goat will form subjects for our consideration.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.—IV.

BY THE REV. CANON RAWLINSON, M.A., CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

IX.

INSCRIPTIONS of the Assyrian monarch whom the Jews called "Tiglath-pileser," or "Tilgath-pilneser,"¹ illustrate and confirm very remarkably the narrative contained in 2 Kings xv., xvi., and 2 Chron. xxviii. 16—21. The Jewish historians relate that in the days of Pekah, king of Israel, Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, made war upon him on two several occasions. On the first, he attacked the northern portion of Pekah's territories, capturing "Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead (?),² and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali" (2 Kings xv. 29), and carrying the inhabitants away captive into Assyria. On the second, answering the invitation of Ahaz, king of Judah, he made war on the confederate kings of Israel and Syria, Pekah and Rezin; besieged the latter in Damascus, forced him to surrender, and killed him (2 Kings xvi. 9); attacked the Trans-Jordanic territory of the former, and completely reduced it, carrying into captivity the entire population—"the Reubenites, the Gadites, and half the tribe of Manassah"—whom he removed "to Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river of Gozan," or the tract between the Tigris and Euphrates, which the Jews and Assyrians called "Gozan," and the Greeks "Gauzanitis,"³ or more gene-

rally "Mygdonia."⁴ After these successes, Ahaz paid a visit to his protector and suzerain at Damascus, and there saw an altar, the pattern of which he took and sent to the high priest at Jerusalem, who was ordered to set it up in the Temple, and to make use of it for the daily morning and evening sacrifice, and for the other offerings of the king and people (2 Kings xvi. 10—15). During the remainder of his reign Ahaz seems to have continued a faithful Assyrian vassal, a position which he left to his son and successor, Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 7).

Such are the chief points of the Biblical narrative. The Assyrian inscriptions give us a king whose name is read as *Tiglat-pal-tsira*, reigning from B.C. 745 to B.C. 727, and therefore certainly contemporary with Pekah and Ahaz. This king relates that in the early part of his reign he directed his arms against Syria, made Rezin, king of Damascus, and Menahem, king of Samaria, his tributaries, and received the submission of Tyre, Hamath, Gebal, and "the Arabs bordering upon Egypt." Subsequently, in his twelfth year, B.C. 734, he made another expedition into the same parts, which he mentions in his annals, but without any details. The year following, B.C. 733, Rezin having rebelled, Tiglath-pileser marched (he tells us) into Syria, engaged his rebellious tributary, defeated him, and forced him to take refuge in Damascus, where he besieged him for two years,⁵ at the end of which time the city surrendered at discretion. Rezin fell into his hands, and he tells us

¹ "Tiglath-pileser" (תִּגְלַת־פִּלְעֶסֶר) is the form used in Kings (2 Kings xv. 29; xvi. 7, 10); "Tilgath-pilneser" (תִּלְגַּת־פִּלְנֶסֶר), that preferred by the author of Chronicles (1 Chron. v. 6, 26; 2 Chron. xxviii. 20). The form found in Kings very fairly represents the Assyrian word.

² The LXX. have *Galaan* for *Galaad* here, which is probably right. The district about Lake Merom was called anciently *Gaulonitis*, or *Gaulan*.

³ Ptol., *Geogr.*, v. 18.

⁴ Strab., xvi. 1, p. 27; &c. Mygdonia probably represents Gozan, the initial *m* being formative, and the *z* having passed into *d* (compare Gaza-Cadytis, Achzib-Eedippa, &c.).

⁵ Compare the two years' sieges of Samaria (2 Kings xviii. 9, 10) and of Jerusalem (2 Kings xxv. 1, 2).

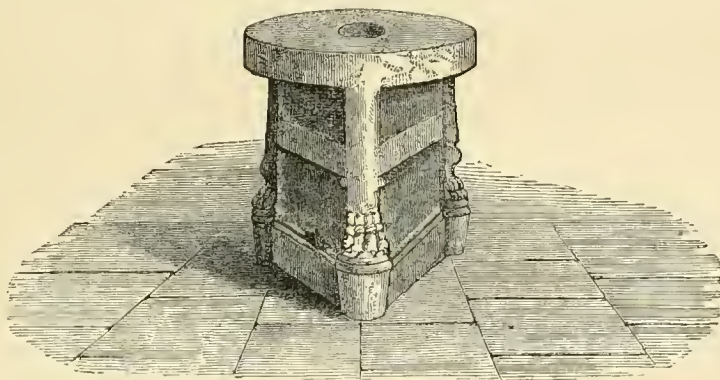
that he put him to death. Next, he says that he attacked Pekah, king of Samaria, who had allied himself with Rezin, conquering and occupying the land of Manasseh (*Manatsuah*), and placing garrisons in Dor and Megiddo. After this, he informs us that he returned to Damascus, deposed a son of Rezin, who had been made king in his absence, and received tribute from the kings of Tyre, Gaza, Ascalon, and Judah. He calls the Jewish monarch, who brought him tribute, *Yahu-khazi*, or Jehoahaz, a name which differs from Ahaz only in having the name of God (*Yahu* = *Jehovah*) prefixed to it.¹

The agreement between these two accounts is so palpable that it is almost unnecessary to comment on it. In both we have Tiglath-pileser contemporary with Pekah, Rezin, and Ahaz—on friendly terms with the last named, but engaged in hostilities with the other two. In both we find Damascus attacked and taken, and Rezin killed. In both Pekah is punished, his territories invaded, and towns taken from him, especially towns belonging to Manasseh; but in neither is it stated that he made his submission, or consented to become an Assyrian tributary. Ahaz, on the other hand, appears in both as accepting this position, and thenceforth holding his crown as an Assyrian fief. Each account

gives details which are wanting in the other, but which in every case harmonise, and readily combine into a probable narrative. Scripture alone gives the particulars of the first attack upon Pekah (2 Kings xv. 29), relates that the second attack fell especially upon the Trans-Jordanic region (1 Chron. v. 26), ascribes the idea of the second expedition to the invitation of Ahaz, and tells us what became of the captives carried off both from Damascus² and from the kingdom of Israel. The Assyrian record shows that Rezin was a rebel when the vengeance of Tiglath-pileser fell upon him with such extreme severity; gives us the length of the siege which he stood in his capital; informs us that he left a son who

claimed the inheritance of his crown; gives a wider scope to the Assyrian expeditions than the Jewish writers, bent on narrating their own affairs, care to assign to them; and represents Pekah as punished, not only by a raid into his territory, but by the permanent occupation of important posts within it. The two narratives are thus in harmony, and mutually fill out one the other. The only approach to a discrepancy is in the matter of the chronology. Tiglath-pileser states that he took tribute from Menahem about B.C. 738. The numbers of our present Second Book of Kings assign the reign of Menahem to about B.C. 770—759. It has been suggested that there was a second Menahem, whose reign interrupted that of Pekah.³ But perhaps it would be better to admit that the numbers of 2 Kings xv.—xvii. are in inextricable confusion,⁴ and that the date usually assigned to Menahem may well be twenty years too high.

The latter part of the narrative of 2 Kings—that respecting the altar—receives no special illustration from the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser; but a light is thrown upon it from the inscriptions of Assyria generally, which renders it thoroughly intelligible. It appears from these documents that the Assyrian monarchs were in the habit, when they added any country to their



ASSYRIAN ALTAR.

empire, of requiring that their new subjects should (at any rate to some extent) recognise the religion of Assyria. The great king, in almost every such case, sets up in the new province "the laws of Asshur," and "altars to the great gods."⁵ Portable altars accompanied the monarchs in their expeditions, and these no doubt furnished the pattern which the subject peoples copied when they conformed to the requirements of their masters. We learn from 2 Kings xvi. 10—15 that Ahaz terminated his dealings with the Assyrians by visiting Tiglath-pileser at Damascus, and that while there he "saw an altar," whose "fashion and pattern, according to all the workmanship thereof," he sent to Urijah, the high priest of the time, requiring him to "build an altar" after the instructions sent, and to set it up in the Temple in lieu of the brazen altar of Solomon.

¹ It is possible that the real, original name of Ahaz was Jehoahaz, but that the Jews dropped the first element on account of his impieties. The more probable account, however, of the double name is, that Ahaz, when he became Assyria's tributary, was compelled to take a new name (as were Eliakim and Mattaniah when they became tributary to Babylon, 2 Kings xxiii. 34; xxiv. 17), and that the name which he took was Jehoahaz. That his apostasy did not extend to a rejection of the name of Jehovah appears from his calling his son Hizkiah—"strength of Jehovah."

² See 2 Kings xvi. 9, and compare the prophecy of Amos (i. 5).

³ Oppert, *La Chronologie Biblique*, pp. 24, 25 (in the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne* for January, 1869).

⁴ Attempts have been made to remedy the confusion by a series of supposed interregna and double accessions (see Clinton, *F. H.*, vol. i., pp. 324—327); but even those who allow themselves in these most unlikely suppositions have to admit also a number of mistakes.

⁵ See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii., p. 531.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the idolatrous altar which he thus set up was an altar after the Assyrian model, triangular at the sides and circular at the top, the material of which it was made being stone, and the motive of its erection not so much a hankering after strange gods as obedience to the behests of his imperial master. It is noticeable that the altar was not

merely set up in the Temple, but was given a place of great honour, the brazen altar of Solomon being removed from its proper position, directly in front of the Temple porch, in order to make room for the new erection. In this we have probably not a requirement of the Assyrian king, but an endeavour on the part of Ahaz to curry favour with his suzerain.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE GOSPELS.—II.

ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS.

"Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him."—ST. MATTHEW ii. 1, 2.

VARIOUS questions of interest, not unaccompanied by difficulty, arise out of these verses. Amongst these may be mentioned the following: the nationality of the Magi, the amount of knowledge which they may be supposed to have possessed respecting the advent of the promised Deliverer, and the source from which that knowledge was derived. On these matters much vain speculation has been indulged, but very little can be safely affirmed.

Though naturalised in many languages, as in the form *magician* in our own, the word *Magi* is, in all probability, of Eastern, and, as seems most probable, of Median, origin. We are told that in the old Median language the word *mog* or *mag* meant *priest*,¹ and we find from Herodotus (i. 101) that the *Magi* formed one of the six divisions or races of the Median nation, and that they were consulted by Astyages in the interpretation of dreams (i. 120).

Nothing certain can be affirmed respecting the country from which the *Magi* came. Some of the early Fathers, as Justin Martyr and Tertullian, suppose that it was from Arabia, and, as we shall afterwards see, it is not improbable, whatever their origin, that they may have come to Jerusalem directly from that or some other country less distant than Chaldaea or Persia. In regard, however, to the origin of this opinion, as of another early opinion that the *Magi* were kings, these ancient interpreters seem to have been influenced mainly, if not exclusively, by certain prophecies which were supposed to have received their fulfilment in the adoration and offerings of the wise men.

Upon the whole, it seems impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the country from which the *Magi* originally came, beyond such inferences as may be drawn from the fact that from the time of Zoroaster downwards, the parts beyond the Euphrates—Persia, Bactria, or Parthia—appear to have been always the chief seats of the Magian philosophy.²

The same uncertainty exists with regard to the further inquiry respecting the source and the amount of the knowledge possessed by the Magi of the promised Deliverer. It is possible that the predictions of their own prophet, Zoroaster, may have in some measure prepared their minds for His advent. It is clear, from the testimony of such writers as Suetonius and Tacitus, as well as Josephus, to whose writings it has been supposed that these heathen authors were indebted, that a widespread expectation existed generally in the Eastern world at this time of the appearance of some great one; and it can scarcely be deemed improbable, when we consider both the nationality and the profession of Balaam, that these wise men may have inherited some traditionary record of his prophecy respecting the "star" which should "come out of Jacob," and the "sceptre" which should "rise out of Israel" (Numb. xxiv. 17).

Another difficulty, and one of a more serious nature, inasmuch as it has been thought that the accuracy of the Scriptural narrative is involved in it, is the time at which the *Magi* arrived at Bethlehem and presented their offerings. Premising only in regard to this, as to other alleged discrepancies of a similar character, that no amount of *difficulty* in the reconciliation of the statements of the same, or of another Evangelist, short of manifest contradiction, can be fairly regarded as a proof of the mythical or unhistorical character of the Gospels, we will proceed to state shortly the difficulties which may be, or have been, alleged (1) on the supposition that the visit of the *Magi* preceded the presentation in the Temple, and (2) on the supposition that it followed that event.

With regard to the former of these suppositions, the difficulties may be stated as follows:—1. The time allowed for the journey seems to be insufficient. 2. It is improbable that the offering at the purification should have been that of one "so impoverished" that she was "not able to bring a lamb" (compare Lev. xii. 8 with Luke ii. 24), if shortly before this time the wise men had offered their costly oblations. 3. Our blessed Lord is described as *παιδίον*, not *βρέφος*, an indication, as it has been alleged, that he was more than two months of age. 4. The age of the slaughtered children, which it is said, "according to the time which Herod had diligently inquired of the wise men," was *two years old* and under; another indication, it is alleged, that more

¹ Salmasius says that *mog* was the cognomen of Zoroaster. (See *Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus*, ii., p. 66.)

² See Greswell's *Dissertations upon the Principles and Arrangement of an Harmony of the Gospels*, vol. ii., p. 137. Ox. 1837.

than two months had expired since the nativity. 5. The holy child was found, not in the "manger" or "inn," but in a "house." 6. It is improbable that at the very time at which Herod and all Jerusalem were troubled at the tidings of the nativity, our Lord should have been brought into the very midst of his enemies. 7. Whereas St. Matthew, who takes no notice either of the previous residence in Nazareth, or of the purification, relates the flight into Egypt in immediate connection with the visit of the Magi, St. Luke, who takes no notice of the visit of the Magi, asserts, in equally close connection with the account of the presentation in the Temple, that "when they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth" (ii. 39).

We will now consider what answers may be returned *seriatim* to these objections.

1. As regards the time when the Magi set out on their journey, the language of St. Matthew seems to leave it open whether it was before or after the nativity. The star may have appeared first to the Magi at the same time that the angel Gabriel was sent to the Virgin Mary, and again shortly before or after the nativity, as the angel of the Lord appeared to the shepherds.

Independently, however, of this supposition, it is quite possible that the Magi, whatever their original country, may have come directly from some part of the East nearer to Jerusalem than Persia or Chaldaea, and consequently that, independently of such facilities of travelling as men of wealth could command, they might have accomplished the journey to that city within the space of forty days after the first appearance of the star.

2. As regards the offering made by the Virgin, it is not unreasonable to suppose either that the gifts of the Magi were set apart for other purposes (reserved, it may be, by Divine appointment, for the requirements of the journey into Egypt), or that it was more becoming for one in so humble a position as the Virgin, and more conformable to the whole of the circumstances of our Lord's earthly history, that that offering should have consisted, not of "a lamb of the first year," but of "a pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons."

4. The limit of the age of the innocents, "from two years old and under," may be accounted for, (1) in consideration of the unbridled rage and malice of a bloodthirsty despot and usurper, who, under the combined influence of dissatisfaction with his subjects, and distrust of his own family, and, moreover, of a loathsome and hopeless disease, in the immediate prospect of his own death, spared neither wife nor children, neither friends nor foes; (2) on the supposition that the decree *may not* have been, and, so far as we may judge from the Gospel narrative, *was not* issued until all previous efforts to discover our Lord had failed; or (3) on the supposition, already stated, that the star may

have appeared before the nativity, and the age determined, as the words of St. Matthew seem to suggest, from the time of the appearance of the star.

To these considerations we may add (1) that "from two years old," according to the use of the same or similar expressions in the Greek, implies, necessarily, no more than the comprehension within the decree of all children who had exceeded their first year; and (2) that as the executioners would judge of the age of the children, in the majority of instances, by their appearance, the appointment of that age at which they generally begin to walk and speak, would naturally be deemed the only one which was certain to secure the object of Herod.

5. It will suffice to reply to the fifth objection, that, though every "house" was not an "inn," it is not unreasonable to suppose that the "inn" should be described as a "house."

Having thus disposed, as it seems reasonable to assume, of every real difficulty involved under five of the heads already enumerated, instead of considering *seriatim* the difficulties arising out of the hypothesis that the flight into Egypt intervened between the presentation in the Temple and the visit of the Magi, we proceed to consider whether the presentation in the Temple, either contemporaneously with, or immediately following upon the visit of the Magi, can or cannot be reconciled with the hostile attitude of Herod, and the excited state of Jerusalem, consequent upon the arrival of the Magi, and, which is apparently a yet greater difficulty, with the return to Nazareth, as recorded by St. Luke, and with the flight into Egypt, as recorded by St. Matthew.

Now, it seems to be the obvious inference, from the phraseology employed in St. Matt. ii. 1, compared with ver. 9 of the same chapter, and other similar places, that the visit of the wise men to Jerusalem followed very closely upon the nativity. This probability is somewhat increased by the confident expectation which seems to have been entertained, not only by Herod, but also by the chief priests and scribes, that our blessed Lord would be found by the Magi in the place of his nativity.²

On the other hand, if the journey of these Eastern sages was not undertaken until our Lord's birth, it is improbable that they should have been able to arrive at Jerusalem at a time much earlier than that at which the offerings after child-birth, in the case of a male, were prescribed by the Levitical law—viz., forty days.

But how, it will be asked, can it be thought probable, on the supposition of the presentation being contemporaneous with, or closely following upon the visit of the Magi, either that Joseph and Mary should have incurred the risk of taking the infant Redeemer into the immediate reach of Herod, or that, if actually taken

¹ The former of these alternatives appears to have been the traditional opinion of the early Church. It is certainly as old as the time of Chrysostom. (See Grenewell's *Dissertations*, ii. 143.)

² This consideration is strengthened by the fact that so many, like Joseph and Mary, had temporarily left their ordinary place of abode, in consequence of the decree recently issued by the Emperor Augustus.

to Jerusalem, whilst in that state of commotion at the tidings of his birth which is recorded in ver. 3, he should have escaped out of the hands of his persecutors? Now the obvious reply to the first portion of this inquiry is, that we have no ground for the belief that the wise men were acquainted at this time with Herod's purpose in the directions which he gave them, and consequently that we have no ground for the conclusion that they must have communicated that purpose to Joseph and Mary; or that Joseph and Mary were made acquainted with it through any other channel. Remembering, then, that Bethlehem was but six miles from Jerusalem, there is no improbability in the supposition that, very shortly after the visit of the Magi to Bethlehem, or, as it has been supposed, *immediately* before it—perhaps whilst the Magi were still in Jerusalem—Joseph and Mary may have gone up to Jerusalem before either they or the wise men became aware of Herod's purpose respecting the child Jesus.

On the latter supposition, there would be no difficulty, considering the shortness of the distance, in supposing a return to Bethlehem before the departure into Galilee. On the former supposition, the journey northward was probably continued from Jerusalem, and thus in accordance with the most literal interpretation of the words of St. Luke, "When they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth" (Luke ii. 39). On either of these suppositions, the only real difficulty to be encountered is, how it was that no attempt was made on the part of Herod or of his agents to secure the object of his jealousy and apprehension. It is manifest, however, that so long as many possible solutions of this difficulty may be suggested, it cannot fairly be regarded as one of an insuperable character. Now in the case of the presentation in the Temple preceding the visit of the Magi, it may fairly be presumed that Herod's anger was not yet stirred, inasmuch as we have no evidence that the tidings of the nativity had as yet reached his ears. If stress be laid upon the excitement which the appearance of the Lord in his temple, as foretold by Malachi, created, it may fairly be argued that that excitement did not reach the ears of Herod until after the return to Bethlehem; and that even if the knowledge of the event were at once communicated to the chief priests and scribes generally, as well as to Simeon and to Anna, the same unwillingness or inability on their part to adopt any hostile measures may have existed then, as that which is recorded by St. John with reference to a later period in our Lord's history: "Then said some of them of Jerusalem, Is not this he, whom they seek to kill? But, lo, he speaketh boldly, and they say nothing unto him. Do the rulers know indeed that this is the very Christ?" (John vii. 25, 26).

The same or similar considerations may be urged on the supposition that the presentation in the Temple followed *immediately* after the visit of the Magi. It is not only possible, but in a high degree probable, that the fact should not at once reach the ears of Herod,

even supposing, which is not certain, that he was still in Jerusalem at the time of its occurrence.¹ In this case it is not unreasonable to suppose that Joseph and Mary returned at once to Nazareth, being still in ignorance of Herod's purpose, and that it was not until their arrival at that place that they were warned of the imminence of the danger, and directed to flee into Egypt.

The language of St. Luke does not, however, necessarily imply that the return to Nazareth was *immediately* after the presentation in the Temple. The death of Herod unquestionably took place shortly before the Feast of the Passover, and, in the judgment of some of the most able chronologers, of that Passover which followed upon the birth of Christ. In this case the abode in Egypt must necessarily have been of short duration, and as it formed no part of St. Luke's purpose to make mention either of the visit of the Magi or of the consequent flight into Egypt, so it is quite possible that the return to Nazareth recorded by him (ii. 39) may have been the same as that recorded by St. Matthew (ii. 23), and consequently that it followed directly upon, and did not precede, the flight into Egypt.

A further difficulty is removed on the supposition that the return from Egypt, which certainly followed immediately upon the death of Herod, shortly preceded or nearly coincided with the celebration of the Feast of the Passover. At that season, as we learn from Luke ii. 41, Joseph and Mary were in the habit of going up (the Greek verb in the imperfect conveys this meaning) to Jerusalem. If, then, the return of the true Israel from the land of Egypt, as in the case of the typical Israel, was at this time, we can readily understand, without having recourse to the forced hypothesis of a second residence in Bethlehem, how it was that the first impulse of Joseph was to tarry in Judea, and that it was not until "warned of God in a dream" that "he turned aside into the parts of Galilee," and resumed his residence in the city of Nazareth.

It must again be observed that in a case in which we are ignorant of so many of the details, it is impossible to construct a continuous history with any absolute amount of certainty as to the chronology. It must suffice to meet all reasonable objections, if it can be shown that the different portions of the history, as recorded by the two evangelists, St. Matthew and St. Luke, so far from being, as has been alleged, absolutely inconsistent, may, without any insuperable amount of improbability in any of the needful suppositions, be shown to be capable of entire compatibility.

¹ It appears that Herod left Jerusalem immediately after the eclipse, supposed to have taken place on 12-13 Mar., v.c. 750, n.c. 4, the very night after the execution of the zealots who had thrown down the golden eagle which Herod had erected over the eastern gate of the Temple. Some suppose that a space of only twenty-two or twenty-three days intervened between this event and the death of Herod. Others suppose that there must have been a longer interval, and Fréret speaks of the intercalation of an extraordinary Nisan, in consequence of which the Passover, which, it appears, certainly followed very shortly upon the death of Herod, was deferred to the 10th of May. See Browne's *Ordo Sacrorum*, p. 29 (note).

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.—III.

ST. PAUL AND ST. LUKE.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT may, I think, be safely assumed, in accordance both with the traditional belief of the Church and the judgment of all scholars of any authority, (1) that the third Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, manifestly by the same author, are the work of Luke, the beloved physician, the friend and companion of St. Paul. (2) That the occurrence of the first person plural in the narrative of Acts xvi. 10, its disappearance after xvi. 17, its recurrence in xxi. I, and again throughout chapters xxvii. and xxviii., may fairly be received as evidence of the presence or absence of the writer in certain stages of the work which he narrates. (3) That, as a probable inference from the preceding assumption, the church of Philippi was, to a large extent, the scene of St. Luke's labours as an evangelist during the time which fills up the space between St. Paul's departure from Philippi, in Acts xvi. 40, and his return to it in Acts xx. 1, the period, *i.e.*, which includes, in relation to St. Paul's work as a teacher, the Epistles to the Thessalonians, the Corinthians, the Galatians, and the Romans. The object of the present paper will be to trace the coincidences between the writings of the Apostle on the one hand and the Evangelist on the other hand, which seem to illustrate, or be explained by, the hypothesis thus stated, and so far to be a confirmation of it.

I. It has long been a familiar topic in all Introductions and Commentaries that St. Luke's Gospel was pre-eminently the Gospel of the Gentiles. The Theophilus to whom he writes is supposed, on the strength of the use of the same conventional epithet of respect, "most excellent" (Luke i. 1), as is applied to Felix, the Procurator of Judæa (Acts xxiv. 3), to have been a Gentile convert holding some official position that entitled him to that honour. It is natural to suppose that a writer whose sympathies were so entirely with St. Paul in the great question of the admission of the Gentiles would exercise, as he dealt with the "many" records (Luke i. 1) out of which he compiled his Gospel, something like a principle of selection, and choose those which most tended to identify the Gospel which St. Paul preached with the teaching and the mind of Christ. It has accordingly been noticed, almost at the earliest stage of critical inquiry, that he gives a special prominence to whatever tends to bring out the universality of the redeeming work of Christ and the pardoning love of the Father. So he traces the line of Messianic descent, not from Abraham, as though he were dwelling only on the fulfilment of the promises made to the chosen seed, but upwards through David, Abraham, Noah, to the first father of the whole family of man (Luke iii. 38). He alone records the parable of the Lost Piece of Money and the Prodigal Son (xv. 8—32), and the histories of the woman that was a sinner (vii. 36—50) and of the repentant

thief (xxiii. 39—43), as showing that not even the chief of sinners were beyond the reach of the Divine compassion; he dwells (fact and parable here also coinciding with and illustrating each other) on the breaking down of national distinctions and antipathies, the transfer to mankind of what had been the inheritance of Israel, the spiritual superiority which was to be found in those who seemed most excluded from spiritual privileges—first in the parable of the good Samaritan, who showed kindness to one who, in the common sense of the term, was not his neighbour, while priest and Levite passed by without a touch of pity (x. 1—37); and next in the history of the ten lepers, among whom the one that returned to give glory to God for the work of healing belonged to the same hated and despised nation. So also he alone records the anticipations of the universal kingdom that gathered round our Lord's nativity; the thought that the "day-spring from on high" was to "give light to those that were in darkness" (i. 79), as well as "knowledge of salvation" to God's chosen people; that there was to be "on earth peace, good-will towards men" as men, as well as for the seed of Abraham (ii. 14); that the same light was "to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of God's people Israel" (ii. 32). In all this we may trace the guiding, illumining purpose of one who had been led by the Spirit to embrace the Gospel as St. Paul preached it, in all its width and fulness. Hardly less significant is the fact that he alone records the mission of the seventy disciples (x. 1), for that number was to the Jew as distinctly symbolical of the nations of the outlying Gentile world as twelve was of the completeness of the tribes of Israel, and at every Feast of Tabernacles, at the time of our Lord's ministry, seventy oxen were solemnly offered as a sacrifice of intercession for that world which the Jews ordinarily regarded with so hard and cold an indifference. The marked manner in which the Evangelist distinguishes himself from those who had been "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word" (i. 2) forbids our adopting the old ecclesiastical tradition that he himself was one of that body of disciples, but we may well believe that it included some who were either proselytes themselves (such, *e.g.*, as Nicolas of Antioch, whom we find among the seven (Acts vi. 5), and who, in order to have commanded the suffrages of the Church at that early stage of its growth, must have already been well known to the great mass of the disciples), or who, by their training and associations, were qualified to act upon them, and through them upon the other sheep that were "not of this fold" (John x. 16), to preach the Gospel not only to the "dispersed among the Greeks" (John vii. 35), but to the Greeks themselves.

We pass from the Gospel to the Acts of the

Apostles, and there the same principle at once of selection and (as M. Renan points out, with some scorn) of omission also is seen at work. It is not a complete narrative of the missionary work of the Apostles, or of the growth of heresies; it is not even—though it comes nearer to that character—a complete record of the labours of St. Peter and St. Paul. It is emphatically a history of the expansion of the Church in the admission first of proselytes, like Nicolas and the Ethiopian eunuch (vi. 5; viii. 27), and then of the hated and unclean Samaritans (viii. 5), and then, in the case of Cornelius, of the uncircumcised heathen, who were but proselytes of the gate, worshipping the one God, not proselytes of righteousness, with whom the devout Israelite could hold any close companionship. It notes the rise and the settlement of but one controversy, and that was the dispute which threatened to break up the one universal family into two divided and discordant halves, and gives the *ipsissima verba* of the decree of the first council at Jerusalem, which was received with joy by all the Gentile Churches as the great charter of their freedom (Acts xv. 24—31). It passes over—not, as has been wrongly said, with a false reticence or dishonest suppression of the truth, but as a passing and momentary incident, not affecting the broad issues of the controversy—the dispute between St. Paul and St. Peter as to the logical and practical consequences of the decree to which they had both assented (Gal. ii. 14). It is quite possible, indeed (as the narrative of the Acts distinctly indicates the absence of the writer from Antioch at the only period to which that dispute can with any probability be assigned) that there was no suppression at all, and that the fact is not recorded by him simply because he did not know it. It would be altogether in accordance with the nobility of St. Paul's nature that he, though forced to refer to the difference in order to vindicate to the Galatians the authority and independence which had been so unscrupulously attacked, should not willingly speak with another, even with his own familiar friend, of the momentary weakness of the great Apostle, who, on his first conversion, had received him trustfully (Gal. i. 18), and having been steadfast in his support of the freedom of the Gospel at the great debate at Jerusalem, had afterwards given to him and Barnabas the "right hand of fellowship" (Gal. ii. 9), and agreed to a partition-treaty as governing their apostolic work. After the narrative of Acts xv. the book becomes more exclusively the record of St. Paul's work, and has more the character of a biography. Written by St. Luke, as it was, during or shortly after St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, we can well think of the Evangelist as writing for the great body of Italian converts like Theophilus, carrying through both parts of his history the same leading thought, showing that the work of the risen and ascended Lord, whose mission to the Apostle had been, "Depart: for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles" (Acts xxii. 21), and who had sealed his ministry with the witness of mighty and marvellous "works," and yet more mighty and marvellous spiritual results, was in harmony with, and, as it were,

the natural development of what had been seen and heard during the years when He himself taught in Galilee and Judæa, in synagogue and temple.

It would be, perhaps, somewhat too hazardous a conjecture to identify the Gospel of which St. Paul speaks as in some special sense his own ("the gospel which I preached to you," 1 Cor. xv. 1; "according to my gospel," 2 Tim. ii. 8) with any written record, still less with the particular book which bears St. Luke's name. It would indeed be a simple anachronism to suppose that St. Paul had in his possession, while writing at Corinth or at Ephesus, a book which, so far as we can judge from circumstantial evidence, was not written till after he had sojourned for two full years at Rome. But it is not the less clear that the term "gospel" as used by St. Paul, though it comprised much more, did at least include a narrative of the main facts of our Lord's life, and probably also the main elements of his teaching (Rom. i. 3, 4; xi. 23—26; 1 Cor. xv. 1—7); that the "traditions" on which he lays so much stress—*i.e.*, his own oral teaching, given in addresses to the church, and in the instruction of catechumens—were not less narrow in their range, and as they comprised rules for life, worship, the discipline of the Church, so also embraced the doctrine which Christ had taught, directly during his ministry, through the work of the Spirit after his ascension, and the facts on which the doctrine rested. And bearing this in mind, we may well believe that the class of facts, and the elements of teaching on which he would most delight to dwell, would be those which the beloved physician who was his familiar friend had gathered together during many years, and afterwards put in shape for the permanent instruction of his disciples. The epistles of St. Paul are, in their very form and nature, neither exegetical nor narrative, and we can only look, at the farthest, for incidental references to what entered, we may believe, much more largely into his oral teaching. But where we do note these references, there is, in some instances at least, a striking agreement with the records of St. Luke's Gospel. Thus what St. Paul had taught in every church as to the one ceremonial ordinance which Christ had ordained for perpetual observance—"I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me" (1 Cor. xi. 23—25)—is in almost verbal agreement with the record of the institution of the Lord's Supper in Luke xxii. 19, 20, even in the details where that record differs from the narrative of St. Matthew and St. Mark. So again when he quotes the Divine rule as to the payment of ministerial work, it is in the words, "The labourer is worthy of his reward" (or hire) (1 Tim. v. 18), we find a verbal agreement with Luke x. 7. The difference between St. Paul's account

of our Lord's appearances after his resurrection, apparent on a comparison of 1 Cor. xv. with Luke xxiv., may at first sight appear to militate against this view, but the circumstances of the case afford a sufficient explanation of the variations. (1.) St. Paul claims, it will be remembered, to give facts, which if not expressly communicated to him, as the essence of his Gospel was, by direct inspiration, were yet such as he could vouch for on his own personal authority, brought within his knowledge by witnesses who were but one step removed from the presence of the Lord Jesus (1 Cor. xv. 3). (2.) It may be noted that of the appearances one, that to Cephas, or Simon Peter, which is specially mentioned by St. Paul, as among the first (1 Cor. xv. 5), is implied incidentally in St. Luke's narrative ("The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon" xxiv. 34), and is not mentioned by any of the other three Evangelists. (3.) It must be taken into account that at the time when St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, St. Luke had certainly not written his Gospel, and had probably advanced but a little way in the collection of his materials; that his work as a writer may be ascribed chiefly to the period of St. Paul's two years' imprisonment in Cæsarea, during which St. Luke was with him or near him, and would therefore have abundant opportunities for intercourse with those who, as officially connected with the court of the Herods, such as Manaen (Acts xiii. 1), Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward (Luke viii. 3), or as having been among the inner or outer circle of disciples, were able to report to him what they had seen or heard. It may well be, therefore, that on this point of the manifestations of the risen Lord, we have in him and in St. Paul almost or altogether independent witnesses, and that the evidence for the facts which they relate, whether separately or jointly, is therefore so much the stronger. (4.) There is, as is well known, one remarkable instance in which St. Paul quotes, as "the words of the Lord Jesus," a saying ("It is more blessed to give than to receive," Acts xx. 35), which is not found in any extant Gospel. We cannot, therefore, include this in the list of distinct and unmistakable coincidences. On the other hand, we ought not to lose sight of the fact that it is altogether identical in tone and feeling with the teaching which St. Luke delights to record, with the warnings against self-indulgent luxury and the love of riches, with the precepts—"Give alms of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are clean unto you" (Luke xi. 41); "Sell that ye have, and give alms" (Luke xii. 33). This too, we may remember, though it was spoken before the composition of St. Luke's Gospel, was uttered at a time when the Evangelist and the Apostle were in close companionship, and when, therefore, the one may well have learnt the words which he quoted from the other. The weight of this consideration as to the general tone of St. Luke's Gospel will appear more fully in the next section.

II. It has been often noticed, especially by M. Renan (*Les Apôtres*, p. xxiv.), that both the Gospel and the Acts indicate in St. Luke some characteristic tendencies such as we should now describe by the epithet "commu-

nistic." He records, with special force and fulness, parables like those of the rich man and Lazarus (xvi. 19—31), the Unjust Steward (xvi. 1—12), the rich fool (xii. 16—21), each with its own special warning against the abuse of riches, the direct precepts above referred to enjoining alms-giving to the fullest possible extent; the injunction to the wealthy Pharisee not to invite his rich neighbours when he made a feast, but to call together "the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind" (Luke xiv. 13). So in the Acts he gives a prominence, not needed by what we have seen was his main purpose, to the generous, self-sacrificing love of early Christian life, dwells on the fact that "they had all things common," that "none said that ought of the things that he possessed was his own," that "distribution was made to every one according to his need" (Acts ii. 44; iv. 32, 35).

It was probably, in the nature of things, that one whose convictions on this point were so strong would impress them on others, and be himself, according to his ability, a living illustration of them. The very temper which prompts to such a line of action would also be that which shrinks from publicity, and will not "let the left hand know what the right hand doeth," doing good by stealth, and blushing to find it fame. The coincidences to which I now purpose to call attention will, if I mistake not, show that this was the case with the writer of the Acts of the Apostles.

(a) Internal evidence agrees with a very early ecclesiastical tradition that St. Luke's first acquaintance with the preachers of the new faith began at Antioch. The fulness with which he narrates all that passed there when they first arrived; how those who represented the early state of the Church before "the persecution that arose about Stephen" preached the word to none but unto the Jews only; how then, a little later, some who were of Cyprus and Cyrene "spake unto the Grecians" (or rather, taking the better supported reading of the MSS., the Greeks, *i.e.*, the uncircumcised proselytes or inquirers) who were willing to listen to them. "preaching the Lord Jesus;" how next Barnabas and Saul came to carry on the work;—the knowledge he displays of names like those of "Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch" (Acts xiii. 1), of whom otherwise we know little or nothing; the stress which is laid on the fact that it was at Antioch that the new name of Christian, destined to have so wide and glorious a course, was first given to the disciples (Acts xi. 26)—all this speaks of knowledge gained on the spot by one who was in part at least an actor in the story. What I desire to note then is, that it is precisely at this stage, when the influence of the Evangelist must have been more or less active there, that we find that the disciples, on hearing of the distress, actual or approaching, to which the brethren of Jerusalem were exposed, determined, "every man according to his ability, to send relief" to those who were thus suffering; "which also they did, and sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul" (Acts xi. 27—30). If the conjecture (at present, I

freely admit, it is not more) which I have just kazardeed by a true one, the first acquaintance between the Apostle of the Gentiles and the "beloved physician" must have been one that united them in this work of charity.

(b) The next certain, or all but certain, trace of St. Luke's companionship with St. Paul is found, as we have seen, when the latter arrives at Troas, and they journey together to Philippi. At that city St. Luke remained. Whatever guiding influence was exercised over the minds and hearts of the believers there must have been mainly his. The circumstances of that church, consisting, as it did, prominently of women like Lydia, the purple-seller of Thyatira, the damsel with the divining spirit, Euodia, Syntyche, and others who, when St. Paul was there, laboured with him in the Gospel (Acts xvi. 14—16; Phil. iv. 2, 3), were, we may believe, such as favoured the tendency which his enthusiastic charity had to impress itself on others. There seems to have been something in the character, perhaps also in the profession, of the Evangelist which specially qualified him for this kind of direction over the minds of devout women. As he was at Philippi, so we may infer he was also among that other company of women of whom he alone records the names—Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Susanna, and many others—to whom he manifestly had special opportunities of access which were wanting to the other Evangelists, and from whom he may have derived many of the early incidents of the infancy and childhood of the Christ which they were likely to have heard from her, the Virgin mother, who must have been, after His ascension, the object of their profound and tenderest reverence. Be this as it may, what we note is that he is no sooner left in charge of the church at Philippi, than this spirit of bounty begins to manifest itself. Even when St. Paul was at Thessalonica, within a week or two—that is, after he had left them—they sent once and again to his necessities (Phil. iv. 15, 16). He journeyed on to Corinth, and their anxious care followed him there also, and again they sent to supply all his wants (2 Cor. xi. 9). In their favour, and, we may well believe, though he does not give his reasons, on account of these special circumstances, he makes an exception to his usual practice of working with his own hands for his daily bread (2 Cor. xi. 8). He could accept their bounty without the risk of incurring the suspicion of interested motives, and without placing himself under any burdensome sense of obligation.

(c) The influence of St. Luke's guidance is, however, manifested more conspicuously in the bright example set by the Macedonian churches, among which Philippi was at least one of the most conspicuous, in the renewed activity of benevolence towards the distressed church of Jerusalem, suffering under a protracted scarcity, and with well nigh all its resources exhausted by the lavish bounty of its members in the early days of their conversion. "In a great trial of affliction," out of "their deep poverty" "they gave freely, yea, first gave their own selves to the Lord, and unto us by the will of God" (2 Cor. viii. 2). It was characteristic of a church

which was united to St. Paul by so many ties of intimacy that they should entreat him not to delegate to another the work of being their representative, but should take upon himself the fellowship of ministering to the saints, as he had done, let us remember, on the first great occasion, when a like offering had been sent (Acts xi. 30), owing probably, as we have seen, to the prompting influence of the same friend. If St. Luke was at Philippi stirring men and women up to this contribution, the precedent would naturally suggest the course which the church pressed upon the Apostle.

(d) In spite of the doubts which have been suggested by not a few recent commentators, there are, it seems to me, good grounds for identifying the unnamed "brother" who was sent with Titus to Corinth to stir that church also to a like largeness of heart, and whose "praise was in the Gospel in all the churches" (2 Cor. viii. 18), with St. Luke. I do not, of course, lay any stress on the word "gospel," as though there were any books then written bearing that name, and he was known to be the author of one of them. But taking the word in its earlier and wider sense, it is morally certain that St. Luke must have been an Evangelist in the older meaning of the word, and that his work as such must have become known to all the churches of Macedonia and Achaia. We know of no one so likely to have been chosen by the Macedonian churches to be their representative, and to travel with St. Paul as treasurer and custodian of the money of which they were the bearers; and we know, as a matter of fact, that St. Luke did travel with him, and continued more or less closely in his companionship till he arrived in Rome. If he was eager to begin or to complete the record of the life and teaching of the Lord Jesus, which was, he must have felt, so greatly needed for building up the Gentile churches in the faith, he may well have welcomed the opening which was thus presented of coming into direct personal contact with many who had seen with their own eyes and heard with their own ears that which he intended to narrate. Smaller coincidences in detail fall in with this hypothesis, or, indeed, with any view which admits St. Luke into the list of St. Paul's companions.

(1) They stop, and they stop there only, for a whole week at Troas (Acts xx. 6); and it was at Troas that St. Paul had first come into renewed companionship with St. Luke (Acts xvi. 10), who must clearly have been working there for some time previously, and to whose successful labours must have been owing that "open door" of which St. Paul speaks so strongly (2 Cor. ii. 12). (2) When they are at Cæsarea, and their coming must have been known to the churches of Judæa, they are met by Agabus, the self-same prophet as had come to Antioch before the famine at the time when St. Luke was living there. (3) On their journey to Jerusalem they are accompanied by certain disciples of Cæsarea (it will be remembered how full the Acts are of all that relates to that city), and they bring with them "one Mnason of Cyprus, an old disciple" (Acts xxi. 16)—i.e., one who had been among the earliest converts.

Is it not in the highest degree probable that one thus prominent, specially mentioned by name as worthy of all honour, had been among those "men of Cyprus" who preached the Gospel to the Gentiles in the great capital of Syria before the name of Saul or Barnabas had been even heard there? (Acts xi. 20.)

III. I have, lastly, to call attention to coincidences more directly affecting the personal relations of the two friends. There would be little or no novelty in the thought that the tone of affection in which the Apostle speaks of the "beloved physician" was more or less closely connected with gratitude for the service which in that character he had rendered to him. Those who adopt what may now fairly be described as the only tenable explanation of the mysterious "thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. xii. 7)—i.e., that it was some acutely painful disease, probably affecting sight (Gal. iv. 15), and making "his bodily presence weak," to the point even of causing something like a sense of physical repulsion in those who could not penetrate to the true nobleness which lay beneath the outward appearance, so unattractive and ignoble (Gal. iv. 14)—are familiar with the thought that such a one as the Apostle must often have stood in need of help, which one trained as St. Luke had been was best qualified to render. What has now to be noticed is that on each occasion on which the Evangelist joins in travelling companionship with the Apostle, there are to be discovered traces that the latter had been suffering from some attack of more than average intensity. Thus (1) we find that as he first passed through Galatia, on the journey which immediately preceded his arrival at Troas, he had been delayed by "that infirmity of the flesh," and so had been led to stop and preach and found a church when otherwise he might have passed on to more inviting regions (Gal. iv. 13). It is in connection with that attack that he lays most stress upon the repulsive and almost loathsome character of the malady which affected him (Gal. iv. 14). It was a great thing to say of those Galatians at such a time and under such conditions that they had not "despised or rejected" him, but had received him "as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus" (Gal. iv. 14). It was thus, with his body worn and enfeebled by these sufferings, bearing about him even thus "the marks of the Lord Jesus," that the Apostle reached Troas, found the physician, who was already an Evangelist in the true sense of the word, living and working there, and profited by his loving service. Personal regard, the desire to continue the ministrations which he saw to be so necessary, may well have mingled with other motives in leading him to join St. Paul in his journey to Macedonia. (2) When they met again it was so far under like conditions. Once again the Apostle had been "pressed out of measure, above strength, inasmuch that he despaired even of life," and had, as it were, "the sentence of death in him," felt that he had been delivered as from the very gates of death, was still as a "dying man" (2 Cor. i. 8—10; vi. 9), "always bearing about in the body" that which was so sharp and

agonising in its pain that it might well be compared to the very "dying of the Lord Jesus" (2 Cor. iv. 10). Was it wonderful that the loving and faithful friend should once more be anxious, not only to share the responsibility of the journey to Jerusalem as a delegate from the Philippian church, but also to keep watch, as with a loving and devoted loyalty, over the Apostle who was so dear to him, and whose health, nay, whose very life itself, was so seriously imperilled? Was it strange, that having thus been with him during his travels, he should feel more than ever bound to persevere in his ministrations, when to all other phases of suffering was added that of imprisonment, if not in its severest, yet at least in one of its most irksome and depressing forms—that he should continue faithful to the very close of that noble life? "Luke only is with me" (2 Tim. iv. 11) were among the last words dictated by the lips of Paul.

IV. The presence of St. Luke with the Apostle during his voyage to Italy and the first Roman captivity suggests yet one or two more illustrations. (a) The accuracy of the professional physician is seen in the description of the disease of which the father of Publius was healed at Melita, as a fever complicated by dysentery (Acts xxviii. 8). (b) The presence with St. Paul of one who, as an Italian freedman (such most commentators believe St. Luke's social standing to have been), possessed at least a fair amount of Greek culture and professional knowledge, constantly with the Apostle, yet able to move freely to and fro, and exercise his skill for the good of others, must have been, in the nature of things, of great help in diffusing a knowledge of the new faith among those whose wealth or rank placed them above the level of the artisans and slaves who made up the majority of the Roman church. Of such men Theophilus, to whom both the Gospel and the Acts are addressed, was manifestly a type. If we think of the physician as carrying with him the same grave courtesy and loving zeal which had endeared him to the devout women of Philippi and of Palestine, is it too bold a conjecture to picture him at Rome also as winning his way into a like circle? One noble Roman lady there was about this time, Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Plantius, who had commanded the legions in the conquest of Britain, who was accused of adopting what was described as a "foreign superstition," living as one retired from the world, casting aside the ornaments of her rank, and appearing in a garb which, measured by the standard of the prevailing fashion, seemed to her friends and kindred as the apparel of a mourner (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 32). We have, of course, no direct evidence to connect this change with her conversion to the faith of Christ, still less with St. Luke's work as the instrument of that conversion; but well-nigh all scholars of repute (notably among ourselves Dean Merivale and Dr. Lightfoot) agree as to the former point; and as regards the latter, it may at least be said that we know of no other preacher of the Gospel then working at Rome so likely to have had access to ladies of Pomponia's

rank, others probably, such as Claudia (2 Tim. iv. 21), as the "beloved physician."

(c) With this we may, I believe, connect two or three facts which have been the subject of much discussion. Why, it has been asked, if St. Luke was with St. Paul on his arrival at Rome—as we learn from the Acts (the "we" in Acts xxviii. 16), and remained with him, as we find from Col. iv. 14; Philem, 24—is his name altogether absent from the Epistle to the Philippians? If he joined in salutations to churches that he hardly knew, why is he silent when St. Paul writes to that with which he had been so closely and so long connected? I find the explanation of this in an hypothesis which, if not capable of proof, has at least the merit of embracing all the phenomena. Assume that shortly after their arrival at Rome, St. Luke, who had been absent from his beloved flock for more than three years, was glad to embrace this opportunity of being once more in Europe to revisit the church committed to his charge, and started (it would not take him more than three weeks to get there) on a journey to Philippi. Note how this not only explains the omission of his name, but furnishes also the key to other problems of the epistle. Who so likely, if what we have sketched as to St. Luke's work and character be at all true, to have been addressed by St. Paul as his true "yokefellow?"¹ What more characteristic charge could have been given to him, after St. Paul's own entreaty to Euodia and Syntyche, obviously two members of the Philippian sisterhood, that they "would be of the same mind in the Lord," than that he too would "help them" (not, as in the Authorised Version, "those women who," as if the request were general in its character, but), Euodia and Syntyche themselves, forasmuch as they had laboured with him in the Gospel? (Phil. iv. 2, 3; see Dr. Lightfoot's commentary on the verse.) The influence which had helped to maintain unity and peace and love before, was to be again exerted, in order to heal the personal jealousies and divisions which had sprung up in its absence.

(d) The theory in question serves to explain, as I have said, other phenomena of the Epistle. It strengthens the traditional belief that the Clement mentioned by St. Paul in Phil. iv. 3 as one of his fellow-labourers, was none other than the bishop of Rome of that name, of whom we have at least one genuine epistle to the church of Corinth, and whose name served as the nucleus of a whole group of liturgical and apocryphal literature. Dr. Lightfoot is inclined to reject the identification mainly on the ground that the Clement who is here addressed seems to have been a member of the church of Philippi, while the bishop has always been connected with the church of Rome. The journey which has been here suggested removes that difficulty. The Evangelist would not be likely to start alone. Clement

may have been his companion. The easiest and most natural route would be to go by sea to Corinth, and thence to Macedonia. In this way we account not only for the message sent to him through St. Luke, as the true yokefellow, but for the connection between Clement and the church of Corinth, leading him to write in a tone of affection, interest, and authority, and for the stress laid in his epistle on the blessings of unity and peace. I will even venture to add the suggestion that the elaborate account of the death and resurrection of the phoenix, which Clement urges (1 Ep. to the Corinthians, c. xxv.), as a proof of man's resurrection from the grave, is just the kind of illustration which might have come from a devout physician who had travelled much in the East, had heard marvellous stories of the natural history of Arabia, and found in what he heard a parable of the truth which was to him the ground of all hope and comfort.

(e) Dr. Lightfoot has already called attention to the fact that the names of two of the messengers who bore Clement's letter to Corinth, Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, suggest the belief that they belonged to "Caesar's household," *i.e.*, were slaves or freedmen in Nero's palace. If so, it would follow that Clement himself had at least some points of connection with that group of the Roman disciples. The special message of greeting which St. Paul sends to Luke, to Clement, to the Philippian church generally, in their name, makes it all but certain that that connection had begun at a comparatively early period of St. Paul's Roman ministry.

(f) The last coincidences to which I now desire to call attention fall in with the view already stated, that it was to a large extent through the opportunities presented by St. Luke's work as a physician that the Gospel thus made its way, through the subordinates, to the higher official persons connected with the imperial household. The well-known inscriptions from the *Columbarium* or private burying-place of the Empress Livia (it was so called because the small urns that contained the ashes of the dead were placed in recesses that looked like pigeon-holes) show that that great household included on its register surgeons and physicians as well as lower domestics. Among these I note two which have for our immediate purpose a special interest. (1) The list includes the name of Tyrannus as a *medicus*. May we think of him as in any way connected with the proprietor of the "school" or lecture-room which St. Paul used at Ephesus as a mission chapel? Names or professions of this kind were very often hereditary among the *libertini* or freedmen of Rome, and nothing was more natural than that one who had been brought up as a physician should, if released from his immediate dependence, open a medical school in a city like Ephesus. The circumstances of the case compel us to recognise, if not an absolute sympathy with the new faith, yet at least a partial approval of it; and the supposition that the one "physician" may have been led to this by some letter of commendation from the other on behalf of St. Paul, does not

¹ The phrase has given rise to a multitude of conjectures: among others to the absurd supposition, mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, and revived by M. Renan and Mr. Hepworth Dixon, that St. Paul had a wife living at Philippi, from whom he parted in order to give himself to his work as an apostle!

seem very fanciful or far-fetched. (2) The other name in question presents a coincidence yet more striking. In Rom. xvi. 9, in the midst of salutations almost every one of which is addressed to some one whose name appears on some inscription as belonging to the imperial household, in closest connection with Urbane (i.e., Urbanus, a *man's* name), who appears to have been a surveyor of the buildings of the palace, we find a message sent to Stachys. He is honoured with the same epithet as that which St. Paul uses of St. Luke, and is named as "Stachys the beloved." What is noticeable is that here also there is the coincidence of profession, for Stachys too appears (not indeed in the *Columbarium* of Livia, but in another inscription) to have been a *medicus* attached to the household. This by itself would be interesting enough. But the Epistle to the Romans was written, it will be remembered, three years or so before St. Paul arrived at Rome, and written from Corinth. He must therefore have known "Stachys the beloved" at some earlier period of his ministry, as he must have known the others to whom he sends messages which imply close personal acquaintance. The conclusion is almost beyond the shadow of question that all of them, Stachys included, must have been among those who came with Aquila and

Priscilla to Corinth when Claudius commanded all Jews (and therefore all the believers in Christ, some of whom actually were Jews, and all of whom were popularly identified with them) to depart from Rome (Acts xviii. 2). If so, the physician at Corinth may have taken part with the physician at Philippi in the letter of introduction which secured for St. Paul the use of the lecture-room of their professional brother at Ephesus. It is at least all but certain that "the saints of Cæsar's household" must have been more or less numerous, probably a little *ecclesia* or congregation by themselves, long before the feet of an apostle had trodden the streets of Rome. The "brethren" who came to Puteoli or Appii Forum as soon as they heard of St. Paul's approach (Acts xxviii. 15)—and the fact that they did hear of it implies previous correspondence—may have been drawn by the ties of personal friendship both for him and for St. Luke. The way in which the latter describes the emotions which filled the heart of the Apostle as he saw them approaching ("he thanked God, and took courage") is far more easily understood if we think of him, not as meeting for the first time those who hitherto had been strangers to him, but as recognising the familiar faces of friends whom he had known before.

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.—III.

BY THE REV. H. W. PHILLOTT, M.A., RECTOR OF STAUNTON-ON-WYE, AND PRÆLECTOR OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

EDEN.

BEFORE we proceed further in our description of the Mesopotamian region, let us turn back awhile, and investigate as far as we can the geographical and topographical notices occurring in the earlier parts of the Book of Genesis, which lead us on into that region; and at once we are met in the very opening of the narrative by the mention of the Garden of Eden.

The Garden of Eden! It is from this that the two great rivers whose courses we have described are said to proceed; and not only they, but two others, also derived from the same origin, the Pison and the Gihon (Gen. ii. 10—14).

We may remark in passing that the word "paradise," by which the Septuagint translation expresses the word which we render "garden," is not found in our version of the Old Testament. It is a word of Persian origin, meaning a park or garden—i.e., a space enclosed either for pleasure or profit. In the New Testament it is used thrice—viz., in our Lord's gracious promise to the repentant malefactor on the cross (Luke xxiii. 43); in St. Paul's account of his heavenly vision (2 Cor. xii. 4); and in Rev. ii. 7, where it is used in a figurative way to denote an abode of eternal rest and spiritual enjoyment, the paradise of God, which contains the tree of life.

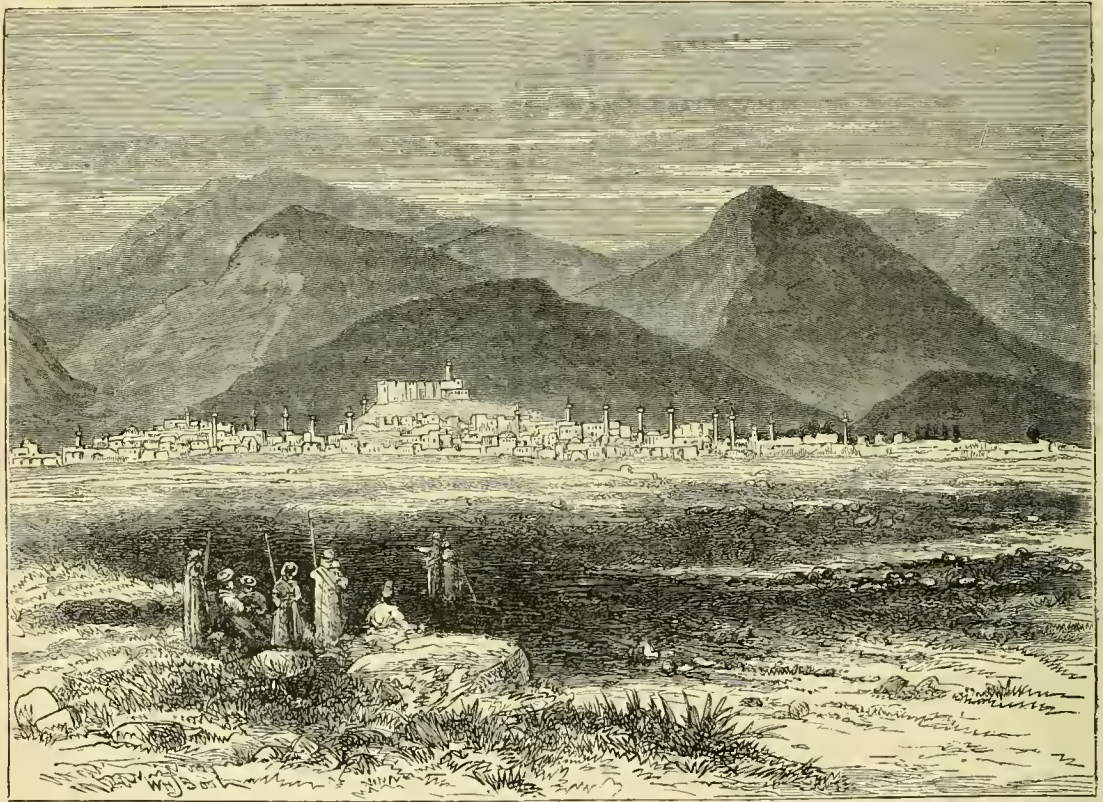
What does the Book of Genesis tell us about its situation? That God planted—i.e., placed, and also furnished—"a garden in Eden, on the east side;" and

further, that "a river went out of Eden to water the garden;" and that from that place it was divided, and "became into four heads" (ii. 10). It then names the river-heads, and two countries, Havilah and Cush, or Ethiopia, in connection with them.

The word Eden means "pleasure:" are we by this to understand a place or a condition? and we reply that, whatever the meaning of Eden may be, the "garden," "the blissful paradise" must denote a place of definite dimensions somewhere "in Eden." We read further on in Scripture of "the children of Eden" who dwelt in Thelasar (2 Kings xix. 12; Isa. xxxvii. 12); of a region of this name mentioned in connection with Haran, which used to trade with Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 23); of a land of Eden in Syria, probably near Damascus (Amos i. 5); of "Eden, the garden of God," remarkable for its trees; and of the "garden of God," evidently denoting the garden of Eden, but whose site is not defined (Gen. xiii. 10; Ezek. xxviii. 13; xxxi. 8, 9, 16, 18). Where then shall we look for the Eden of primeval man? Even to suggest this question seems to open to us an abyss of discussion "deeper than ever plummet sounded." For we have to reconcile with the position of a definite Eden not only the well-known courses of the Euphrates and Tigris, but the positions also of Cush and Havilah, countries concerning which we are not thoroughly acquainted, and also the accounts of certain mineral products belonging to them. And besides all this we are

assured that the garden has been for ages inaccessible to man. We are safe, therefore, in asserting that its site can never be ascertained, at any rate in this life; but can we in any degree approximate to it? The map-makers of the Middle Ages had no hesitation in placing Paradise at the head of their maps, and representing the four rivers as flowing directly from it. With them the geographical difficulties could hardly be said to exist; but what are we to make of Pison and Gihon, and Cush and Havilah? Most opinions, not all, place Havilah in the west or south-west of Arabia (Gen. xxv.

the actual Tigris and Euphrates; and that Gihon and Pison were represented by two of the channels which fall into the sea in connection with the united stream of the two great Mesopotamian rivers. In order to meet this view Havilah would fall nearly into its proper place in Arabia, while Cush would be transferred to the province of Persia called Chuzistan, anciently Susiana, on the east of the Tigris. A serious objection to this opinion lies in the inversion of order which it involves, one which makes the branches run into the main stream, instead of the main stream divide itself into its branches.



ERZEROUH.

18), and regard Cush as a name applying to more than one region—one in southern Arabia, and the other the country answering to what we now call Abyssinia. Of the rivers Gihon and Pison, the former has been very commonly supposed to represent the Nile, an opinion of which Milton reminds us when he speaks of those who would place Paradise, not in Assyria, as he would place it, but

—“under the Ethiop line
By Nilus’ head, enclosed with shining rock
A whole day’s journey high.”—*Par. Lost*, iv. 282.

And Pison has been thought to be the Ganges or the Indus. In order to avoid the insuperable geographical objections to these opinions, some eminent writers have thought that the river which went out of Eden was the Shat-el-Arab already described; that two of the heads which went forth from it, or rather belonged to it, were

Other opinions regard the Pison and Gihon as representing two of the important rivers rising in or near the high-lands of Armenia, among which are the Araxes, now *Aras*, flowing into the Caspian; the Cyrus, now *Kour*, which runs into the Caspian; the Phasis, now *Rioni*, running into the Black Sea, but whose chief source is in the Caucasus, a river celebrated in antiquity for its gold-producing neighbourhood, and whose name is familiar to us through the name “pheasant,” the Phasian bird, transplanted to our own land; the Halys, now *Kizil Irmak*, which flows into the Black Sea, about seventy miles east of Sinope, in Asia Minor; the Acampsis, now *Joruk*, also flowing into the Black Sea, near Batoum, whose source is not far from those of the Araxes and Euphrates; and lastly that one of them is the Oxus, now *Jyhoun*, a river which runs from east to west, into

the sea of Aral, from the opposite (eastern) side of the Caspian, into which it formerly fell, and having no connection whatever with Armenia.

Thus, if we exclude from consideration the Oxus, whose modern name seems to be its chief recommendation, we have on the whole two general classes of opinion:—1. The one which places the site of Paradise near the Persian Gulf. 2. The other, placing it somewhere in the high-lands of Armenia. The proximity to each other of the sources of so many important rivers in the immediate neighbourhood of the city of Erzeroum in Armenia has favoured the opinion, if it has not given rise to it, that its site is within the region of Paradise. With this notion the situation of the city, about 6,000 feet above the sea, with a severe climate and prolonged winter of intense cold, by no means agrees; but Mohammedan traditions relate that the flowers of Paradise continued to bloom there in all their freshness until the days of the Persian king, Khosroo Purveez, who, being encamped on the banks of the Kara-Su, rashly rejected with scorn a demand from the false Prophet, then but little known beyond his own country, that he should embrace the Mohammedan religion. Since that time the story says that not only did the fortunes of Khosroo decline, but that the waters of the river have shrunk into a deep but narrow bed, useless for irrigation, and that the flowers have perished, and frost and desolation reign where once was beauty and abundance. (Gibbon, *Hist.*, c. xlvii., vol. v., p. 395. Curzon, *Armenia*, p. 122.)

Amid this maze of difficulty one is tempted to look with some favour upon the notion taken up, but carried to excess, by Philo, the Jewish writer, who wrote in the

early part of the first century A.D., which is followed in part by several Christian fathers, and which seems to receive countenance from the passage in the Book of Revelation (ii. 7) mentioned above, that the whole history is allegorical rather than locally descriptive. Or we might adopt the middle view, that while Eden is perhaps significant of a condition or a quality rather than of a place, yet that the Garden of Pleasure described by the Book of Genesis, connected as it is with the definite and well-known geographical names of the Euphrates and Tigris, can hardly be other than a definite area, unknown indeed to us, and probably undiscoverable, but certainly in the East, and agreeing in general with what appears to have been the starting-point of the history of the human race.¹

The difficulty by which the position of the Garden of Eden is beset, besets also the relative positions of the "land of Nod," the place of Cain's exile, and of the city Enoch which he is said to have built there (Gen. iv. 16, 17). The word Nod means "banishment," and except that it is said to have been towards the east of Eden, we have no information concerning it. It may, perhaps, not denote any special country at all, but simply a land lying towards the east of the place from which he went forth, a range which would embrace the whole of Eastern Asia. A trace of the name Enoch, or rather Henoch, has been thought to have been preserved in the name of a Seythian tribe, the *Heniochi*, who lived near the Black Sea; but no reliance can be placed upon this conjecture, which does not agree with the supposed situation of the land of Cain's banishment.

¹ Philo, *Leg. Alleg.*, i. 14. Clem. Alex., *Str.*, v. 11. Aug., *De Gen. ad lit.*, viii. 1; *Civ. D.*, xiii. 21, xiv. 11.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.—IV.

BY THE REV. DR. GINSBURG.



AS has already been remarked, at the age of thirteen the boy became a member of the community, and was held responsible for his religious conduct. We cannot here describe the numerous feasts and fasts, or the six hundred and thirteen precepts, both positive and negative, which the Hebrew youth, thus publicly inducted into the congregation of Israel, had henceforth to observe. We must restrict ourselves to the main duties which now devolved upon him, and which are summed up in the following declaration made by every Hebrew in his daily morning prayer to this day: "These are the deeds, the fruits of which men enjoy in this world, whilst the principal remains for the world to come. They are as follow:—(1) Honouring father and mother; (2) deeds of charity; (3) early attendance at the sanctuary both morning and evening; (4) entertaining strangers; (5) visiting the sick; (6) giving outfits to brides; (7) following the dead to the grave; (8) devotion at prayer; (9) and making peace between a man and his neighbour. But (10) the study of the Scriptures outweighs all."

The mode in which these general maxims were explained by the authorised teachers of the nation, and the manner in which the responsible youth had to practise them in common life, illustrate many an allusion in the New Testament. We shall therefore review these duties which now became the task of the young Hebrew's domestic life somewhat more minutely. In doing so, we shall follow the order in which they are laid down.

I.—VENERATION OF PARENTS.

Though filial respect is enjoined in the Decalogue (Exod. xx. 12; Deut. v. 16), and is placed in juxtaposition with the keeping of the Sabbath, which is the same as honouring God (Lev. xix. 3), yet the Mosaic law nowhere defines in what this duty consists, what it embraces, or whether there is any limit to it. In the whole Pentateuch there are only two instances given which constitute a violation of filial respect, namely, striking or cursing one's parents (Exod. xxi. 17; Lev. xx. 9; Deut. xxvii. 16); and persisting to lead an intemperate life in spite of the admonitions of father and mother (Deut. xxi. 18—21). But even these two im-

stances are undefined, and require explanation. For what constitutes a curse or a blow? and what amount of indulgence makes a youth "a glutton and a drunkard," as the Bible calls it, to bring upon the lad the awful punishment of death, was the great question of the doctors of the law before and at the time of Christ, as it would be amongst our lawyers, were such axiomatic laws to exist in this country at the present day. One can easily imagine the ingenious and hair-splitting definitions which our learned Attorney-Generals and Queen's Counsel would advance if they had either to arraign or defend such an unfortunate criminal. Precisely the same minute disquisitions we meet with among the ancient Hebrew expounders of the law. The interpretation which these doctors put upon the law of filial respect illustrates both the excellence and the defects of those definitions which devolved upon the administrators of the law in the commonwealth of the Israelites. And we shall see that the charge which Christ prefers against them for one of their interpretations of this very law (Matt. xv. 4—6; Mark vii. 10—13) is fully justified by the manner in which it was practised.

Believing that the law never varies a term in a legal enactment without some cause or design to convey a different shade of meaning, these doctors maintain that there is a difference between the expression, "Honour thy father and mother," in the Decalogue (Exod. xx. 12; Deut. v. 16), and the phrase, "Ye shall fear every man his mother and his father," in Lev. xix. 3. Hence they submit that by the word "honour" is meant that "the son is bound to provide his father with meat and drink, raiment, and covering, and sandals, and must lead him in and out;" and that by the term "fear" is meant that "the son is not to sit down in the father's presence, or talk in his presence, or to contradict any of his statements" (*Jerusalem Kiddushin*, i. 7). These kindly offices to parents were also performed by other nations of antiquity. The Egyptians to this day consider it highly indecorous for a son to sit down in the presence of his father without permission; still less would he think of smoking before him. Among the Persians, "the child manifests love for the mother and reverence for the father. In his presence the son, even when grown up and aged, must neither sit down nor smoke without special permission, which is not always granted. All the property belongs to the father. Hence it never happens that the son lives in affluence and the father in poverty, as is sometimes the case in Europe."¹ It was this great veneration and love which the Jews, in common with all Eastern nations, had for their parents, that made it so hard for them to act contrary to the religious convictions of those whom they tenderly cherished, and leave them altogether in order to follow Christ. It was this same laudable feeling to which our Saviour refers when he says, "He

that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me" (Matt. x. 37); and which called forth his comforting promise, "Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother . . . but he shall receive a hundredfold now," &c. (Mark x. 29, 30). And it is this which gives such an awful reality to the picture when one with an Eastern mind reads the words, "The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother" (Luke xii. 53).

This certainly is the bright side of the traditional explanation which prevailed, in the time of our Saviour, on the precept, "Honour thy father and thy mother." We now come to the darker side, which made Christ prefer the charge against the doctors of the law, "Ye have made the commandment of God of none effect by your traditions" (Matt. xv. 6). The doctors define "a stubborn and rebellious son" (Deut. xxi. 20) as follows: He must be at least thirteen years of age, and must eat no less than half a pound of flesh and drink half a *log* (about half a pint) of wine. R. Jose submits it must be a *mane* of flesh and a *log* of wine. If he eat anything whatsoever, to any quantity whatsoever, except flesh, and if he drink any quantity whatsoever of any other beverage except wine, he cannot be declared "a glutton and a drunkard," since Prov. xxiii. 20, where the phrases are written out fully, shows that the words *gluttony* and *drunkenness* used in Deut. xxi. 20 apply to meat and wine. The money with which he procures these articles he must steal from his father, and the act of gluttony and drunkenness must be committed on the premises of a stranger. If he steals from his father, and eats and drinks on his father's premises, or if he steals from others and eats and drinks on their premises, he cannot be made "a stubborn and rebellious son." If his father wishes to bring him to justice, and his mother not, or *vice versa*, he cannot be made "a stubborn and rebellious son." If one of the parents has only one arm, is lame, dumb, blind, or deaf, he cannot be made "a stubborn and rebellious son," for it is written: "And his father and his mother shall lay hold on him, and bring him unto the elders, . . . and shall say, This our son is stubborn and rebellious" (Deut. xxi. 19, 20). They are to "lay hold on him," and therefore must not have one arm. They are "to lead him forth," and therefore must not be lame. They are "to say," and therefore must not be dumb; "this is our son," pointing him out, and therefore must not be blind. "He will not hear our voice," and therefore must not be deaf. (*Mishna, Sanhedrin*, viii. 1—4.) With such an interpretation of the law, it was almost impossible to convict any one. Well, therefore, might Christ say to these expounders, "Ye make the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition."

There is, however, another point connected with the interpretation put upon this precept, "Honour thy father and thy mother," by the ancient doctors of the law, to which our Saviour alludes in Matt. xv. 4—6; Mark vii. 10—13, and which was the immediate occasion of the charge preferred against them. The accusa-

¹ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ii. 65. Pollack, *Persien: Das Land und seine Bewohner*, i. 227. Leipzig, 1865.

tion is as follows in St. Matthew, according to the Authorised Version: "God commanded, saying, Honour thy father and mother: and, He that curseth father or mother, let him die the death. But ye say, Whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, *It is a gift*, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; and honour not his father or his mother, *he shall be free*." According to St. Mark, the accusation is as follows: "Moses said, Honour thy father and thy mother; and, Whoso curseth father or mother, let him die the death: but ye say, If a man shall say to his father or mother, *It is Corban*, that is to say, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me, *he shall be free*. And ye suffer him no more to do ought for his father or his mother."

To understand this allusion, which has occasioned so much difficulty to commentators, regard must be had to the practices which obtained in the time of Christ in connection with vows. Though the Bible nowhere imposes vows as a duty, but, on the contrary, distinctly declares that he who makes no vows has not neglected any duty (Dent. xxiii. 22), yet it demands that what has been voluntarily promised should be strictly performed. (Dent. xxiii. 21—23). As the kind of votive offering is not prescribed, the Scriptures take no notice of the different degrees or classes of vows, and about the manner in which it is to be carried out. Tradition, however, or rather the administrators of the law, have minutely codified and classified these self-imposed vows. They are divided into two kinds: I. POSITIVE VOWS (נדר הקדש) were those by which a man binds himself to consecrate for religious purposes either his own person or a portion of his property. The objects of the positive vows might be either his own person, his wife, child, slave, cattle both clean and unclean, his house, or his field. The only exceptions were those objects which already belonged to the Lord, by virtue of some other statute or ordinance, as, for instance, the first-born, persons and things devoted to God by the ban, and tithes. All persons and things thus vowed became a *corban*, that is, an offering, and fell to the sanctuary. There was, however, a regular tariff, which enabled the individual who made the vow to redeem all the objects which he promised to the Lord, except sacrificial animals. The valuation according to which redemption of the objects of the vow was effected was as follows:—

(1.) *Human beings*. A boy from a month to five years was valued at five shekels of the sanctuary; a girl of the same age at three shekels. A boy from five to twenty years at twenty shekels, and a girl at ten. A man from twenty to sixty at fifty shekels, and a woman at thirty shekels. A man above sixty at fifteen shekels, and a woman at ten shekels. If the person was too poor to pay the fixed price, the value was proportionately lessened (comp. Lev. xxvii. 3—8). (2.) *Animals* could only be redeemed when unclean, and hence unfit to be offered as a sacrifice; and (3) *houses and fields* could be redeemed according to the valuation of the priests (comp. Lev. xxvii. 9—25). And, II.

NEGATIVE VOWS (נדר אכר) were those whereby one promised to abstain from enjoying or doing a certain thing. Such vows were solemnly binding upon all, except on a daughter when still under the roof of her father, and on a wife. The father and the husband could disannul any vow the day it was made, but not later.

The form of the vow is nowhere given in the Bible, because vows, as we have said, formed no integral part of the Mosaic law, and were simply free-will expressions of piety current among all nations of antiquity. The doctors of the law, therefore, felt themselves under necessity to lay down most minutely what declaration is regarded as binding. They enacted that, "If one says to another, A Corban, a sacrifice, a whole burnt-offering, a meat-offering, a sin-offering, a thank-offering, or a peace-offering, be that which I should eat of thine, he must not eat of the property of that person" (*Mishna, Nedarim*, i. 4). Such a declaration constitutes the vow, and the individual who made it must no more partake of anything which belongs to his neighbour in question, than he is permitted to make any profane use of the sacrifices which are consecrated to God. The same is the case if, instead of imposing it upon himself, he imposes the vow upon another. Thus, for instance, "If one sees several persons eat figs which belong to him, and says, 'Behold, they are a *corban* to you!' and then finds that among these strangers were his father and brothers (whom he did not recognise), the relatives, according to the school of Shammai, may eat the figs, but not the strangers, because, as far as the relatives are concerned, the vow was a mistake; whereas, according to the school of Hillel, both may eat them" (*Nedarim*, iii. 2). The vow is entirely null and void because it is so partially. But if any one expressly and distinctly imposes such a vow upon his father, saying, "Be it to you a *corban*," the parent must not partake of the property in question which belongs to his son. Hence the remarks of Christ: "Full well ye frustrate the command of God that ye may keep your own tradition. For Moses said, Honour thy father and thy mother; and, Whoso curseth father or mother, let him die the death: but ye say, If a man shall say to his [father or mother, Corban, that is, an offering, is all that wherewith thou mightest be profited by me, ye no longer suffer him to do ought for his father or his mother, making the word of God of none effect through your tradition" (Mark vii. 9—13, with Matt. xv. 4—6). By this declaration that anything which his father or mother might wish to enjoy of his property is Corban, the object in question becomes sacred to the Temple, and can no longer be eaten by any one, not even by his father or mother, the law of God, which commands the son to honour his father and mother, is frustrated, inasmuch as in this command "to honour," as we have seen, is included the provision of food, raiment, &c., for the parents. The Authorised Version, by translating *dōron*, the Greek word explanatory of the Hebrew *corban*, "a gift," has obscured the sense of the passage. The word *corban* occurs upwards of seventy times in the Old Testament,

and is always rendered in the Authorised Version by "offering," "oblation," or "sacrifice," but never by "gift;" and it is therefore surprising that King James's translators should have departed from their own definition of the word. Nor can it be said that *dōron*—the Greek explanatory word—necessitated this rendering, since *dōron*, according to the Septuagint, is the exact

equivalent of the Hebrew expression *corban*, and is always given by these Alexandrian translators as the meaning of it. The fact is that our translators followed the Vulgate *donum*, by which term, however, this version never renders *corban* in the Old Testament.

ERRATA.—In Article II., page 46, col. ii., line 32, for "fifteen" read "thirteen;" and at line 34, for "15" read "13."—Ed.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—X.

MOSES (*continued*).

BY THE REV. J. P. NORRIS, M.A., CANON OF BRISTOL.

III.—FROM THE NIGHT OF THE PASSOVER TO ITS ANNIVERSARY—ONE YEAR.

BERE the morning broke, the 600,000 marching men, with the mixed multitude and their wagons and their cattle, were far on the road which led from Rameses to the head waters of the Red Sea. It was the 15th of Nisan, B.C. 1491, according to the commonly received chronology.¹ Arriving at the close of the second day at Etham, on the very edge of the wilderness, Moses was forbidden to pursue the direct route to Palestine any further, and commanded to turn to the south along the Egyptian shore of the Red Sea, which in those days seems to have extended north of Suez, some twenty miles or more, including what are now known as the Bitter Lakes of the Suez Canal.² Pi-hahiroth must have been near where the town of Suez now stands; and there they encamped. These three days had given time to Pharaoh to recover from his panic, and once more to harden his heart against the God of Israel. He pursued them with a vast army of chariots and horsemen, and overtook them in a spot where it seemed impossible for them to escape his vengeance. And when the Israelites thus "entangled," and "shut in" between the sea and the wilderness, "lifted up their eyes" and beheld the pursuing host closing upon them, "they were sore afraid," and "cried unto the Lord."

But Moses' sure trust in the Divine presence never wavered. "Fear ye not," he said; "stand still, and see the salvation of Jehovah, which He will show you to-day; for the Egyptians, as ye have seen them to-day, ye shall see them again no more for ever. Jehovah shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace." And lo! the pillar of glory which had accompanied their march was seen to move from before them, until it stood as a screen between the two hosts, bright all through that night to God's people, but casting a dark shadow over their pursuers. And Moses stretched his hand over the sea, and throughout the night there blew a strong east wind,³ which caused the receding

tide "to go back" further than usual, and made a complete separation between the waters of the gulf and the waters of the Suez lagune. And over that dried ford, the water forming a barrier "on their right hand and on their left," Moses led the Israelites. Twelve miles at least must have been the width of the crossing at this place. And now God's purpose in leading his people by this route was made manifest. Before the dawn of day the Egyptian host attempted to pursue them across the gulf, and were in the midst of the passage as the last of the Israelites stepped forth upon the shore. Then Moses again stretched forth his hand over the sea, and the high spring-tide⁴ "returned to his strength," overwhelming Pharaoh and his Egyptian host.

"Thus the Lord saved Israel that day out of the hand of the Egyptians, . . . and Israel saw that great work which Jehovah did upon the Egyptians: and the people feared Jehovah, and believed Jehovah, and his servant Moses."

In the magnificent hymn in which Moses and the people gave utterance to their thankfulness, there breathes for the first time a consciousness of the high destiny that was in store for them. Already they seem to see the Philistines, the Edomites, the Moabites, and all the inhabitants of Canaan "amazed" and "melting away" before their triumphant march, and themselves the redeemed of Jehovah, entering upon their long promised inheritance, the Holy Land or "sanctuary," where Jehovah should reign over them "for ever and ever."

Never once during his twelve months' conflict with the power of Pharaoh had the faith or courage of Moses quailed. Contemned, cajoled, threatened, spurned from the royal presence, he had never faltered. And now his triumph over Egypt was complete. But the far greater difficulties of his task had yet to begin. As he had learned forty years before, to crush the oppressor is easier than to discipline and educate the oppressed.

The very people who but now were singing the praises of Jehovah, and feeling as though the Promised Land was already in their grasp, were three days later "murmuring against Moses" because the waters of the wilderness were bitter. And again, when in the second

¹ See table in page 133.

² This contraction of the western horn of the Red Sea some centuries later seems to be alluded to in Isa. xi. 15; xix. 5.

³ Thus the inspired narrative distinctly states that natural agency was employed to accomplish the Divine purpose. And yet the result was no less distinctly miraculous, for these natural agents were placed at the command of Moses.

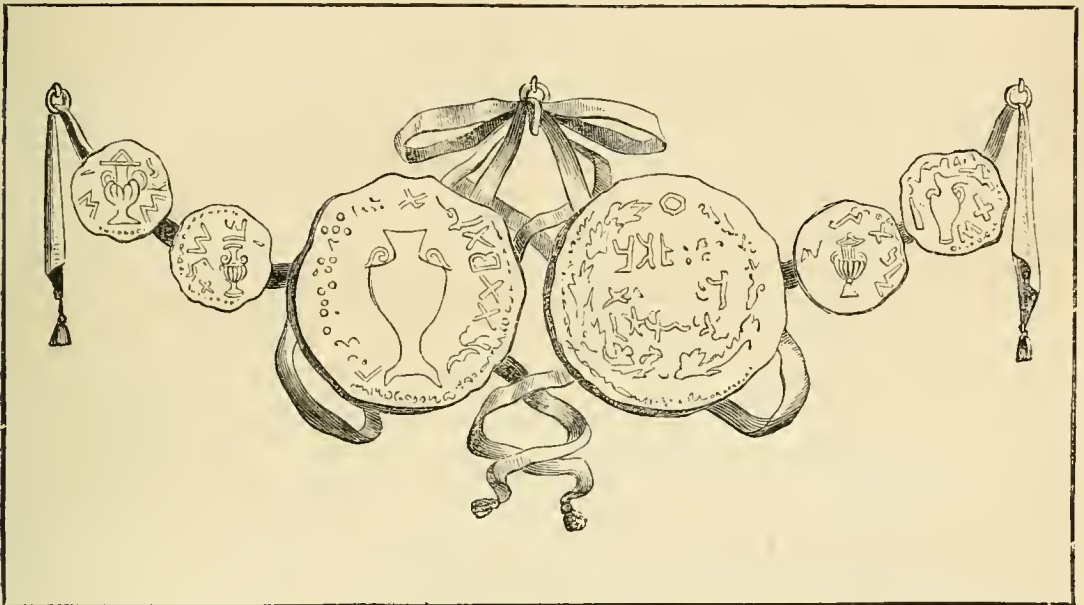
⁴ It was three days only after the full moon.

month of their journey, their supply of Egyptian bread began to fail them, they were crying, "Would to God we had died by the hand of Jehovah in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh-pots, and did eat bread to the full." Again Moses interceded for them. And, behold, the cloudy pillar glowed with Divine light; and God spake to Moses out of the pillar, and promised that at evening they should eat flesh, and in the morning they should be filled with bread; and they should know that He was Jehovah their God.

Then God brought a dense flight of quails, common in that country in our days also, and they lay thick on

water, a "brook descending out of the mount,"² as Moses calls it in Deuteronomy, a "perpetual running river"³ which "followed them"⁴ in all their forty years' wandering⁵—not running up hill, as some have absurdly said, but doubtless renewed at the head of every valley which they entered, making every *wady* into a water-course for the time, and only ceasing when they reached Kadesh-barnea, the northern limit of the wilderness.

Possibly it was the possession of this abundant water-supply which tempted the Amalekites to attack them. All day the battle raged, and Joshua, their captain,



SAMARITAN COINS: SHOWING THE SUPPOSED SHAPE OF THE POT IN WHICH THE MANNA WAS PRESERVED.

the camp; and in the morning they found the ground covered by a small, white, round thing which they had never seen before, and exclaiming "*Man hu?*" (what is this?) called it manna.¹ It was so abundant that each man could gather an omer (three quarts) daily; and on the sixth day the supply was doubled that it might last over the Sabbath. This supply of manna was continued, we are told, all through the forty years, ceasing only when they had crossed the Jordan. It was, therefore, in all respects preternatural—"He gave them food from heaven; so man did eat angels' food."

Yet again, turning into the parched ravine that led towards Rephidim, they murmured, for there was no water; and again Moses "cried unto the Lord," for the people were mad with thirst and "ready to stone him." And God bade Moses go on before as far as Horeb with the elders, and there at the head of the valley smite the rock with his rod; and there gushed forth a stream of

water, a "brook descending out of the mount,"² as Moses calls it in Deuteronomy, a "perpetual running river"³ which "followed them"⁴ in all their forty years' wandering⁵—not running up hill, as some have absurdly said, but doubtless renewed at the head of every valley which they entered, making every *wady* into a water-course for the time, and only ceasing when they reached Kadesh-barnea, the northern limit of the wilderness.

Possibly it was the possession of this abundant water-supply which tempted the Amalekites to attack them. All day the battle raged, and Joshua, their captain,

² Compare Exod. xxxii. 20, and Deut. ix. 21.

³ Wisdom xi. 6.

⁴ 1 Cor. x. 4.

⁵ Neh. ix. 20, 21.

⁶ Deut. xxx. 10; xxxi. 24.

¹ Exod. xvi. 14, 15.

This uncertainty of Jethro's previous faith, himself a priest and a descendant of Abraham, helps us to understand the more perfect revelation of the name—that is, the person—of Jehovah, made to Moses in the sixth chapter, and there contrasted with the less perfect revelation made to the patriarchs.¹ Jethro, by his wise counsel, seems to have assisted Moses in organising the administration of justice for this newly-formed nation.

But the time was now come for the revelation of a Divine law, extending to every department of their civil and religious life, perfect in its adaptation to its end. That end was to educate a nation so degraded by oppression, so little capable of moral principle, that some rules were enacted (as we know on the highest authority) because of "the hardness of their hearts."² And yet throughout these rules, merely ceremonial and coercive as they may seem at first sight, there was a profounder purpose which they no less perfectly fulfilled, and that was to develop in this nation a sense of sin, and a conviction that God is the only redeemer from sin, which prepared the seed of Abraham for the fulfilment of the promise, that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed.

It would be beside the scope of this biography to attempt to give any account of the Sinaitic legislation.³ Moses was the *mediator*⁴ of the Law rather than the lawgiver. And it is, perhaps, because the idea of his *mediatorship* has not been seized with sufficient firmness that much of his subsequent life has failed to receive its true interpretation. Viewing him as a fully inspired lawgiver, commentators have been apt to conceive of him as standing altogether on the side of God in his attitude towards the people; and this in some passages of his life has involved them in perplexity. Whereas this was not his true position. His true position was that of a *mediator*. Though he had a consciousness of God immeasurably beyond theirs, yet on the other hand he was in heart and soul bound up with his people. In the words of the "Hebrew of Hebrews," it might be said of Moses that his "heart's desire for Israel was that they might be saved;" at times he could almost wish that his own name were blotted from the book of life "for the sake" of his brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh."⁵ It was his intense sympathy with them that led (as we shall see) to the one failure of his faith.

The promulgation of the Law, including the construction of the tabernacle, occupied nearly twelve months—from Whitsuntide to Whitsuntide, as we should say. Throughout this period the people were encamped in the wide plain at the foot of the "mount of God." The whole region seems to be called "Horeb;" the *mount* is called "Sinai." Travellers seem now disposed to identify it with an isolated mountain which

rises so abruptly from the great plain at its foot that its northern cliff might be said to be touched by one standing in the plain. The northern peak is called Ras-Sasâfeh, the southern Jebel-Mûsa. It rises to a height of 2,900 feet above the plain, and about 7,000 above the sea-level. Here, then, all the requirements of the narrative seem to be strikingly satisfied.

First, Moses was summoned to ascend the mount—probably the very mount on which the year before he had communed first with Jehovah. He received a message to the people. If they would accept the covenant, they should be a "kingdom of priests and a holy nation." The message was delivered, and all the people answered and said, "All that Jehovah hath spoken we will do;" and Moses, re-ascending, reported the words of the people to Jehovah. Again he was sent down, charged to purify the people, for on the third day Jehovah would "come down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai." Not one was to touch the mount on pain of death. "And it came to pass on the third day, in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of a trumpet exceeding loud, so that all the people that was in the camp trembled. And Moses brought forth the people out of the camp to meet with God; and they stood at the nether part of the mount. And Mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because Jehovah descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly." And when "the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder," Moses was again yet more urgently charged to keep the people⁶ at a safe distance, lest the flame of Jehovah's presence should "break forth upon them."⁷ Then as they listened with trembling, came in the ears of all those Ten Commandments spoken by the voice of God.

But the terror of the people was so great, that they intreated Moses that they might hear no more the voice of God thus speaking directly to them. And their prayer was granted. The Law henceforth was given to Moses alone, and by him afterwards repeated to the people—"given," therefore, "by the hand of a mediator."⁸ "Speak thou with us," the people said, "and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we die."

Then Moses ascended the mount, and "drew near to the thick darkness where God was," and received the further ordinances recorded in the twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third chapters, which seem (with the Decalogue?) to have formed "the book of the covenant," which he afterwards recited in the audience of the people, and then committed to writing (xxiv. 3, 4).

⁶ Even the "priests" were not to draw near. Sacrifices have already been mentioned (viii. 27; x. 25), offered, doubtless, by the first-born of each family, who acted as priests until superseded by the Levitical priesthood.

⁷ "So terrible was the sight, that Moses said, I exceedingly fear and quake" (Heb. xii. 21).

⁸ Gal. iii. 19.

¹ Compare Jacob's language (Gen. xxviii. 20, 21).

² Matt. xix. 8.

³ Michaelis' *Commentaries on the Law of Moses*, and Outram's *De Sacrificiis* almost exhaust the subject.

⁴ Gal. iii. 19.

⁵ Compare Rom. ix. 3, with Exod. xxxii. 32.

Then followed the solemn ratification of this covenant. There was a solemn sacrifice; both the people and the "book of the covenant" were sprinkled with blood. Then Moses, Aaron, his two sons, and the seventy elders were called part-way up the side of the mount; and to them was revealed, not the face, but the glory of "the God of Israel," appearing to rest on a deep blue ground, deep as the heaven and blue as the sapphire. They were permitted so far to see God and live.¹

After this Moses was withdrawn for forty days from the people; all they knew was that he had ascended the mount with Joshua, and had disappeared into that cloud of thick darkness which could be seen from the plain below, resting on the mountain peak, illumined from time to time with the lightnings of the Divine presence.

While Moses, in a trance-like communion, neither eating bread nor drinking water,² was being instructed in the divine pattern after which he was to fashion the tabernacle, the people below, alarmed by the prolonged absence of him who alone could sustain their faith, fell back in their fear upon their old superstitions, and persuaded Aaron to fashion for them such a golden calf as they had seen the Egyptians worship.

Nothing can be grander than the burning indignation of Moses on his return, dashing to the ground the tablets of the law which they had violated, grinding the accursed calf to powder, and in holy vengeance seeking to wipe out their shame in the blood of three thousand who persisted in their sin.

Nothing can be grander than this, unless it be his deep yearning love for these sinful people which found utterance the next day in his agony of intercession: ³—"Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, yea, have made them a god of gold! Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written!"

And Jehovah, whose first terrible purpose had been to destroy them utterly, and raise up from Moses' seed another people, yielded to the prayer of his servant; including Aaron in his forgiveness.

The people were so far pardoned that they should

not be destroyed, and should go forward towards the Promised Land; but the amnesty had an awful qualification: Jehovah would send his Angel *before* them, but he would no longer be himself present "in the midst of them." Accordingly, Moses removed the tent,⁴ or "his tent" (according to the Septuagint), but in either case clearly the place where Jehovah vouchsafed his presence, to some little distance outside the camp, and called it the "tent of meeting" (so it should be translated), going out thither each day to "meet" Jehovah, thus making it plain to the people that Jehovah was no longer in the midst of them. But this removal of his Lord's presence is a bitter grief to him; and again the unwearied mediator pleads for his people, that Jehovah would return and dwell among them; and he prevails.⁶ And Jehovah calling him once more into the secret pavilion of darkness on the mountain height, vouchsafed to him, as an earnest of his promised presence, that awful glimpse of the skirts of his glory as the mystic cloud passed by, and a voice proclaimed, "The Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth."

When once more on a mountain height Moses beheld the Divine glory, not averted as now, but face to face, and heard once more a voice proclaiming, "This is my beloved Son," how the remembrance of this passage in his earthly life must have returned to him! And with what adoring joy would he learn to recognise in that glorified human form, none other than the august Presence of the wilderness!

Another forty days were now spent in that secluded presence-chamber of Sinai. The tables of the Decalogue were renewed, the main conditions of the covenant repeated; and Moses descended once more to the camp. But as he drew near, and Aaron and the people went forth to meet him, they recoiled in awe from his presence, for there was an unearthly light on his face: "they could not stedfastly behold his face for the glory of his countenance" (2 Cor. iii. 7). "And when⁷ Moses had done speaking with them, he put a veil upon his face," in order that the Israelites (according to what seems to be St. Paul's interpretation) might not look on the end or fading of that transitory glory.

About six months of this first year had now elapsed. The six following months were occupied in making preparations for the erection of the tabernacle, for which

¹ "They saw God, and did eat and drink" (xxiv. 11), is explained by some to mean that they partook of their sacrifice in the Divine presence. But the sacrifice was at the foot of the mount, and the vision after they had been called up into the mount. It is not likely they would carry with them their peace-offerings. Nor is it mentioned with any emphasis, as though it were a mystical repast. Some think it is a Hebraism meaning "they continued to live;" others that it simply means that they lived to finish their sacrificial meal on their return.

² Deut. ix. 9.

³ It is possible that this intercession occupied another forty days on the mount, for Moses seems to refer to it in Deut. ix. 18, 25, "And I fell down before the Lord, as at the first, forty days and forty nights;" going on to say in x. 1, that *after* this intercessory prayer the Lord bade him hew two new tables, and with them return into the mount. And that the intercessory prayer was offered *in the mount* appears from the expressions in Exodus, "New I will go up unto the Lord," "And Moses returned unto the Lord" (xxii. 30, 31). This view (that there were three fasts of forty days) is adopted by Lightfoot, whose sagacity in matters of this kind is marvellous.

⁴ Deut. ix. 20.

⁵ אהל (*ohel*), not the tabernacle, מִשְ�כָּן (*mishkan*), which was not yet constructed. It is much to be regretted that our translators have followed the Vulgate in rendering both words by "tabernacle."

⁶ The Septuagint gives this passage more clearly than our version. In reply to Moses' importunity, Jehovah first answers (Exod. xxxiii. 14), "I myself will go *before* thee, and will give thee rest." But this does not satisfy Moses: "Unless thou wilt *thyself* go *with* us, lead me not up hence." So in the next verse he urges that visible presence of Jehovah *with* them is their mark as a favoured people. The prepositions are correctly given in the LXX. In our translation the distinction is lost.

⁷ Our translators have confused the narrative by inserting "if" instead of "when" in verse 33, making it inconsistent with verse 29, and with St. Paul's interpretation in 2 Cor. iii. In the Septuagint it is correctly given.

Moses had received full instructions in the mount. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. viii. 5) insists much on the fact that this tabernacle was a copy of a *divine original*, which had been shown to Moses on the mount, that divine original being the

chamber or "most holy place" (15 feet square), entered only by the high priest, and by him only on one day of the year, the great Day of Atonement. Here was the ark or sacred chest, with its memorials of Sinai and lid or mercy-seat, on which rested henceforth the



scheme of the Christian dispensation, as predetermined in God's eternal counsels.

Within a sacred enclosure called the court of the tabernacle, was erected the tabernacle itself. This was an oblong boarded structure, 45 feet in length, 15 in breadth, and 15 in height, covered by a tent 22½ feet high to its ridge. It was divided by the veil into two chambers: the antechamber (30 feet long), where prayer and incense were daily offered; and the inner

cloud of the Divine Presence. On the first day of the new year all was prepared and the sacred shrine was reared; outside its tent-covering there rested the cloud; within, upon the mercy-seat, the divine light or halo. And in this tabernacle henceforth Moses, accompanied it would seem by his attendant Joshua, communed with Jehovah (Exod. xxiv. 13). The feast of dedication lasted twelve days, and was followed by the passover, the anniversary of the Exodus.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—I.

HABAKKUK.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

INTRODUCTION.

HABAKKUK—or, as the word ought to be pronounced, Habakkuk—is as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, and saying, “Repent, for the great and terrible day of the Lord is at hand.” In so far as our knowledge of him is concerned, he is, like Melchizedek, “without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life;” yet he “abideth a prophet for ever,” and is perhaps the more impressive as a prophet, because we know nothing of the man. His name is all we certainly know of him, and even the meaning of his name is still in dispute. Some maintain that “Habakkuk” is equivalent to *Amabilis Domini*, “the beloved of the Lord;” others that it is equivalent to *contestatio*, and expresses the vehemence of his protest or remonstrance; while the majority derive it from the Hebrew verb *chabaq*, which means “to fold the hands,” “to embrace,” and affirm that, as a personal name, it signifies either “one who embraces,” or “one who is embraced.” Luther puts a delightfully simple and pleasant interpretation upon it; he says, the prophet “embraces his people, and takes them to his arms; i.e., he comforts them and lifts them up as one embraces a weeping child, to quiet it with the assurance that, if God will, it shall be better soon.” Habakkuk, the Embracer, is, on the whole, the title I should give our prophet; though, in this differing from Luther, I should be disposed to interpret the title as signifying either that he rests in the embrace of God, and therefore is not shaken from his faith in the Divine goodwill, even by the tragic disasters and catastrophes which he foresees, or that he embraces the feet of the Almighty, and pleads with impassioned importunity on behalf of his people.

The doubt which attaches to the prophet's name, attaches also to his vocation and his date. From the technical note appended to the sublime ode with which his prophecy closes—“To the conductors of the Temple music: with my stringed instruments,” it has been reasonably inferred that he was officially qualified to take part in the liturgical service of the Temple, and belonged, therefore, to one of the Levitical families which were set apart to sing and play before the Lord. One or two hints from the stammering lips of rabbinical tradition confirm this conclusion. But, after all, it is built up on premises so slender and dubious, that we can only say, “Peradventure, Habakkuk was a Levite and a musician; possibly he was even a choir-master in the Temple, who had to set the Psalms to appropriate music, and to distribute their parts to the various instruments of the orchestra.”

The date at which he lived and prophesied is, within certain limits, as doubtful as his vocation and the

meaning of his name. All we can be sure of is that he lived before the Chaldean invasion which devastated the land after the death of Josiah. This much we infer from the fact that he predicts an invasion by that fierce and impetuous nation, and must therefore have lived before it. But even this point is disputed by the rationalistic commentators, who maintain that every prophecy was written *after* the event. They rank Habakkuk among the prophets of the Captivity. Their verdict, however, counts for little, since it is obviously made to square with their private theory rather than based on historical data. The commentators who believe as well as reason have only one difference of any moment: some of them place the prophet early in the reign of King Josiah; others place him in the later years of Manasseh, the grandfather of Josiah. My own impression—it is not worth calling a conviction—is that Habakkuk, the poet and musician, lived in the reign of Josiah; in that brief but happy interval in which, having cleansed the land of its idolatries and restored the worship of Jehovah, the good king “set the priests in their charges,” and replaced the “singers at their post;”¹ and in which, as we know, the fountain of inspired song, long closed and sealed, once more threw up its tribute to Heaven. At such a time the magnificent psalm or ode of Habakkuk might well be composed and adopted into the Temple service.

As we gaze into the glass of history, then, Habakkuk remains a very dim and dubious figure. We see nothing clearly, nothing certainly. The whole man, like one of the Homeric divinities, is enveloped in a mist, which glides before us, shifting into various forms, and vanishes from our eyes before we can determine what it is like. Like the ghost of Hamlet's father, he comes before us in a most “questionable shape.” And for many centuries there have been men and rabbis who have said with Hamlet—

“Thou comest in such a questionable shape,
That I will speak to thee;”

nay, even speak *for* thee. Finding him mute and dumb, notwithstanding their eager interrogations, and that they were like to “burst in ignorance,” they have called him, or made him call himself, not only Levite and Musician, but Shunamite, Simeonite, Angel, and even Farmer—so horribly has he “shaken their disposition with thoughts beyond the reaches of their souls.” It is a curious and a most salutary contrast. Looking into the glass of history we see but a dubious shadow; but no sooner do we turn to the glass of rabbinical and patristic legend than we behold a man whose form has the most definite outlines, and of whom we can learn all we care to know, though it must be admitted that

¹ 2 Chron. xxxv. 2, 15.

one fact is at times inconsistent with another. Taken as a whole, drawn into a compact form, this is the Habakkuk whom the fathers, and the rabbis, and the traditionalists in general set before us. His father is "Joshua, a son of Levi;" yet is he also "of the tribe of Simeon." His mother is "the Shunammite woman" who persuaded her husband to build "a little chamber in the wall" for Elisha, because she perceived "that this was a holy man of God." Habakkuk was, therefore, the little lad who, while playing among the sheaves on a hot harvest morning, cried to his father, "My head! my head!" and was taken home to his mother, and died at noon upon her knees; but who "sneezed seven times," and "opened his eyes," and came back to life when Elisha had "stretched himself," mouth to mouth, and eyes to eyes, and hand to hand, on the child's fair little body. In after years he was "the sentinel" whom Isaiah sent up into his watch-tower, to gaze toward Babylon, and catch the first intimations of its fall.¹ He, moreover, was the angel or messenger who was transported from Judea to Babylon that he might carry food to Daniel, when he was mured up in the den of lions. When Jerusalem was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, he fled to Ostrakine, in the vicinity of Arabia Petraea, and remained there till the Chaldeans left the city, when he returned to his native land, in which he died at his own farm many years afterwards. He was buried at a spot between Keila and Gabatha, where, nearly a thousand years afterwards, his tomb was seen by Jerome. And, finally, his relics were discovered, "to the honour and glory of the Christian religion," by a very holy bishop of Eleutheropolis, to whom the place in which they were deposited was revealed in a dream.

If we compare this legend, every sentence of which contains a lying fable, with the silence and reserve of the inspired Word, we can hardly fail to be struck with the vast difference between history and tradition.

Despite the ingenuity of the rabbis and fathers, we know absolutely nothing of Habakkuk, save this, that, in all probability, he lived in the reign of Josiah, and was therefore cotemporary, or nearly cotemporary, with the prophet Zephaniah. And doubtless Habakkuk is well content to have it so. He was inspired to speak certain "words" for God. So long as these words were spoken, and are still heard, and still working for God, what other or better reward could a true prophet desire? That all but what is best in him should die out of human memory, is what any good man might crave; and there could be nothing in Habakkuk so good as "the words of God." Possibly his personal history, instead of adding to the force of those "words," would have detracted from their force. We know something of Jonah: do we respect his words the more for what we know of the man who uttered them? Habakkuk may have been as much nobler a man than Jonah as he is a finer poet; but, at the best, the life of a man must be far below the words of God.

We have the best of Habakkuk, then, in his poem,

and, as we have nothing else, we are compelled to concentrate our thoughts on the one thing he has left us. Few poems, few inspired poems even, will better repay study. On the beauty and sublimity of his work, and especially of the ode in which it enchains, all the critics are agreed. Henderson, after saying that Habakkuk is "surpassed by none" of the Hebrew prophets, proclaims "this lyric ode one of the most splendid and magnificent within the whole compass of Hebrew poetry." Wright declares it to be "a composition unrivalled for boldness of conception, sublimity of thought, and majesty of diction." Ewald characterises it in a single phrase, when he names it "Habakkuk's *Pindaric* ode." Rowland Williams says, "His poetry has whatever the Hebrew mind could conceive of sublimity." And Delitzsch sums up thus: "His language is classical throughout, full of rare and select words and turns, which are to some extent exclusively his own, whilst his view and mode of presentation bear the seal of original force and finished beauty."

The contents of the book are divided into two parts, by a certain change and distinction of literary form. The first part comprises chapters i. and ii.; the second part consists of chapter iii. In the first part of the poem, the prophet foresees and describes an invasion by the Chaldeans. This invasion, because it is a natural result of the moral depravity into which the "priestly nation" has sunk, is also a Divine judgment on it. The prophet paints the fierce impetuous Chaldeans, and their thirst for conquest, with marvellously graphic touches. He sees how, by their very lust of conquest, and the victories to which it conducts them, they will be undone; and with the stern joy of a Hebrew and the victim of oppression, he predicts the utter overthrow which will humble this arrogant and self-idolising race. As he utters their doom, or "burden," his tone, which has been singularly lofty throughout, rises into a still higher strain; and he closes the first part of his poem with an ode which is at once a satire and an elegy. He places it in the mouth of the nations who have been conquered by the bitter and hasty Chaldeans, representing them as denouncing a fivefold "woe" on the heads of their oppressors, and kindling into keen indignant satire of their crimes and superstitions: as, for example, in chap. ii. v. 19:—

"Woe to him that saith to the wood, Awake!
Awake! to the dumb stone!
It teach! There it stands,
Overlaid with gold and silver,
And within it is no breath at all!"

By the heightened and more poetic tone of this "song" or "satire" the prophet prepares us for his grandest effort—the "prayer," which is also "a triumphal ode," and which constitutes the second part of his poem. This ode—than which nothing finer in its kind has ever been written—is an impassioned outburst of patriotism and religious faith. The poet recalls the splendours of the giving of the Law at Sinai, when Jehovah descended, through a clouded heaven to a trembling earth, to reveal himself in glories intolerable to human sense. He traces the course of the Divine

¹ Isa. xxi.

manifestation and providence through the annals of the chosen race. And from the whole course of their history he draws omens of good, and confirms his faith in the mercy of God. Though heaven and earth should be convulsed with threatening prodigies, though drought should parch the streams, and dearth should blacken the fields; though the folds should be emptied of their flocks, and there should be no oxen in the stalls; though the Chaldeans should burn through the land like the simoom, and sweep up captives as the flaming wind sweeps up the sand, nevertheless he will confide in God his strength and rejoice in God his salvation; he will rest calmly in the assurance that the very judgments of the Lord are merciful, that by these calamities and terrors He is seeking to redeem his people from their sins, and calling them to righteousness, that He may take them by the hand, and send them out to be the light of all nations. He is not perplexed by the mystery of the Divine counsels as other prophets are, or he is perplexed but for a moment; nor does he, like Jeremiah, weep and lament over the terror and suspense which that mystery inspires. He is sure that God is faithful, and will redress all wrongs if only men will wait faithfully for Him. He is invincible in the conviction that *the righteous man shall live by his fidelity*. And it is in the strength of this conviction, which indeed is both the keynote and the moral of the whole poem, that he utters the sublime challenge, and draws the striking though utterly inconsequent conclusion—

"Art not *Thou* from everlasting,
O Lord, my God, my Holy One?
We shall not die."

FIRST PART.

THE JUDGMENT (CHAP. I. 2—II. 20).

The Book of Habakkuk is entitled "*the Burden which Habakkuk the prophet did see*." "To see a burden" strikes one as a somewhat incongruous and unhappy phrase. It sounds like a mixed metaphor. If we would understand and vindicate it, we must remember that, in the ancient seers, prophecy commonly assumed the form of vision, and that their technical name for a vision which was heavy with doom was *massáh* or "burden." As they studied the moral and political conditions of their time, forecasting the results in which those conditions must inevitably issue in the years to come, those years, or the events that were to mark them, took visible dramatic form and passed before their eyes. When this visionary procession of future events was clouded with judgment, when they saw years of misery approaching, their hearts grew heavy with them, and they called the vision which thus oppressed their hearts "*a burden*," a "*burden of the Lord*." "To see a burden" was therefore the brief compressed phrase in which they indicated the fact that they had seen a vision which *burdened* and oppressed their spirits, that they were staggering as under a weight of doom.

Habakkuk might well call his vision a "*burden*," for it was loaded with an intolerable weight of doom. As

the years to be passed before his prophetic soul, he saw nothing but judgment—judgment on the Jews, judgment also on the Chaldeans. For their sins his own race were to be given into the hands of the fierce and impetuous warriors of Babylon, whose cavalry were to sweep through the land "*like the simoom*;" and then these ministers of the Divine justice, the Chaldeans, were themselves to be condemned by the very justice they executed, and to be given up to their enemies as a booty and a prey. The "*burden*" or "*doom*" of Habakkuk, therefore, takes a twofold form: first, we have the judgment on Judah; and, second, the judgment on the Chaldeans.

I. THE JUDGMENT ON JUDAH.

The description of the doom that was about to fall on the Hebrews occupies chapter i. This chapter divides itself into three parts. The first division (vs. 1—4) is a brief elegy, in which the prophet laments the social corruptions and public wrongs which rendered the Hebrews of his time obnoxious to the Divine justice. In the second division (vs. 5—11), Jehovah himself appears, to announce the Chaldean invasion by which he will avenge himself on the sinful Hebrews. In the third division (vs. 12—17), the prophet reappears to explain that "*mercy*" is the meaning of "*judgment*;" that it is designed to correct men, to show them how good that law is which they have broken, and to recover them to the obedience in which their freedom and blessedness consist.

(1) First, we have the elegy (chap. i. 1—4), in which the prophet laments the sins which are provoking judgment and necessitating it. In a few graphic words he depicts the utter corruption, private and public, into which an Oriental state so easily falls when its rulers have long been luxurious, exacting, unjust. "*Iniquity*" goes forth unbuked; "*robbery and violence*" are unpunished, unrestrained; "*strife and contention*" are rife between man and man, and between the factions by which the commonwealth is plundered and oppressed. Public law is chilled and "benumbed;" it lies torpid, instead of coming forth with vigour to correct and punish and restrain. When righteous men, stung into appeal by intolerable wrongs, come before judges and princes, prosperous sinners compass the unwelcome suitor about, intrigue against him, bribe against him, lie against him, so that he is "*circumvented*" in the double sense of the word, and right is "*twisted*" or "*perverted*" when the sentence is pronounced. All this Habakkuk sees with amazement and consternation. What but evil can spring from injustice? what but weakness from corruption? He cannot understand why God does not interpose, how He can endure to look on unmoved. With the impatience that springs from faith in the justice and compassion of the Sovereign Ruler of the universe, he exclaims—

"How long shall I cry, O Jehovah, and thou hearest not!
I cry to thee, Violence! and thou savest not.
Why dost thou let me see iniquity,
And why beholdest thou misery?"

He is sure that the Lord loveth judgment; that, righteous

himself, He must be the friend of the righteous; and yet when he cries God does not hear; when, like a man who has fallen among robbers who maim and despoil, he shouts out "Violence!" God does not save. If he (the prophet) cannot endure to look on the "iniquity" which is in the land, how can God behold unmoved the "miseries" in which that iniquity results? It is the old cry, the constant outcry of human impatience at the Divine long-suffering, "The mills of God grind slowly," too slowly for us. We long to see instant justice done, too often forgetting what, and how irrevocable, our own fate would be were "the incensed heavens" to blaze down doom on men the instant they offend. There is a tone of reproachful amazement in the prophet's lament over the sins of his people and the dilatoriness of Divine justice.

(2) To this reproach, Jehovah himself replies by predicting a judgment so much more terrible and wide in its sweep than any the prophet had expected as to redouble his amazement (vs. 5—11). As the prophet had spoken for the whole company of the righteous in Israel as well as for himself, so God addresses his reply to them as well as to him. He bids them look round among the nations with which they were at peace. Do they see no cloud on the horizon, no sign, no portent of danger? He is about to work a work of judgment so marvellous as to seem incredible to them. They will not believe it, though it be told them. He is about to rouse the *Chasdim* against them.

Now that this should seem so unlikely as to be utterly incredible, denotes that, whatever the exact time in which Habakkuk prophesied, it was one of those periods in which the Hebrew State was in close alliance with the Chaldean State, an alliance so close and friendly that the Hebrew politicians had no fear of its rupture. Yet it was in this wholly unexpected form that the Divine judgment was to come upon them. The Chaldeans, in whom they trusted, on whom they leaned, were to give the death-blow to the dynasty of David. No doom could be more terrible. For the Chaldeans, under a soft and dissolute exterior, hid a fierceness such as we ourselves have found in "the *mild Hindoo*." Of all the ancient races they were the most fierce and cruel, the one race that seemed to have delighted in cruelty for its own sake. The deep fear they inspired found an echo even in the words of the Hebrew prophets, the most gallant of men. They speak of the Chaldeans "as a bitter and hasty," "a terrible and dreadful people," a people

"That smote the nations in fury
With a stroke that never ceased,
That subdued nations with fury,
Hunting them down without pause;"

a people that

"set the earth trembling,
That shook kingdoms,
That made the world a wilderness,
And destroyed its cities."¹

Habakkuk's description of them exactly accords with

that just cited from Isaiah. He describes them (ver. 6) as

"That fierce and impetuous nation
Which marcheth across the breadths of the earth,
To seize upon dwelling-places that are not its own."

It is formidable and fear-inspiring, sending terror and dread before it whithersoever it turns. It is the more formidable, it inspires the last degree of terror, because it acknowledges no rule higher than its own will, defers to no heavenly benign Power as the source of honour

"Its law and its pre-eminence are from itself."

And indeed the Babylonian worship was but an organised indulgence of lust and cruelty. In forms which it would be an outrage on modesty to describe, they paid homage to the great forces of Nature, and drew new inspirations to military pride and cruelty from their very religion. Their cavalry were a special dread to a race like the Hebrews, who fought mainly on foot. To them the trained horses, "pacing proudly" as they champed the bit and arched the neck, were well-nigh as marvellous as the "well-bitted steeds" of the Spaniards were to the Peruvians: even the prophets speak of them in a tone of exaggeration, as "swifter than panthers" springing on their prey, as keener for movement and conflict than wolves, who, starving through the day, grow desperate in the evening (ver. 8). The men who ride them are no less swift and fierce. They fly "like an eagle," in their haste to devour. But why does the prophet speak of these horsemen as "coming from afar?" Babylon was hardly at such a distance from Judea as to render that phrase appropriate. No, but the Assyrian army was composed of levies drawn from all tributary lands, some of which were far removed from Palestine. Arab and Egyptian horsemen may have formed its light cavalry, sweeping in clouds before the advance of the main body, as swift and terrible to the antique world as the Tartar hordes were in the Middle Ages, or the Pandours and the Cossacks in our own age. Or the prophet may have had in his mind the prediction which had come down from the time and lips of Moses, that if the seed of Abraham did not hearken to the voice of the Lord their God, to observe and do all his commandments, "Jehovah shall bring against thee a nation from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth."² It may be that, consciously or even unconsciously, Habakkuk, seeing that the doom of disobedience was about to fall on the seed of Abraham, suffered his words to be shaped by the words of Moses. Certainly the correspondence is very close. Moses describes the ministers of the Divine vengeance as "a nation from far, swift as the eagle;" and Habakkuk, speaking of them, says: "Their horsemen come from afar; they fly hither, hastening, like an eagle, to devour."

Such clouds of horsemen, sweeping swiftly through the land, appearing and disappearing, soon broken but soon re-formed, plundering, capturing, and slaying wherever they went, in retreat as well as in advance,

¹ Isa. xiv. 6, 16, 17.

² Deut. xxxiii. 49.

could hardly be more happily characterised than by Habakkuk's comparison of them to the simoom, the hot stifling blast which carries death wherever it comes—a huge human simoom, which swept up captives as the burning wind sweeps up sand (ver. 9).

These swift barbarous horsemen seem to have made the deepest impression on the popular mind reflected by the prophet, just as the Pandours were the terror of the Prussians in the wars of Frederick I., and the Cossacks were the type of irrestrainable barbarity in our war with Russia. But Habakkuk does not altogether forget the troops which composed the main body of the Assyrian army. These he describes as so proudly conscious of their splendid roll of victories that they scoffed at kings, made princes a butt for laughter, derided every stronghold, "heaped up earth" against it—i.e., raised a military causeway, as high as the walls of the fort or fortified city, from which they could deliver the assault; and then poured into it, "and took it," with the large easy insolence of conscious strength. Hardened and elated by conquest and long experience of war, they took the very tone taken by the veterans of the first Napoleon, of whom this 10th verse might be used as a description, if the batteries of modern times were substituted for the causeway of ancient military art. For *they*, too, "scoffed at kings," "and laughed at princes," and "derided every stronghold," so many of them had they beaten and broken down, so insolent and invincible were they in the memory of former and repeated conquests. The veterans of Nebuchadnezzar held themselves to be equally invincible; they delighted in war; they spurned the mere thought of defeat. *Their strength became their God* (ver. 11), the only god in which they put a sincere trust, before which they deemed the God of the feeble Jews to be as powerless as the Jews themselves. These ominous words, "this its strength becometh its god," are the climax of the prophet's description; and, to the present ear, they are the knell of the Assyrian race. After this, nothing remains to be said of a man, or a nation. Once let men reach the point at which they take their own strength, or anything that is theirs, for a god, and, as Job reminds us, they sink below the level of the beasts of the field, and the fowl of the air.

"Tranquil are the tents of the spoilers,
And they who provoke God are confident,
Who carry their god in their hand;"

i.e., who make their sword, or their strength, their deity. Men so arrogant and besotted, who have no law but their own will, and no God but their own sword. Job sends to the beasts, the birds, the fish, for instruction. These shall teach them to recognise the hand of Jehovah,

"In whose hand is the life of every living creature,
And the breath of all mankind."

These shall teach them that it is

"He who exalteth nations and destroyeth them;
He who enlargeth nations, then straiteneth them;
He who taketh away the heart of the chieftains,
And maketh them to wander in a pathless waste,
So that they grope in a darkness where there is no light."

This was the lesson which the Chaldeans were to learn so soon as they had taught the Jews that God

was a just God, and would not suffer iniquity to go unrebuked. How, by what painful strokes, they were taught that lesson, we shall see when we reach chap. ii.

(3) Meantime, Habakkuk is a patriot as well as a prophet. He cannot contemplate the approaching doom of his race unmoved. The contemplation of it stirs his soul to its very depths. It quickens in him a sorrow and a terror which compel him to fall back on those simple primitive convictions in which alone man can find refuge when his spirit is shaken with fear and oppressed with misery. If an irresistible host were about to land on our shores, and voices from heaven had assured us that the day of England's doom had come, whither could *we* flee for refuge, if we had no stronghold in God? It is to this gracious asylum that Habakkuk now betakes himself (vs. 12—17). Terror gives him wings, and he rises to the sublime *non sequitur* in which so many oppressed and saddened hearts have found comfort:—

"Art not *Thou* from everlasting,
O Jehovah, my God, my Holy One?
We shall not die."

To human reason, the eternity of God may seem no argument for the immortality of man, much less for the continued life of a guilty and degraded nation. But he who calls Jehovah "*my God, and my Holy One,*" has not he good reason for hoping that he shall live, and not die? Shall the Father be eternal, and his children mortal? Nay, even a nation, however guilty and degraded, in which are righteous men who can look with unassuming eye to heaven and call God *their God*; men, therefore, who feel that, because God is absolutely holy, he cannot suffer them to be destroyed by the wicked who come up against them; may not such men draw from the holiness and eternity of God a ground for hope? and hope, not for themselves alone, but also for the nation, of which they form part? It is thus that Habakkuk reasons for himself and for his friends. They trust in an eternal God, in a God who is their God because he has ever befriended the righteous; and therefore, however dark the time and its portents may be, they are sure that He will deliver those who put their trust in Him, that the righteous Lord will not suffer righteous men to be destroyed by the ungodly. They settle in the conclusion, that the Chaldean scourge is ordained for *judgment*, not for condemnation; for *correction*, not for destruction. And yet, even as they settle into this conclusion, their mind is "all clouded with a doubt." What God is doing, and is about to do, or to permit men to do, does not accord with the conclusion of faith. Their inward conviction does not "square with shows." Facts are against them. The righteous are being destroyed, and yet God does not interpose! And therefore the prophet, admitting these unmanageable facts, but holding fast to the conclusion of faith, breaks into the pathetic appeal:

"Art thou too pure of eye to behold evil,
And dost thou not look on misery?
Wherefore then dost thou look on them that deal treacherously,
And wherefore art thou silent when the wicked destroyeth
One more righteous than himself?"

These faithless treacherous spoilers, the Chaldeans, when they came against Judah, would not spare the few righteous men who held fast their allegiance to Jehovah; and that *these* should be destroyed with the unrighteous who were full of spoiling and violence, who twisted and benumbed the law, appears to the prophet an injustice not to be reconciled with the stainless holiness of God, a blot on the escutcheon of his providence. How *can* He do it, or permit it? Thus to confound moral distinctions, is to reduce men to the level of the fish and reptiles of the sea, any one of which, quite apart from its deserts, may be taken on the fisherman's hook, or drawn into his net. Nay, all other races seemed condemned to play the part of mere fish, that the Chaldean fisherman might have his sport.

"He lifteth them all up with his hook,
He draweth them into his net,
And gathereth them into his draw-net;
He rejoiceth thereat, and is glad."

To the prophet, considering the conquests which had carried the terror of the Chaldean arms across "the breadths of the earth," from the Euphrates to the Nile, and the pride and insolence which these conquests had engendered, it seemed as though the providence, the righteous rule and tender care of Jehovah, were in abeyance; the Chaldean was the god of this world, and held all other men and races at his will. He cannot *rest* in the lofty conclusion of faith, to which he had risen for

a moment. It has grown questionable and dubious to him. He can no longer look on the approaching doom, and say with entire conviction—

"O Jehovah, for judgment hast thou ordained it,
And thou, O Rock, hast determined it for correction."

The Chaldeans have come between him and his God. Yet he does not wholly lose hope. He cannot believe that the God who sitteth in the heavens will yield his glory to another. And the Chaldean, blinded by his success, is worshipping his sword, his strength. He has sported with the nations, casting his armies over them like a net, and gathering up their treasure as in a draw-net. He has thus accumulated the wealth of the earth, the luxuries of all lands. "His portion is rich, his food fat." And now "he sacrificeth to his net, and burneth incense to his draw-net," *i.e.*, he worships his own prowess, and pays divine honours to it. Will God suffer that? Will he permit the Chaldean to go on "emptying his net" of draught after draught, that he may cast it again and again, and "unsparingly destroy the nations for ever" (vs. 16, 17)? Habakkuk cannot, will not, believe it. And therefore, if he cannot rest in faith, he still cherishes a hope that, when Judah is cleansed by judgment, and recovered to obedience by correction, their enemies, who are also enemies of the human race, nay, enemies of God himself, will be overtaken by the retribution their iniquities have provoked.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.—VII.

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HORSE.

THE Hebrew names for the horse occurring in the Bible are usually two—viz., *sûs* and *pârâsh*—and these are of frequent occurrence; but in addition to these terms there are two others, *rechesh*, rendered "dromedary" in our version (see 1 Kings iv. 23; Esth. viii. 10, 14), and *rammâk* (plural *rammâkîm*), also rendered "dromedary" or camel (Esth. viii. 10), a word which probably means "a mare." These two terms we may dismiss for the present without further discussion. The term *sûs* generally denoting any war-horse, whether driven in a chariot or ridden, seems in a few instances to be restricted to a chariot-horse, and to be used in contradistinction to the *pârâsh* or "cavalry horse;" thus in 1 Kings iv. 26 (*Heb.* v. 6) we read in our version, "Solomon had forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen," where the Hebrew words clearly mean so many "horses for his chariots" (*sûsîm lemerchâbo*), and so many cavalry or "riding horses" (*parâshîm*). So in Ezek. xxvii. 14, "They of the house of Togarmah (Armenia) traded in thy fairs with chariot-horses (*sûsîm*), riding-horses (*parâshîm*) [A.V., horsemen], and mules (*perâdîm*)." Our translators have always rendered *pârâsh* and plural *pârâshîm* by "horseman" and

"horsemen;" in some instances the word doubtless has that meaning, as in Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12, where the Assyrians are spoken of as "desirable young men," "horsemen riding upon horses" (*pârâshîm rôchbei sûsîm*); in 2 Sam. i. 6 the word is accompanied by another—"Lo! the chariots and horsemen" (*ba'lei happârâshîm*, "masters of the horses"—*i.e.*, "riders") "followed hard after him." The passage in Isa. xxi. 7, "And he saw a chariot with a couple of horsemen, a chariot of asses, and a chariot of camels," ought to be rendered thus, "And he saw a team, pairs of horses, a team of asses, a team of camels:" it was not the custom of any of the Orientals to yoke asses or camels to war-chariots. All the allusions to horses that occur in the sacred writings have reference to their use in war, with one exception, viz., in Isa. xxviii. 28, where the prophet says, "Bread-corn is bruised, for he will not ever be threshing it, nor break it with the wheel of his cart, nor bruise it with his horses" (*pârâshîm*) [A.V., horsemen]. From this it would appear that horses were employed in the time of Isaiah for treading out the corn (an office generally performed, as we know, by oxen), supposing that the word *parâshîm* in this passage denotes horses, and not some crushing implement or threshing-machine, which is the opinion of Fürst (*Heb. and Chald. Lex.*, p. 1,159, s. v.). *Pârâsh*, if

Semitic in origin, which we doubt, comes from a root signifying "to break through," "to press forward," and might appropriately be applied to a threshing instrument; still there seems to be no sufficient authority for so rendering the word in this passage, and it must be remembered that in modern times the custom of threshing out corn by means of horses exists in some countries; thus Shaw, speaking of the practice of the Moors and Arabs, writes: "These nations continue to tread out their corn after the primitive custom of the East. Instead of beeves they frequently make use of mules and horses, by tying in like manner by the neck three or four of them together, and whipping them afterwards round about the *nedders*, as they call the threshing-floors, where the sheaves lie open and expanded in the same manner as they are placed by us for threshing." "One of my pupils," says Michaelis (*Comment. on Laws of Moses*, ii. 496), "a native of Hungary, on hearing of my illustration of this passage in my lectures, informed me that, to him, threshing with horses was an operation quite familiar; that little boys mounted them and rode about among the heaps of corn brought together." The same practice, too, prevailed among the people between the Don and the Volga. Horses were also employed for threshing out the corn by the Romans as well as cattle; indeed, Columella (*De Re Rust.*, ii. 21) says: "Si competit ut in area teratur frumentum, nihil dubium est, quin equis melius quam bubus ea res conficiatur"—i.e., if it is convenient to thresh the corn on the threshing-floor, there is no doubt that the work can be effected by horses better than by cattle." If under Jotham and Uzziah "the land was full of horses, and there was no end to their chariots" (Isa. ii. 7), some of these animals might have been profitably employed by exercising them for "treading out the corn."

Although the Jews from their earliest history, almost down to the time of Solomon, did not employ horses for any purpose, either in agriculture or in war, they were well acquainted with these animals, which were used extensively by the Egyptians, Canaanites, Syrians, and other neighbouring nations. It was Solomon who introduced the horse to the Hebrews, importing vast numbers into Palestine from Egypt, although it is true that his father David, after defeating Hadadezer, king of Zobah, took from him a thousand chariots, and reserved of the horses enough for a hundred chariots; this being the first recorded instance of the establishment of a horse and chariot force by a king of Israel. The first mention of horses in the Bible occurs in Gen. xlvii. 17, where we are told that the movable effects of the Egyptians, with which they purchased corn from Pharaoh, consisted of horses, sheep, oxen, and asses. At the time of the Exodus horses were very abundant in Egypt, though at what time and whence this animal was introduced into the ancient land of the Pharaohs will probably long remain a question undecided, though there is some reason for believing that it came from the East. The breed of horses was carefully attended to by the ancient Egyptians. They were used both in war—

proving a formidable element in their armies—and in drawing private carriages (Gen. xli. 43), and for riding. "Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse-heels, so that his rider shall fall backward." In the time of Solomon, as we have said, horses for war purposes were extensively imported into Judea from Egypt. The king is said to have had 40,000 stalls of horses for his chariots, and 12,000 cavalry horses (1 Kings iv. 26); but there is probably an error here, for in 1 Kings x. 26; 2 Chron. i. 14, the number of chariots is given as 1,400, so that, allowing three horses for each chariot—two in use and one as a reserve—the number required would be about 4,200, or, in round numbers, 4,000, which is probably the correct reading. "The number 4,000 is in due proportion to the 12,000 horses for cavalry, and is in accordance with all that we know of the military establishments of the time and country. Shishak, the Egyptian king, brought only 1,200 chariots into the field (2 Chron. xii. 3); Zerah, the Ethiopian, had but 300 (xiv. 9); Hadadezer had 1,000 (2 Sam. viii. 4); the Syrians of Mesopotamia 700 (x. 18)."

The Canaanites, in the time of Joshua, if not before, made use of war-horses and chariots; Jabin, king of Hazor, whom Joshua defeated at the waters of Merom (Josh. xi. 7), came out to battle "with horses and chariots very many." These chariots Joshua "burnt with fire," while he *houghed*, or hamstrung all the horses, in accordance, partly, perhaps, with the prohibition in Deuteronomy (xvii. 16): "He (any future king) shall not multiply horses to himself." After the time of Joshua, Israel was "mightily oppressed" for the space of twenty years by another Jabin, king of Canaan, who possessed "nine hundred chariots of iron" (Judg. iv. 3).

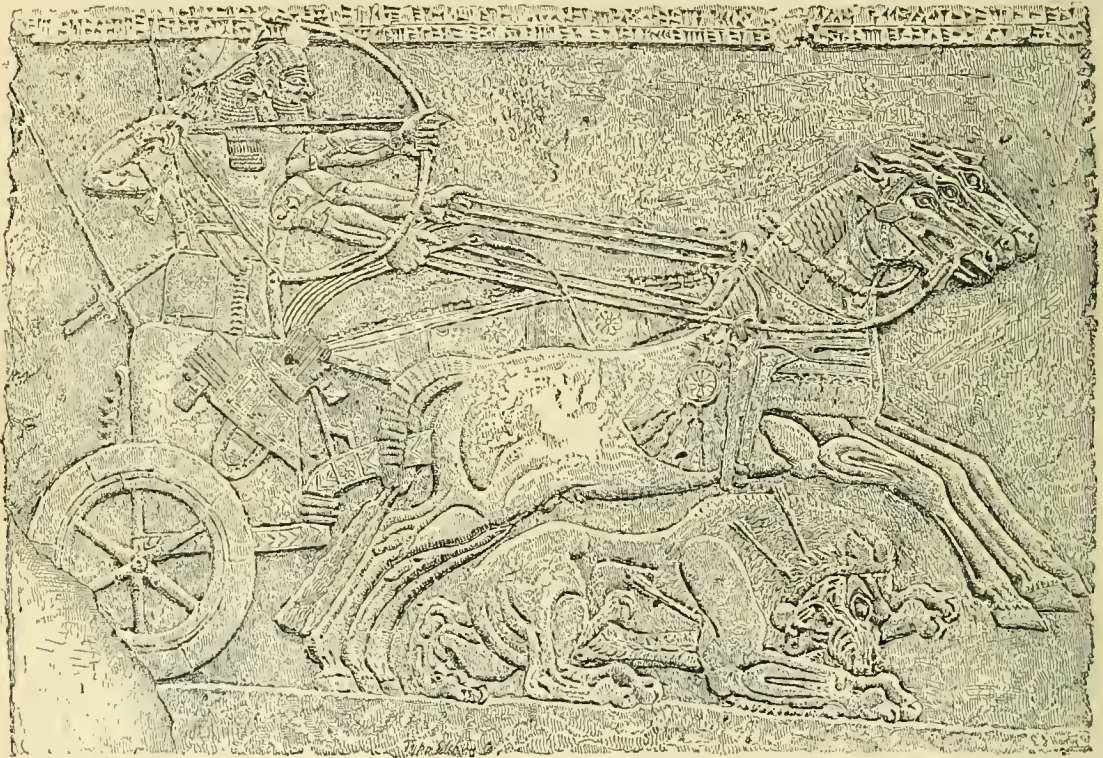
As the Hebrews, after their settlement in Canaan, occupied to a great extent the hilly portions of the country, they would not require the services of the horse, either in agriculture or in war; while other portions occupied by them, such as the south of Judah and the eastern districts of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, were little devoted to tillage, and horses not required. Accordingly, when great battles took place in plains and level country, where cavalry and chariots could be employed with success, the Hebrews were not always successful against their enemies; while in the hilly and rocky portions they were generally successful. In the first chapter of the Book of Judges an account is given of the failures of the people to subjugate certain of the old inhabitants, while in the 19th verse occurs this remarkable statement: "The Lord was with Judah, and he drove out the inhabitants of the mountain; but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron." So later on in their history, in the time of Ahab, when Benhadad, king of Syria, with his army, was smitten by Israel, the servants of the Syrian king say to him, "Their gods are gods of the hills, therefore they were stronger than we; but let us fight against them in the plains, and surely we shall be stronger than they."

¹ Professor Rawlinson in *Speaker's Commentary*, ii., p. 504.

(1 Kings xx. 23). In the time of Jehoabaz, the cavalry and chariot forces of Israel were very much diminished, chiefly in consequence of their numerous defeats by Hazael and Benhadad, kings of Syria (2 Kings xiii. 3, 7), so that but fifty horses and ten chariots alone remained. As with the military forces of the northern kingdom, in their wars with the Syrians, so it was, to a great extent at least, with those of the southern kingdom when invaded by the Assyrian armies. Horses had evidently become scarce; hence Rabshakeh's scornful taunts to Hezekiah about trusting to Egypt "for chariots and for

and the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the jumping chariots. The horseman lifteth up both the bright sword and the glittering spear; and there is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases; there is no end of their corpses, they stumble upon their corpses."

On the subject of the Assyrian horses, Mr. Layard thus writes: "It has been doubted whether the breed for which Mesopotamia and the neighbouring deserts of Arabia are now celebrated, existed in the same vast plains at a remote period, or whether it was introduced shortly



HORSES AND CHARIOT—LION-HUNTING. (ASSYRIAN.)

horses;" hence Isaiah's vigorous and pathetic expostulations, "Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help; and stay on horses, and trust in chariots, because they are many; and in horsemen, because they are very strong.

. . . For the Egyptians are men, not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit" (Isa. xxxi. 1—3). And, in truth, good cause had the people of the kingdom of Judah to fear and to seek for extraneous help from other nations, for the Assyrians were at this time the most powerful nation in the then known world, while their horses were magnificent animals, combining great strength with speed. Hence the prophet Habakkuk exclaims, "Their horses are swifter than the leopards, more fierce than evening wolves" (i. 8).

The spirited chariot-horses of Assyria, and the deadly effect of her warriors in the battle-field, are eloquently portrayed by Nahum (iii. 2, 3). "The noise of a whip,

before the Mohammedan invasion. Although we have no mention in the sacred writings of a trade actually carried on in horses with Assyria as with Egypt, yet it may be inferred from several passages that it did exist. Horses, it will be remembered, were offered to the Jews by the general of the Assyrian king, as an acceptable present (2 Kings xviii. 23); and in the statistical tablet of Karnak they are mentioned amongst the objects of tribute brought by the people of Naharina (Mesopotamia), and the neighbouring countries, to the Egyptians. We may judge, therefore, that the Assyrian horses were celebrated at a very early period. The Egyptians, indeed, appear to have been chiefly indebted to the countries watered by the Tigris and Euphrates for their horses, no representation of this animal occurring, I believe, on Egyptian monuments earlier than the eighteenth dynasty. However that may be,

no one can look at the horses of the early Assyrian sculptures without being convinced that they were drawn from the finest models. The head is small, and well shaped, the nostrils large and high, the neck arched, the body long, and the legs slender and sinewy. . . . It is not unlikely that the plains watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, producing during the winter and spring the richest pasturage, were, at the earliest period, as celebrated as they are now for the rearing of horses; particularly when so large a supply must have been required for the cavalry and chariots of the Assyrian

will be shown, are supposed to have inhabited Assyria Proper, or some country immediately adjacent." (*Nineveh and its Remains*, ii., pp. 359—361.)

It was a very common thing for Eastern monarchs to exact large payments of horses as tribute from their conquered enemies; hence there would be an admixture of the breeds. Frequently such expressions as these occur in the cuneiform characters—*susi rabati maddû matti usamma ukin tsiruussu*, i.e., "great horses the tribute of the country, the sum I fixed upon him;" *susi batli mutû lahazî sunu aslûlu ana Assur*, "the



RIDING HORSES USED IN HUNTING. (ASSYRIAN.)

armies. At a later period, indeed, we find the plains of Babylonia furnishing horses to the Persians, both for the private use of the king, and for his troops. It may therefore be conjectured that they were of the most noble and celebrated breeds; for the Persians being masters of the greater part of Asia and of Egypt, could have obtained horses, had they found better, elsewhere. According to Herodotus, the stud maintained by the Babylonians for the Persian monarch included 800 stallions and 16,000 mares. It may have been derived by the Persians from those whom they conquered; and it is not improbable that the Assyrians themselves supplied their cavalry from similar studs, kept up near Babylon, or in the parts of the Mesopotamian plains. Amongst the objects of tribute brought by the Ruten-nu to the Egyptians, in the time of Thothmes III., are particularly mentioned brood mares; and this people, it

horses and their instruments of war I carried off to Assyria."

With respect to the origin of the Hebrew names for the horse, *sûs* and *pârâsh*, there are different opinions. Gesenius refers both words to Semitic roots, the former from *sus*, "to exult," "to rejoice;" the latter, to which he thinks primarily the idea of "horseman" belongs, from a root signifying to "separate," or "divide the legs," as a man does in riding. Many years ago, Michaelis conjectured that both words were of foreign origin. "Considering," he says, "the well-known celebrity of the Persians in horse-breeding and cavalry, we cannot help wondering that no one should here have thought of *Susa*, the capital of Persia." Fürst, both in his *Concordance* and *Heb. and Chaldee Lexicon*, inclines to the opinion that both words are of Persian origin. He says: "In ancient times horses got their names, for

the most part, from the countries from which they were introduced: so in India, *Parasika* the Persian, a Persian horse; *Bahlika*, a horse from Balkh. As Polybius relates (x. 24) that almost all Asia was provided with horses from Media and Persia (see Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia*), and as it is said of Tyre that it gets its horses from Togarma [Armenia] (Ezek. xxvii. 14), the noun חֲסִים may perhaps in very ancient times have been derived from Susa, like Fars, שָׁרָא, from שָׁרָא; yet, oddly enough, under *pārāsh*, the same authority says, "to put this word with the land whence it is alleged the horse was brought, is unsafe." Michaelis says, "Fars is the name of that province which was Persia, in the strictest sense; and it is at the same time the Persian word for horse." It is worth noticing in connection with this question, that the Accadian name for horse, as we are informed by Mr. A. H. Sayce, the Assyrian scholar, is *kurra*, i.e., "the animal of the East" (Elam), it being a noticeable fact about some of the Accadian names that they give us a clue as to the original habitat of the animals which they denote. Similarly the Accadian name of the camel, *a-abba*, with its determinative prefix, signifies the "animal of the sea," i.e., Persian Gulf; *numma*, the Accadian equivalent of the Assyrian *zību* (wolf), "the animal of the high land" (Elam). Mr. Sayce also thinks that the Accadian forms *gut* and *khar*, the equivalents of the Semitic *alapu*, "ox," must be connected with *Guti* or *Gutium*, the country between the Euphrates and Syria, and *Akharra*, the Semitic name of Phœnicia, respectively. Elam is the old name of the district known to the Greek and Roman geographers as Susiana, which in later times formed part of the great Persian empire. Hence, there is some reason to connect the two Hebrew names, *sūs* and *pārāsh*, with the country which was celebrated for its breed of horses. Gesenius tells us that there is an old Egyptian word for a horse, similar to the Hebrew; it occurs in the compound name *sūs-maut*, "horse-mother," i.e., "mare." It is quite probable that the Egyptians originally obtained the horse from the East, and, like the Semitic races, gave it the name of "the animal from Susa."

Although for many years Arabia has been celebrated for its breed of horses, there is reason to think that in early Biblical times the people of that country did not possess any. It is probable that later on in their history they obtained them from the Mesopotamian plains. The Jews, on their return from the Babylonish captivity, brought with them 736 horses and 245 mules (Neh. vii. 68). In the wars of the Maccabees horses were constantly employed by the Greek kings of Syria (1 Macc. i. 17; iii. 39, &c.).

In the New Testament little mention is made of horses; our Lord does not once mention them, though doubtless the Romans, then in possession of Judea, had horses in the country. Threescore and ten horsemen are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (xxiii. 23) as part of the escort Claudius Lysias ordered to be prepared to conduct St. Paul to Cæsarea. St. James (iii. 3) says, "Behold, we put bits in the horses' mouths that they may obey us, and we turn about their whole body;"

and these animals are referred to in the Book of the Revelation symbolically (see Rev. ix. 7, 17; xix. 14; vi. 2). Horses of various colours are mentioned (Zech. i. 8; vi. 2) in the prophet's vision of the four chariots; thus, we read of "red horses" (*sūsīm adummīm*) in the first chariot; "black" (*shechōrīm*) in the second; "white" (*lebānīm*) in the third; and in the fourth "grizzled and bay" (*beruddīm amutsīm*). About the black and white colours there can be no doubt; the same, perhaps, may be said of the "red," which may answer to our "bay," represented in the Hebrew by *adummīm* and *amutsīm*. The "grizzled" horses, either spotted or roan, are represented by the word *beruddīm*; the same word is applied to the skin of goats in Gen. xxxi. 10; it is derived, by Kimehi, from a root (*bārād*) meaning "to have hail-like spots;" *bārād*, in fact, being the ordinary Hebrew word for "hail." Mention is also made of "red" horses (*serukīm*) in Zech. i. 8. The Hebrew word is derived from a root meaning "to be bright red," "foxy." Colonel Hamilton Smith remarks on these names, that the bay-race emphatically belonged to Arabia Felix and Egypt; the white to the regions above the Euxine Sea, Asia Minor, and northern High Asia; the dun, or cream-coloured, which Bochart understands by *serukīm*, to the Medes; the spotted, piebald, or skewbald (*beruddīm*, as Bochart thinks), to the Macedonians, the Parthians, and later Tatars; and the black to the Romans. The chestnuts (*amutsīm*), he says, do not belong to any known historical race. All this, however, seems very doubtful. In the magnificent description of a war-horse in the Book of Job (xxxix. 19—25) which is so universally admired, we need only refer to an expression which has given rise to various explanations:—"Hast thou given the horse strength? hast thou clothed his neck with thunder?" (ver. 19). The idea of an animal's neck being clothed with thunder, no doubt, to our Western ideas, savours of false and unmeaning metaphor, but to the Eastern mind this would not appear so; indeed, we think the very exaggeration of hyperbole is in favour of the expression as rendered in our version. Various explanations have been given, some rendering the Hebrew *ramāh* by "flowing mane;" others, "quivering motion," "thunder-flash," "fury," "flowing mane," &c. Perhaps the "rapid quivering" (*tremore alacri*—see Schultens' *Commen. in Jobum*, p. 1, 128) of the horse's neck, which is especially noteworthy in stallions, may be the idea in the sacred writer's mind; but on the whole we are inclined to agree with Bouillier, who thinks that by interpreting the word *ramāh* by "thunder," according to its usual signification, you have a very splendid and apposite figure. A highly-bred war-horse, with waving mane, neck erect, and quivering muscles, exulting, challenging the battle with its loud neighings, and breathing forth fire, as it were, from its nostrils, may not inappropriately be said, in Oriental hyperbole, to be "clothed with thunder." The words, "Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper?" would certainly be more correctly rendered, "Dost thou make him start or bound as a locust?"

In 2 Kings xxiii. 11, mention is made of certain horses

which "the kings of Judah had given to the sun," and which Josiah took away, also of some "chariots of the sun," which he "burnt with fire." Some writers have supposed that these horses dedicated to the sun were not real animals, but merely wooden images; but as they were not burnt with the chariots, but "taken away," and as it was customary with certain nations—as the Persians, Armenians, Ethiopians, and Greeks—to dedicate horses to the sun, there can be little doubt that living animals are intended. Horses were sometimes sacrificed to the sun by certain nations. Whether those set up by certain kings of Judah ever shared the same fate we cannot say. Some writers think they were intended to draw the chariots full of worshippers out of Jerusalem, a few miles towards the east, to meet the rising sun, to which they would pay their vows, a custom probably borrowed from the Persians or Armenians. The association of

chariot and horses with the sun, to denote his apparent progress in the heavens, is very ancient, and there can be no doubt that the myth of Phaethon, and his four fiery steeds which he was unable to control, had its source in the East, whence also originated the winged horse, *Pegasus* of the Greeks. The horses of the Assyrians, as represented on the monuments, were generally richly caparisoned, with plumes on their heads, tassels of wool or silk, dyed many colours, suspended on the forehead or attached to parts of the harness. The early sculptures represent the horses as generally unprovided with saddles, the riders being seated on the naked back; but at a later period a kind of saddle-pad was used, but never stirrups; Assur-bani-pal in hunting used such a covering. The trappings were sometimes of gold and silver. Bits and bridles appear to be not very different from those in common use among ourselves.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.—VI.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—ST. PETER.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

"Of which salvation the prophets have enquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you: "Searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow."—1 PETER i. 10, 11.

THESE plain words of St. Peter possess for us a very deep importance, for they speak of the life of the prophets apart from their prophecy; they tell us something of the prophets' thoughts about their prophecies and visions; they represent to us the seer, when the ecstasy had passed, in the position of any uninspired Israelite, asking, but asking in vain, when the suffering and triumphant Messiah he had seen and heard should indeed come and restore truth and righteousness to Israel. They throw a new light, do these words of St. Peter, on the question of the witness of the Old Testament to Him who is the centre of all our hopes and fears, by plainly representing the Spirit which moved the Old Testament prophets and seers as the Spirit of Christ, by declaring that Messiah's sufferings and glory which they saw in vision, and of which they heard in revelation, were the sufferings and glory of Christ.

Three questions of deep interest are suggested by the text we are considering:—

(a) The nature of the inspiration of the prophets, since after the revelation or the vision they inquired diligently when these things should be, and desired earnestly themselves to be present at the fulfilment.

(b) What was the general import of the Messianic revelation to the prophets?

(c) The hopes and expectations aroused by these Messianic prophecies among the people to whom the prophets delivered their message.

(a) The prophets, while receiving the revelation,

were in a state unlike their ordinary condition. Their own agency ceased, and they became passive under an overpowering influence of the Spirit of God, which Peter tells us was the Spirit of Christ. This is termed a state of ecstasy. "The hand of the Lord came upon him (Elisha)" (2 Kings iii. 15); "The Spirit of God came upon Azariah" (2 Chron. xv. 1); "Then the holy men of God spoke, being borne along (*φερόμενοι*) by the Holy Ghost" (2 Peter i. 21). In the case of Abraham we read, "Behold, horror and great darkness fell upon him" (Gen. xv. 12); when the Spirit seizes Balaam, "he falls to the ground;" St. John commences his Revelation with the words, "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day" (Rev. i. 10).

Clement of Alexandria very happily defines "inspiration" in the following passage:—"He who was born from David and existed before him, to wit, the Word of God, passing over lifeless instruments, such as lyre and cithara, having arranged according to the laws of harmony not merely this world (*κόσμος*), but man, the microcosm, both his body and soul, by means of the Holy Spirit; makes melody to God through that many-voiced instrument, and murmurs to this instrument, man, 'Thou art my cithara and flute and temple. My cithara, from the harmony; my flute, from the Spirit (breathing through thee); my temple, from the Word (dwelling in thee)'" (*Protrept.* i. 5).

(b) Prophecy respecting Messiah was unfolded very slowly, and at uncertain intervals of time. It extended from Adam to Malachi. No one prophet presented anything like the whole compass of the doctrine of Messiah. Each Messianic prophecy contained only a fragment of the whole. These fragments, collected and arranged, present a complete picture of the life and work of Him in whom all the nations of the world are to be blessed.

"Forgiveness through *The Sacrifice* was impressed by the rite of sacrifice, else the promise stood like a beacon light at the end of a long vista, of which the whole was foreshortened, yet that first long future showed that it was a great way off" (Pusey on *Daniel*, sect. 5). The history of Messiah in all its varied details, his birth from a virgin, his birthplace, his character, offices, life, death, divinity, atonement, sufferings, rejection by his own, acceptance by the Gentiles, his glory, and his everlasting reign, was revealed by slow degrees, now in vision, now by revelation, and, as it was revealed, was faithfully and accurately chronicled in the prophetic records. But while all these strange and glorious things which related to the coming Deliverer—now spoken by the word of the Lord in the prophet's ear, now beheld in a vision by the seer—while all these things appeared to prophet and seer as belonging to the present time, yet they were conscious that the revelation or the vision belonged to some distant future. "I see him," says Balaam, "but not now; I behold him, but not nigh" (Numb. xxiv. 17). Isaiah relates his great vision of Messiah's advent as a child, using past tenses as if the great drama of deliverance had already played itself out before his eyes:—

"For a child is born to us,
A son is given to us;
And the government is upon His shoulder;
And His name is called
Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God,
Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace."
(Isa. ix. 6.—Translated by Canon Perowne.)

It was thus the prophets received all revelation concerning the sufferings of Christ, and the glory which should follow, beholding the events of perhaps a distant future as a picture, and therefore, as it has been said (Hengstenberg, *Christology*), in space, not in time. Hence comes this eager but fruitless desire mentioned by St. Peter, to know when these things should be—a longing desire common alike to prophet and people, to gain some knowledge of a time which was so mightily to influence the destinies of the chosen race, and through them the destinies of the world for time and for eternity.

(c) How the Jewish people themselves were affected by this witness, will be the third division of this brief inquiry into the nature of the prophetic testimony to our Lord.

When we examine what remains to us of the literature of the Jews, between the days of Ezra and the return from the captivity, and the birth of our Lord, we feel that the Spirit of Christ, which testified in the prophets the sufferings of Christ, and the glory which should follow, had penetrated very deeply into the mind and heart of the chosen people. It gave a definite colour to all their thoughts and hopes. The first place in which we should naturally look for the expression of a clear Messianic hope would certainly be in a paraphrase or explanation of the sacred Books, if such could be found. This we possess, to a certain degree, in the Targums of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, and of Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Prophets. The history of these Targums is as follows:—From the time of the partial restoration

under Ezra, the Hebrew language ceased to be the vernacular of the Jewish people. In Chaldea, and in Palestine, where the Scriptures were read in the synagogues, the appointed interpreter rendered them verse by verse into Chaldee, the popular dialect, paraphrasing slightly as he went on, to make the meaning clearer. For a long time these interpreters shrank from committing their paraphrase to writing. The Targums of Onkelos (Pentateuch), and of Jonathan (Prophets), which appeared in the form in which we now possess them, during the first half of the first century, crystallised, so to speak, the oral expositions of the Chaldee interpreters of the synagogues; and it is mainly from these Targums—these popular, and at the same time authoritative interpreters of Moses and the prophets—that we gather what the Jews thought of Christ when the voice of prophecy was hushed among them—that is, from the time of the death of Malachi till the birth of our Lord. But it is not only from explicit reference to Messiah by name, that this Chaldee translation makes us feel how deeply the doctrine of a Messiah had sunk into the heart of Israel—although in Jonathan's Targum on the Prophets the Messianic interpretations are numerous (Westcott, *Introd. to Gospels*, chap. ii.)—even in the very literal translation of the Pentateuch by Onkelos two well-known and most striking passages are found, in which the "title" is introduced: "Till Shiloh comes," Onkelos translates, "Till *Messiah* comes" (Gen. xlix. 10); and in the prophecy of Balaam, he renders, "A *Messiah* shall be anointed from Israel" (Numb. xxiv. 17).

In the Targum of Onkelos—that literal version of the Pentateuch—150 passages are quoted (see Etheridge, *Introd. to Targums*) in which the translator has introduced the celebrated *Memra da Jehovah*, "The Word of the Lord." In many of these passages the expression refers unmistakably to the presence and agency of a Divine person other than Jehovah. As, for instance, in Gen. xxviii. 20, Jacob says, "If the *Memra* (Word) of the Lord will be my help, and will keep me in that way which I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to wear, and bring me again in peace to my father's house, the *Memra* (Word) of the Lord shall be my God" (Targum of Onkelos on Genesis).

But not only did the popular translation or paraphrase of the Scriptures current in Palestine and Chaldea for the 400 or 500 years preceding the advent of Jesus Christ bear its powerful testimony to the universal belief among the Jews in a coming Deliverer, the Messiah, who was himself God, and yet was to be sent by God; but among the fragments of Jewish literature of this same period still remaining to us we possess portions of a most ancient compilation, which scholars agree in assigning, in its present form, to the second century before Christ. Written originally, probably, by different authors after the return from the captivity, the Book of Enoch was arranged in its present form some 100 years before the Christian era. It is, no doubt, a faithful exponent of the Jewish mind on the subject of their great hope during the 400 years which preceded

the nativity of Christ, and confirms, in a remarkable degree, the Messianic hopes which constantly broke through even the strict rules of a translation like that of Onkelos. The coming of Messiah is looked forward to in this book with a joyful and sure expectation. He is termed now the Son of Man, now the Son of God, the Elect One, the Messiah. He was to be the hope of those whose hearts were troubled; all who dwell on earth were to fall down and worship him. The taking of our nature upon him is foreshadowed in the vision, when the seer beheld the Ancient of Days, and "with him another, whose countenance resembled that of a man." The seer inquires of one of the angels who this one was, whence he was, and why he accompanied the Ancient of Days. The angel "answered, and said to him: This is the *Son of Man*, to whom all righteousness belongs, with whom all righteousness has dwelt, and who will reveal all the treasures of that which is concealed" (exlvi.). In one remarkable passage (cap. civ.) the thought strangely resembles what we find in the high priestly prayer of Christ (St. John xvii.): "I and my Son will for ever hold communion with them in the paths of uprightness, while they are still alive; peace shall be yours."

Yet when the long-expected Messiah did come, the rulers of the Jews, wrapped up in their longing for a temporal deliverance of the nation, engrossed with their hope of a restoration of a magnificent earthly kingdom, refused to listen to Jesus; but at the same time their fury against him was excited to the highest pitch, for they felt how strangely he answered in every detail to that Deliverer painted in the Prophets, in the people's Targum, in their writings, such as the Book of Enoch. Hence that seemingly unreasoning hate which ended in the crucifixion.

This inquiry can hardly be closed without a few words on the expectation of Messiah since the rejection of Jesus of Nazareth by so large a portion of the Jewish race. The dream of a triumphant earthly conqueror, which had so long dazzled Israel, and contributed so much to their rejection of Jesus, curiously to say, faded away after the murder of the Holy One and Just. The old hopes

and aims of the once favoured people were stamped out by the terrible succession of calamities which visited the city and people after the crucifixion. Scattered over the whole earth, landless, homeless, the old hope became dim and uncertain; instead of approaching as years passed on, it became more and more indistinct. Suffering instead of glory surrounded the image of the hoped-for Messiah. His birth-pangs passed into a proverb, and some rabbis even declared that they wished not to behold his coming (Westcott, *Introd. to New Test.*, chap. 11). "So terrible shall be the times which herald his advent; when men grow fewer and fewer; when the world is overwhelmed with evil as with a flood; when the last supply is consumed—expect Messiah" (*Sanhedr.* 91, from Schöttgen, quoted by Westcott). The vaguest, wildest traditions have since prevailed among the Jews respecting the Deliverer's advent. Some say he is come already; some, his coming depends on Israel's repentance. In the Jerusalem Talmud, Rabbi Judah tells a story of a Jew who actually went and saw him (as a little child in the royal residence of Bethlehem of Judah).

We give the following wild and sorrowful legend of Messiah from the Talmud at length. It will show how vague, how melancholy, how hopeless the expectation had become some five centuries after the coming of the Lord whom they rejected. But vague and hopeless though it be, it is bound to no specific time, but only to the repentance of Israel. Rabbi Joshua finds Elijah, and asks him, "When will Messiah come?" Elijah replied, "Go and ask himself." Rabbi Joshua then said, "Where does he sit?" "At the gate of Rome?" "And how is he to be known?" "He is sitting among the poor and sick, and they open their wounds and bind them up again all at once, but he opens only one, and then he opens another, for he thinks, *Perhaps I may be wanted, and then I must not be delayed.*" Rabbi Joshua went to him and said, "Peace be upon Thee, my Master and my Lord." He replied, "Peace be upon thee, son of Levi." The Rabbi then asked him, "When will my Lord come?" He replied, "*To-day, if ye will hear his voice.*" (Quoted by Dr. McCaul, *Old Paths*, from the Babylonian Talmud).

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—XI.

THE PATRIARCHS:—ISAAC (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.

GEOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX.

N the destruction of the cities of the plain Abraham removed from Mamre, which had been his home for twenty years, and "journeyed toward the south country (*negeb*), and dwelled between Kadesh and Shur, and sojourned in Gerar." The late Mr. Wilton¹ was one

of the first to call the attention of Biblical scholars to the fact that the word *negeb*, or "south," is uniformly employed throughout the Bible, as indicating not a direction of the compass, but that distinct and definite locality which Mr. Palmer has so lately explored, and which he thus describes:—"The mountain plateau in the north-east (of the desert) is full of interest, both to the geographer and to the Biblical student. This plateau is called Jebel el Magrâh, and is about seventy miles in length, and from forty to fifty broad,

¹ *The Negeb or South Country of Scripture.* By Edward Wilton, M.A. 1863.

commencing at Jebel 'Araif, and extending northward by a series of steps or terraces to within a short distance of Beer-sheba, from which it is separated by Wady er Rakuuth from the mountains of the same name. It projects into the Tih (the desert) much in the same way as the Tih projects into Sinai, and, like it also, terminates in steep escarpments towards the south, falling away to a lower level on the south-eastern side."¹

It was through this tract of country that the ordinary caravan route from Central Canaan down into Egypt lay. This route ran in a south-westerly direction from Hebron through Beer-sheba to Cala't Wakhil, where it joined the Haj route onwards to Suez. It was along this route that Abraham "journeyed, going on still (from Bethel) toward the south (the *negeb*), . . . and went down into Egypt" (Gen. xii. 9, 10). It was by the same route that he returned (Gen. xiii. 1, 3). It was along this route that Hagar fled, seeking so naturally her way back to Egypt, "when the angel of the Lord found her by a fountain of water; by the fountain in the way to Shur." About thirty years ago Dr. Rowlands was travelling along the same route, when he discovered the well of Hagar, and thus announced his discovery to his friend Mr. Williams:—

"About ten hours beyond Rehbeh on our road is a place called Moilahi (or Moilähhi), a grand resting-place of the caravans, there being water here, as the name implies. It lies in one of two or three passages or openings in the very southernmost hills, or southern border of the Land of Promise, which form the grand entrance from Palestine into the desert, or the grand entrance from the desert into Palestine, by which the great caravan roads from Akaba, Mount Sinai, and Suez pass to Hebron and to Gaza. . . . Shall I not please you when I tell you, that we found here Bir Lahai-roi? . . . I have no doubt about it whatever. . . . Now for my proofs. 1. Moilähhi lies on the great road from Beer-sheba to Shur or Jebel-es-Sur, which is its present name—a grand chain of mountains running north and south, a little east of the longitude of Suez, lying, as Shur did, *before* Egypt (Gen. xvi. 7). 2. It is probable, from Gen. xvi. 14, that Bir Lahai-roi was not far from Kadesh: Moilähhi is about twelve miles from Kadesh. But (3) the grand settling point is its present name. The well has disappeared, and the Bir (well) very naturally has been changed into Moi (water); and, what is very remarkable, the Arabs of the country call it Moilähhi Hadgar (Hagar). . . . And to confirm this statement of theirs they conducted us to the *house* of Hagar (Beit Hajar), where they said such a person lived."²

This discovery of Dr. Rowlands was in the first instance distrusted, owing, perhaps, somewhat to the confidence with which it was announced. Later investigations have confirmed it. The well lay, we are told, between Kadesh and Bered. Till recently the site of the ancient Kadesh was unknown or uncertain. Dr.

Robinson's unfortunate error in fixing on Ain el-Webeh, on the border of the Arabah, as its site, prevented his identifying the places said to be in its neighbourhood. After the Biblical investigations of Wilton, Tsch,³ and Kurz, confirmed so amply by the explorations of Mr. Palmer, we may now regard this question as settled, and accept the Ain-Gadis, which lies twelve miles south of Muweilih (the Moilähhi of Dr. Rowlands), lying at the southern frontier of the Negeb, as the Kadesh of the Bible. The settlement of this point, so important in the history of the Exodus, serves also to throw a clear light upon the movements of the patriarchs. When it is said of Abraham that he dwelled "between Kadesh and Shur," he was in the very district in which Bir Lahai-roi was situated. It is said in the same verse that he "sojourned in Gerar." The kingdom or country of Gerar may have embraced the district of Bir Lahai-roi, as we know it did that of Wady Jerur, lying a few miles south; but the Gerar of Abimelech's residence is not to be confounded with either of these. The statement in Gen. xx. 1 is to be taken as implying that Abraham, coming down from Hebron, located himself first for a time in the neighbourhood of Bir Lahai-roi, and afterwards went to reside for a season in or near Gerar, the chief town of the Philistines. As Isaac was born in the course of the year in which his father migrated from Hebron, his birth-place must have been somewhere near Bir Lahai-roi, a circumstance which goes far to account for the singular attachment he showed to that part of the country. Mr. Wilton has ingeniously suggested Eltolad, a few miles south of Bir Lahai-roi, as the actual place of Isaac's birth. In the valley of Gerar Isaac "dugged again the wells of water, which they had digged in the days of Abraham his father; for the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham: and he called their names after the names by which his father had called them" (Gen. xxvi. 18). "Among the spots thus named by Abraham, I believe Eltolad to have been one; and to this, of all others, Isaac must have felt a pious pleasure in asserting his claim; for, if I am not greatly mistaken, it was here that he himself, 'the child of promise,' first gladdened the eyes of his aged parents. How else can we account for the remarkable import of the word Eltolad, which may be rendered 'born of God,' or 'a supernatural birth?'"⁴ The ground seems too slender for the conclusion based on it. Whatever was the precise place of Isaac's birth, however, it seems almost certain that a large part of the 137 years which preceded the flight of Jacob was spent by Isaac in this favourite region. He may have gone up with his father in his youth to Beer-sheba, from which the journey to Mount Moriah was taken. But soon as ever he was in position to occupy a station away from his father, we find him at Bir Lahai-roi. He was there when Rebekah came from Haran

¹ *The Desert of the Exodus*. By E. H. Palmer, M.A. 1871.

² Williams's *Holy City*, vol. i., pp. 465, 466.

³ See Tsch's remarks on Gen. xiv. in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, vol. i., pp. 80—100; Kurz's *History of the Old Covenant*, vol. iii., pp. 217, 241.

⁴ *The Negeb or South Country of Scripture*, pp. 179, 180.

(Gen. xxiv. 62). He had been living there some time before. He continued to live there till his father's death, when, in company with Ishmael, he went up to Hebron to bury Abraham in the cave of Machpelah. He returned to Bir Lahai-roi, where he remained till the famine came. Then he removed to Gerar (Gen. xxvi. 1). This Gerar, the place of Abimelech's residence, is to be distinguished from the valley of Gerar, to which Isaac afterwards retired (Gen. xxvi. 17). The fact so prominent in the after history of the Israelites, that the Philistines occupied the maritime plain between the Mediterranean and Central Judea, whose most southerly town was Gaza, naturally created the impression that the country over which Abimelech reigned must have been the southern section of that plain, and that its chief town lay in the neighbourhood of that city, where accordingly in most of our maps of Palestine it conjecturally is placed. This impression derived strength from Isaac's sowing in its vicinity and reaping a hundred-fold in the same year. It was easy to believe this of the rich Shephelah or lowland plain of the Philistines of the days of the Judges, but how could this be believed of any region south of Beer-sheba, and within the limits of the great desert? So strong was his conviction to this effect that, when travelling along the very road from Egypt which Abraham and Isaac so often traversed to and fro, Dr. Robinson, at a distance of two days' journey from Beer-sheba, came upon a valley called the Wady Jerúr, though he tells us that the name Jerúr in Arabic corresponds to the Hebrew Gerar, yet adds, "But neither the position nor the character of this wady admit of the supposition of its being the same with the Gerar of Scripture. This lay much nearer to Gaza, in the country of the Philistines, and was very fertile." Had Dr. Robinson lived to have had presented to him the evidence which the pages of Wilton, Tuch, Kurz, Stewart, and Palmer present, he must have confessed that in every respect the Wady Jerúr so completely meets all the requirements of the narrative in the 26th chapter of Genesis, that there remains no reasonable doubt that it is the valley of Gerar to which Isaac retired. No evidence can be produced that the Philistines of Abraham's time occupied the same country as the Philistines of Samson's days. They are not mentioned among the tribes that occupied Canaan in the patriarchal age (Gen. x. 15; xv. 19). It is expressly stated that the "border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou comest to Gerar, unto Gaza" (Gen. x. 19), i.e., the Canaanites then had possession of the very district long afterwards in possession of the Philistines—from Sidon southwards to Gaza, in the direction of Gerar, which lay still farther south. In I Sam. xxx. 14 we read of a message brought to David, who was residing at the time in the Negeb, or south country of Judah (the great scene of his wanderings), that some Amalekites had invaded "the Negeb or south country of the Cherethites" or Philistines, that section of the entire Negeb corresponding to the kingdom of Gerar, which got and kept its name from the old inhabitants who lived there before their migration to the lowland plain.

This country of Gerar embraced the hilly pastoral lands running down from near Beer-sheba (which was not included in it, Gen. xxi. 33) along the south-western side of the great plateau of the south country, and in the valleys of its southern borders, which all lay east and west, running up to within a few miles from Kadesh. But where stood Gerar, the capital of this country? It is certainly possible that the territory of Abimelech may have extended westward and northward across the country in the direction of Gaza; so that the Khirbel el Gerar, which Dr. Rowlands found three hours S.S.E. of Gaza, may have been the Gerar of Abimelech's dwelling. But is it not distinctly enough said that Abraham was journeying southward, not westward, when he came from Hebron to Gerar? And was not Isaac on his way to Egypt, either from Beer-sheba, or, much more likely, from Bir Lahai-roi, when he came to Gerar? Of a Gerar so near to Gaza as Dr. Rowlands places it this could not be said; nor would the Kadesh, now so generally accepted as such, answer as one of its land-marks. All recent information leads us to suspect that the capital of the Philistines in patriarchal times lay many miles south of Gaza, in the Negeb proper; but it may have been in the great plain and west of the valley of the same name.

This valley of Gerar is the most southerly district where in the Scripture narrative Isaac is presented to us. Abraham had dug wells in it which he re-opened, and he dug new wells for himself, but no traveller that we know of has yet found traces of them. Many, however, have described the general appearance of the valley. "On asking," says Dr. Stewart, "the name of the wadi in which we were to sleep, I was startled to receive for answer Wadi Gerúr. I had seen Wadi Jerúr marked on the maps, but had paid no particular attention to it; but when the sheikh, giving the hard sound to the letter *g*, and that of *ou* to the letter *u*, pronounced it Gerúr, the identity in sound with the Scriptural Gerar was so complete that it aroused my flagging interest in the desert journey, and led me to the conclusion which subsequent examination has strongly confirmed, that I was to pitch my tent within the boundaries of the ancient kingdom of Abimelech. . . At 5.50 we entered Wadi Gerur, a valley of great breadth, and in several places under cultivation. Here for the first time I observed several plants of the modest star of Bethlehem in full flower, and something like a sward of grass."¹

Following the course that Isaac must have taken from Wady Jerúr up to Ruhaibeh (Rehoboth), and taking as our guide the latest and best of our explorers, the first stage northward is Muweileh (Moiláhihi). "Turning out of the valley," says Mr. Palmer, "we continued to cross the plain until we reached Wady el Mulveileh, at the foot of the mountains of the same name, where there is a spring which has been suggested as probably identical with Hagar's well. . . There is a good supply of water, obtained principally from a number of wells; and the immediate neighbourhood is

¹ *The Tent and the Khan*, pp. 190–193. For a full discussion as to Gerar, see pp. 207–212.

comparatively fertile, producing many tamarisks and other trees. . . . The hill-sides are traversed in every direction by well-constructed paths, and traces are also visible in the valley of dams and other devices of irrigation, all of which bespeak a former state of fertility and industry. As we proceed northward from this point, the marks of former cultivation become more and more apparent at every step."¹ In Wady Seram the first passed through after Jerúr, "we found as usual an immense number of ruins belonging to the stone period, consisting of flat mounds, circles, and cairns, and covering all the surrounding heights. . . . "Wady Bircin," the next in order, "is a broad valley, filled with vegetation; grass asphodel and osjeh grew in great profusion, flowers sprang beneath our feet, immense herds of cattle were going to and fro between us and the wells, and large flocks of well-fed sheep and goats were pasturing upon the neighbouring hills. The surrounding heights are covered with cairns, some of which seem to have been dwellings. By the wells are many traces of buildings, and walls are visible in every direction." . . . Arab tradition which calls Wady Hanein," the next one passed, "a valley of gardens, is undoubtedly true, for many of those large flat, strongly-embanked terraces must have been once planted with fruit-trees, and others have been laid out in kitchen gardens; this would still leave many miles for the cultivation of grain. Now all is desert, though the immense number of walls and terraces show how extensively cultivated the valley must have once been. There are also three wells, now dry, but one of them in a very perfect state—the roof and wall which protected it still remaining entire. The Arabs call it Bir es Sákiyeh, 'the well of the water-wheel,' and the circular pavement wherein the animals turned the wheel is still visible." Next in the narrative come the ruins of El 'Anjeh, with its church "122 feet long and 48 feet wide and three apses," and its "large deep well, thirty-five feet of which is built of solid masonry, and the remaining fifty-one feet is cut in the 'solid rock.'" "On our way we passed an immense number of grape mounds, already alluded to, and in one place noticed a large reservoir and the ruins of an ancient wine-press. . . . It is a noteworthy fact that among the most striking characteristics of the Negeb are miles of hill-sides and valleys covered with the small stone-heaps formed by sweeping together in regular swatches the flints which strewed the ground; along these grapes were trained, and they still retain the name of Teleitát el 'Anab, or grape mounds." More wonderful than the ruins of El 'Anjeh were those of the hill-fort El Meshrifeh, "the masonry throughout solid and compact, some of the hewn blocks of stone being of immense size," with traces of an earlier and ruder masonry over which the present structure has been raised—the work of the pre-historic races. Still more wonderful than those of El Meshrifeh were those of Sebaita (the ancient Hormah or Zephath), a town "strongly and compactly built;" with its "three churches and tower, and two *firkiehs* or reservoirs of

water"—"nearly every house has its well." "Their gardens (which may still be seen covering the plain around the city) were fruitful and well kept, and the hills all around were covered with orchards of apples and pomegranates and terraces of clustering vines." "On the north-east of Wady es Sadi is an ancient well, the troughs and masonry, which still remain, being of immense proportions and apparently of great antiquity. Judging from the proximity of this well to Ruhaibeh, and the appearance of the masonry, which is more massive and antique than that of any others in the neighbourhood, we deemed it far from improbable that it is the well of Rehoboth, which we are told, in Gen. xxvi. 21, 22, that Isaac dug. The term Rehoboth (spaces), being in the plural, may well apply to any or all of the valleys between these low sloping hills; and the name Ruhaibeh, which still lingers in the neighbourhood, may be a reminiscence of the more general title, though now confined to a single spot." This is not the well, but one outside the ruins which lie in the Wady Rehoboth itself, which Dr. Rowlands identified as the Rehoboth of Isaac's digging. Mr. Palmer heard of this well, and its situation was pointed out to him; but this did not alter the opinion he had previously formed. On passing out of the Wady Ruhaibeh, he tells us that the Wady el Bir "opens out and receives the name of Bahr-bela-mi (the waterless sea), and on the left comes in a small valley called Shutnet er Ruhaibeh, in which name are preserved both the Sitnah and Rehoboth of the Bible."²

We must be content, it seems, with the two wells at Beer-sheba which lie near Rehoboth as the only two yet positively identified. When the whole district, however, has been thoroughly explored, and the site of Gerar discovered, and its numerous wells carefully examined, the names and the architecture may enable another Fergusson to fix for us the sites of more of the wells of Abraham and Isaac. That particular region—of which some idea, so different from that commonly entertained, may be gathered from the extracts already given—may fitly be called the haunt of Abraham and the homeland of Isaac. The notices of the places of residence of Abraham and Isaac, from the time of the first settlement at Mamre till the death of each, are to be found in the following passages:—Gen. xiii. 18; xx. 1; xxi. 14, 31—34; xxii. 19; xxiv. 62; xxv. 11; xxvi. 6, 17, 23; xxviii. 10; xxxv. 27. From a comparison of these it will appear that the last 100 years of Abraham's life were about equally divided between Hebron and Beer-sheba. Isaac manifested a decided predilection for the south country. He was born in it. By far the larger part of his life was spent in it. He was aged and blind before he took up his residence at Beer-sheba. His years at Hebron can scarcely be counted, so that the singular fact emerges from a study of the times and places of his residence, that he never, till age enfeebled him, moved farther than a two days' journey from the place of his birth; that he was at once the longest lived and the least locomotive of the patriarchs.

¹ *The Desert of the Exodus*, pp. 354, 356, 358, 361, 363.

² See *The Desert of the Exodus*, pp. 354—385.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—XII.

THE PATRIARCHS.

MOSES (*continued*).

BY THE REV. J. P. NORRIS, M.A., CANON OF BRISTOL.

IV.—FROM THE SECOND PASSOVER TO THE DEATH OF MOSES—THIRTY-NINE YEARS.

THE laws contained in the Book of Leviticus were all revealed to Moses in the newly-erected tabernacle at the foot of Mount Sinai in the fifty days between the Passover and Pentecost of the second year.

At Pentecost they broke up their twelve months' encampment, and set forth (as they supposed) on their final march to the Promised Land, from the southern point of which they were but eleven days distant (Dent. i. 2).

Before they set forth their numbers were taken, 603,500 fighting men, implying a multitude of between two and three millions. The strictest discipline was maintained. When the cloudy pillar moved they marched; when it rested they encamped (Numb. ix. 21—23). The order of their march was carefully prescribed. Murmurers who strayed were consumed by fire (xi. 1—3). Soresly was the great patience of Moses tried by the people's constant complainings. He laid all unreservedly before his Lord: "Wherefore layest thou the burden of all this people upon me? Have I conceived all this people? Have I begotten them, that thou shouldest say unto me, Carry them in thy bosom, as a nursing father beareth the sucking child, unto the land which thou swarest unto their fathers? Whence should I have flesh to give unto all this people? For they weep unto me, saying, Give us flesh, that we may eat. I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me. And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness."

These desponding remonstrances are to be noted, as showing how all through his mission Moses had to wrestle with his own human infirmities.

Seventy men were appointed to share the burden of government with Moses, and the spirit of prophecy was vouchsafed to them. Those who knew not the nobleness of their master thought he would be jealous of this. "Enviest thou for my sake?" was his reply: "would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them!"

But a still more bitter trial awaited him. They of his own blood, his own brother and sister, jealous of the second wife that he appears to have married,¹ set up their own authority in rivalry to that of Moses; and Moses, with characteristic simplicity in recording the incident, tells us why he did not vindicate himself: self-assertion was altogether foreign to his nature—"he

was very meek." (Those who wonder that he should record this of himself forget that *meekness* was not esteemed a grace until Christ taught us so to esteem it; it did not occur to Moses that he was *praising* himself when he wrote this.) But One heard who was jealous of his servant's honour. In sudden wrath the disloyal whisperers were summoned to the tabernacle, and there confronted with Moses. "And Jehovah came down in the pillar of the cloud, and stood in the door of the tabernacle, and called forth Aaron and Miriam," and bade them listen. Prophets they might be, visions and dreams might be granted to them. The constancy of Moses' faith had won for him a far higher rank; with *him* God spake mouth to mouth, not in parable, but face to face in direct revelation, permitted to gaze on the Divine light that rested on the mercy-seat. "Wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?" Miriam was punished with leprosy, but at the intercession of Moses she was healed after seven days. Why she alone was punished does not appear.

At last they reach Kadesh-barnea,² on the very borders of the Promised Land, 165 miles north-east of Sinai, and there abode two months, waiting for the return of the twelve spies whom Moses sent to explore the land of Canaan. On the fortieth day they returned, having traversed the land from Hebron to Lebanon and back. They reported most favourably of its fertility, but ten of their number described the inhabitants as of giant stature. This so terrified the people, that, notwithstanding the indignant protest of Caleb and Joshua, they were for choosing a captain to lead them back to Egypt. This was their crowning rebellion.

In vain Moses and Aaron prostrated themselves in prayer; in vain Joshua and Caleb rent their clothes, and tried to rally their faith, saying, "Fear not the people of the land; their shadow is departed from them, and Jehovah is with us: fear them not."

The multitude were on the point of stoning the two faithful men, when behold that awful fiery cloud, and the voice of the Divine wrath speaking to Moses, "How long will this people provoke me? . . . I will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them, and will make of thee a greater nation and mightier than they."

² Mr. Clark and Mr. Robinson agree in placing Kadesh in the long depressed valley, called the *Arabah*, which runs from the eastern gulf of the Red Sea to the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. They place it about eighty miles from Ezion-geber (the head of the gulf), and about thirty-five miles from the Dead Sea. From this point the road to Hebron would be a continual ascent, which agrees with Moses' direction to the spies, "Get you up this way into the 'south country,' and go up into the mountain" (Numb. xiii. 17, where the mistranslation "southward" makes confusion).

¹ From Hobab's unwillingness to accompany them on leaving Sinai (Numb. x. 30), we may perhaps infer that their chief bond of union, Zipporah his sister, was now dead. Who the Cushite wife was we know not.

This was the second time that God in his holy anger had proposed to deal with Moses as he had dealt with Noah, and of him to raise up a righteous seed, who should receive the inheritance which the rest had so justly forfeited. We may well pause to ask how another would have acted in his place. The offer came from God. Could the Judge of all the earth do wrong? If the forbearance of Jehovah was exhausted, might not the forbearance of his servant be much more exhausted? Nay, might there not be presumption in seeming to take the side of the guilty as against God? And must there not have been a whisper within him that thus without blame he would be released from that burden which again and again had well-nigh crushed him? We may say with much confidence, that had Moses so resolved, he would not have stood lower among the saints of God. Nay, may we not almost say that he would have stood higher? for then he would have been spared the one temptation that brought upon him the Divine displeasure. For of Moses it may be truly said that he was both *more* and *less* than one of God's saints: he was *more*, for he was privileged as a mediator to a degree that made him more than any before or after him the type of Him who was to come; he was *less*, for the singleness of heart with which the saint loves God was in him almost impaired by the passionate love that bound him to his people. Without them—the nation he had formed and cherished “as a nursing father”—the Holy Land would be to him no Land of Promise. Even in their sin, even in this great act of rebellion, though it covered him with shame, he ceased not to identify himself with them. Lying prostrate on the ground before the Lord, one almost hears his sobs in the broken sentences of the original Hebrew in which he pleaded for them:—“And Mizraim will hear that thou hast brought thy people in thy night out of the midst of her; and they will say to the inhabitants of this land, they have heard how thou, Jehovah, wert in the midst of thy people, seen of them face to face, and thy cloud standing over them, even thou, Jehovah, going in front of them in a pillar of cloud by day, and in a pillar of fire by night. And thou wilt make thy people die as one man. And they will say, the nations that have heard tell of thee, Through being not able to lead this people into the land He had sworn to them, and He hath slain them in the wilderness. And now, I beseech thee, the might of Jehovah shall be magnified, even as thou hast spoken, saying, Jehovah, long-suffering and of great mercy, bearing iniquity and transgression, and not cleansing but visiting the iniquity of fathers upon children to the third and fourth generation: forgive, I pray thee, the iniquity of this people according unto thy great mercy, and as thou hast been gracious to them from Mizraim up to this present time.”

If, in reading these passionate pleadings, we recognise one who more nearly than any “born of women” typified the Mediator, we must confess, at the same time, that “the least in the kingdom of heaven” knows more of God than he; so deep a debt we owe to “the

only begotten Son who hath declared Him.” But, all imperfect as his pleadings seem to the Christian, they prevailed. “And the Lord said, I have pardoned according to thy word.”

But this time the qualification of the pardon was terrible indeed: not one of those who had sinned should enter the Promised Land. Their children should live to enter, but all that elder generation (save Joshua and Caleb) should perish in the wilderness. Their wanderings were to be lengthened out to forty years; and then Moses and Aaron were to lead the younger generation into their inheritance.

If Moses “the man of God” be the real author of the 90th Psalm—and there seems no good reason for questioning the tradition—it may well have been written at this time. He had reached the “four-score years,” and he was tasting the bitterness of that cup of “labour and sorrow.” Looking upon that people whom he had loved only too constantly, he may well have written, “Thou turnest man to destruction: and sayest, Return, ye children of men. . . . For we are consumed by thine anger, and by thy wrath are we troubled. . . . Return, O Lord, how long? and let it repent thee concerning thy servants.”

On the morrow, realising the terribleness of the judgment they had brought on themselves, and filled with remorse, not true repentance, the people would fain have forced an entrance into the Land of Promise. Sternly Moses forbade it, and would not allow the ark to be moved. “Go not up,” he said, “for the Lord is not among you.”

But they persisted; quitting the valley by the pass of Hormah, they seem to have pushed on some way into the upper country to the north-west: but they were utterly discomfited and driven back in confusion to the pass by which they had entered.

In bitterness of spirit and with heaviness of heart Moses turned away from the Promised Land which a few days before had seemed within his grasp, the crown and reward of all his labours. He felt that the burden of his people's sin was laid upon him. Looking back upon this day, thirty-eight years afterwards,¹ he felt that it was “*for their sakes*” he had forfeited the dear hope of that Promised Land; for had they then entered, the sin that finally excluded him would not have occurred.

*The thirty-eight years that followed are blank, or all but blank, in the sacred narrative.*² Moses had no heart to record these years of shame. The covenant seemed suspended; we know (from Josh. v. 5) that none of those born within this time were circumcised. It is probable, for this and other reasons, that no pass-over was celebrated. But the Divine presence forsook not Jehovah's servant; nor did the manna and supernatural supply of water fail them all those years. “These forty years,” Moses wrote at the end of the

¹ Deut. i. 37; iii. 25; iv. 21.

² The narrative of the last year of the wandering begins at Numb. xx. 1.

time, "the Lord thy God hath been with thee; thou hast lacked nothing."¹

It was hard indeed thus to have to build up another long hope, but from the first Moses knew definitely the term of their punishment: "After the number of days in which ye searched the land, even forty days, each day for a year, shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years, and ye shall know my alienation."²

One consolation he had. The Levites do not seem to have taken part in the rebellion, or shared the people's sin,³ and the daily sacrifice seems to have been continued in the tabernacle. So we gather from the one solitary anecdote of these thirty-eight years that Moses has transmitted to us—the rebellion of Korah.

It seems that some time in these thirty-eight years of protracted exile—whether early or late we are not told⁴—disaffection spread among the leaders of the congregation; and two hundred and fifty, under the leadership of Korah the Levite, and Dathan and Abiram the Benbenites, rebelled against Moses and Aaron. The Levites' grievance seems to have been that they were confined to the inferior service of the tabernacle, and not allowed to offer incense as priests. Moses felt at once that the rebellion was against Jehovah, and to Jehovah he appealed. They were to take censers and appear before Jehovah, and see whether Jehovah would allow them to use them. And behold, there came out a fire from the Lord, and consumed Korah and the censor-bearers; and a terrible earthquake swallowed up the tents of Dathan and Abiram.

Then all the congregation murmured against Moses and Aaron, saying, "Ye have killed the people of the Lord;" when suddenly looking towards the tabernacle, they beheld the awful glow in the cloud which betokened the Divine wrath, and ere another moment the plague had begun. Then Moses bade Aaron take sacred fire in his censer, and make atonement, passing between the dead and the living; and the plague was stayed. But 14,700 had died of the pestilence.

When Moses resumes his narrative, in the twentieth

chapter of Numbers, we find the Israelites once more at Kadesh-barnea, in the first month of the fortieth year, dating from the Exodus. But it was a younger generation; all the elder generation had died in the eight-and-thirty years.

Purposely Jehovah had re-assembled them at the very spot where their fathers had sinned. They were again within sight of the hills of the Promised Land, and the appointed term of their penal wandering was all but expired. God's directions for their further march were clear, and ought to have explained at once to Moses and Aaron the failure of the miraculous supply of water at Kadesh. These directions are omitted in the narrative of Numb. xx., and hence the obscurity in which the sin of Moses and Aaron is there involved. But in Deut. ii. the Divine directions are clearly given, and throw an important light on the sequel, which commentators have strangely overlooked.

They were in the long low valley of the Arabah, not far from the Dead Sea. This valley is overhung on the east by the mountains of Edom (called *Mount Seir* until the descendants of Esau conquered it—then *Edom* or *Idumæa*). Through the well-watered defiles of these mountains God intended them now to pass, and so make an eastern circuit round the Dead Sea. "Command thou the people, saying, Ye are to pass through the coast of your brethren the children of Esau, which dwell in Mount Seir; and they shall be afraid of you. . . . Ye shall buy meat of them for money, that ye may eat; and ye shall also buy water of them for money, that ye may drink." For as the Lord had blessed them heretofore throughout their forty years' walking through the wilderness, providing the manna and miraculous water, so He would see that the Edomites should provide for them meat and drink, now that they were quitting the uninhabited desert (Deut. ii. 4—7).

These directions, so clear and beneficent, ought to have explained at once the sudden failure of the miraculous supply of water at Kadesh. Nothing seemed wanting but to move onward in joyful faith, and bid farewell for ever to the parched wilderness behind them.

But no: again the sound of clamorous complaint reached the ears of their aged leaders:—

"There was no water for the congregation, and they gathered themselves together against Moses and against Aaron. And the people chode with Moses, and spake, saying, Would God that we had died when our brethren died before the Lord!" (in the plague after Korah's rebellion). "And why have ye brought up the congregation of the Lord into this wilderness, that we and our cattle should die there? And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt, to bring us into this evil place? it is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or of pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink."

From these words it is plain that this younger generation had lost all faith in the promise, and looked upon the wilderness as the home that Moses intended for them. Therefore to them the failure of that super-

¹ St. Paul's allusion in 1 Cor. x. clearly implies that the water was continued no less than the manna; and with this agrees the Levites' hymn in Neh. ix.—"Yet Thou in thy manifold mercies forsookest them not in the wilderness the pillar of the cloud departed not from them by day, to lead them in the way; neither the pillar of fire by night, to show them light, and the way wherein they should go. Thou gavest also thy good Spirit to instruct them, and withholdest not thy manna from their mouth, and gavest them water for their thirst. Yea, forty years didst thou sustain them."

² Numb. xiv. 34. "Alienation" is Gesenius's rendering of the last word, which is a rare one.

³ See Numb. xiv. 29, "All that were numbered," and we know that the Levites were not numbered (i. 47). So in Eccles. xlvii. 9 we read that God preserved Joshua and Caleb alone of the 600,000 marching men (among whom the Levites were not reckoned). Their exemption would of course include that of Moses and Aaron, and of Eleazar also, who was at this time more than twenty years old (being a priest), and yet entered Canaan (Josh. xiv. 1).

⁴ Probably late—near the end of the thirty-eight years—from the allusion to it as to something quite recent when they murmured at Kadesh (Numb. xx. 3).

natural supply of water seemed disastrous. Instead of seeing in it a joyful sign that they were to bid farewell to the wilderness, and no longer need that wondrous stream, they came clamouring for its continuance. And Moses and Aaron shared their blindness, and carried their complaint to Jehovah.

They are answered according to their folly; the water indeed is granted them; in their unbelief they thought they needed it, and for their unbelief they shall continue to need it. As a judgment, the order of the march is at once reversed. A hostile message from the king of Edom bars their progress through his well-watered country, and once more they have to retrace their steps towards the Red Sea, along the stony valley of the Arabah.

Clearly the Lord held Moses and Aaron responsible for this sin of the people. Instead of carrying their faithless complaint to the Lord, they ought to have rebuked them sternly, and shown that in this failure of water they had a clear sign that God was remembering his holy promise, and that the wilderness was no more to be their home. In crying to the Lord they encouraged the people in their unbelief—nay, they seem themselves to have shared their unbelief. "Because *ye believed me not, to sanctify me*" (*i.e.*, to vindicate my faithfulness) "in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore *ye shall not bring this congregation into the land which I have given¹ them.*" God points to his past promise, and to their unbelief in that promise, as the ground of their punishment.²

If this be the true explanation of this most difficult passage—that Moses and Aaron, exhausted by the people's constant rebelliousness, had sunk into the desponding idea that they had irrevocably forfeited the Promised Land, and habituated as they now had been for thirty-eight years to life in the wilderness, had themselves too begun to look upon it as their home, and were afraid to push onward through the thickly-peopled defiles of Edom, as God had bidden them—how completely does this explain the language in which, three times in the Book of Deuteronomy,³ Moses refers to his sin. It was "*for their sakes*" that he had been led into this sin. It was because he had borne with them so long; because he had refused to enter the Promised Land without them; because he had preferred exile with them in the wilderness; because he had felt *for them and with them*; because, at the last, the sight

of their misery had made his heart sink with such utter despondency that he lost faith in God's promise. It was *for their sakes*, therefore, that he had fallen thus under God's just displeasure, and forfeited his earthly reward. But never for one moment did Moses feel that he was forsaken by his Lord. Never for one moment did he lose his sure trust that, though he might not enter Canaan, yet "there remaineth a rest for the people of God."

The man of God had not to wait long to be gathered into the better rest for which he must have yearned—oh, how deeply! But his task was not quite done. A month they paused in the desolate valley to make lamentation for Aaron, who died upon Mount Hor, according to the word of the Lord.

Mournful indeed must have been that leave-taking: the two aged brothers ascending the mount together, Moses solemnly investing Eleazar with the priestly robes of his dying father, and then returning to his solitary tent, for Miriam too had died not many weeks before. Then, journeying "by the way of the Red Sea" (its eastern horn) all round the mountain tract of inhospitable Edom—the soul of the people much discouraged because of the way, without water (for that second supply was not continued like the first, given not in mercy, but in wrath), with no bread but the manna which they loathed—again the people broke into open murmurs. And a plague of venomous serpents was sent, and much people died. And once again "Moses prayed for the people," and God bade him erect a brazen serpent, and whoever gazed on it was cured. So "the Son of man was to be lifted up" in the fulness of time, "that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life."⁴

At last, after this long penitential circuit of many months, the people were permitted once more to approach the borders of the Promised Land, crossing the brook Zered, and so keeping to the eastward (this time) of the Dead Sea.

On the plains of Moab, beyond Jericho, they were now encamped for nearly six months, conquering all the country on that side Jordan, for that too was to be a part of their inheritance. Alarmed by the appearance of this victorious people, this "people come out of Egypt," the king of Moab sent for the priest of Mesopotamia, of the power of whose divinations he had heard, that he might so ensure success to his arms in the approaching struggle. The episode of Balaam hardly enters into a life of Moses. Enough that Moses has recorded word for word the memorable prophecy in which Balaam foretold the great future of God's people, pointing onwards to the advent of Him, "the Star of Jacob," who should have dominion, and wield the sceptre of Jehovah.

Such were the thoughts that filled the mind of Moses in these last months of his earthly pilgrimage. He knew that his appointed time was drawing near; before he left them he wished to give his people his dying

¹ The "*dabo*" of the Vulgate is wrong. The verb is in the preterite, not future tense.

² This view of Moses' sin is just suggested, but not worked out, by Lightfoot in his *Chronicle* (*in loco*). Bishop Patrick alludes to it, but prefers the view that Moses' sin was a doubt whether they could bring forth the water, following the "*nun poterimus*" of the Vulgate. The commonly accepted explanations must be felt by all to be unsatisfactory. Some say it was calling God's people *rebels*; but compare Numb. xvii. 10 and Deut. ix. 24. Others say it was *striking* instead of *speaking* to the rock; but the Psalmist contradicts this (*evi. 33*). Others say it was doing it *in their own name*—"Must we fetch you water?" But they had just risen from prayer. Whatever the sin was, it was shared equally by Aaron and by the people; and therefore cannot have been in any word or act for which Moses alone was responsible. This has been much lost sight of by commentators.

³ i. 37; iii. 26; iv. 21.

⁴ John iii. 14.

charge. In the Book of Deuteronomy we have his inspired farewell, recounting all the memories of his life, the blessings and the warnings, its sorrows and its joys, his confessions and his thanksgivings. Above all there breathes in every page his intense love of his people; his yearning desire that they might prove faithful to their God.

A later hand has added in few and simple words the close of this wonderful life:—

“And the Lord said unto Moses, Behold, thy days approach that thou must die: call Joshua, . . . that he may receive his charge. . . . And the Lord spake unto Moses that selfsame day, saying, Get thee up into this mountain Abarim, unto Mount Nebo, . . . and behold the land. . . . Thou shalt see the land before thee; but thou shalt not go thither unto the land which I give the children of Israel.”

“So Moses the servant of the Lord died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. And Jehovah buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor; but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day. And Moses was an hundred

and twenty years old when he died: his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated. . . . And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, in all the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do in the land of Egypt to Pharaoh, and to all his servants, and to all his land, and in all that mighty hand, and in all the great terror which Moses showed in the sight of all Israel.”

Such was Moses, “the man of God:” “a merciful man,” “beloved of God and men,” “whose memorial is blessed;” “made like to the glorious saints,” “sanctified in his faithfulness and meekness.” So the Synagogue loved to speak of him. And surely the Church of Christ may claim him as her own. One whom Christ appealed to as his first evangelist (John v. 46); one of whom the New Testament testifies that he “esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt” (Heb. xi. 26); one whom the Apostles on the Mount beheld in communion with their Lord; *he* assuredly within the veil has obtained the recompense of the reward for which he looked; and that reward is Christ.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.—VII.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—ST. PETER.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

“For this cause was the Gospel preached also to them that are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.”—1 PETER iv. 6.

HIS second passage of St. Peter on the subject of the preaching of our Lord to the dead supplements the first statement, and removes at once any doubt which may have existed in the first passage respecting the nature of the message announced.

In the first, the Greek word used for “preaching” might bear the sense some have tried to give it—viz., the definite announcement of condemnation; but the word used *here* in the second passage for “preaching” sets the matter completely at rest. It is emphatically good news, this message to the dead.

This second and more definite teaching of the Apostle on this deeply mysterious subject occurs in the course of his exhortations respecting the conduct of Christians towards the heathen world around them, with whom they were thrown in their daily life. He remarks how surprised, and at the same time angry, ungodly men will be when the Christian withdraws from their society and way of life; and then he goes on to add how these wicked men would have to give account of their actions to the Judge of *quick and dead*. In the next verse (the 6th) St. Peter takes up and answers a question which might occur to one reading the words “quick and dead.” Yes, he goes on to say, they too—the dead—will have to stand before the judgment bar, for Christ has also preached a “Gospel to the dead.”

So much for the context of the passage. Now the thought arises at once, Who are the “dead” alluded to—to whom Christ preached? Primarily, no doubt, the reference is to the “spirits in prison,” spoken of before, but the far broader reference suggested already here seems positively intended; for although the spirits in prison who perished in the judgment of the Flood seem to have been yet in the Apostle’s mind, still these dead to whom Christ’s preaching was addressed, without doubt were identical with the “dead” coupled with the “quick” in verse 5. It includes, no doubt, those who perished in the Flood; but who would dare to limit it to those unhappy ones?

The object and aim of this announcement of good tidings was that the dead, whoever they may be, to whom this preaching is addressed, having been judged in the flesh (and this judgment in the flesh consisted in their having undergone the pains of death), notwithstanding this judgment, still lay hold of salvation, and live on in the spirit after the manner of God.

“The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed.”—1 PETER v. 1.

These opening words of St. Peter’s concluding exhortation have a peculiar interest, for they throw some light upon the relations which existed between an apostle and the rest of the Church; they teach us something of the secret of an apostle’s power and authority. Before, however, considering these things, we must determine

to whom the Apostle's words quoted above were addressed. Who, then, were these elders? The appellation here clearly refers to the official position of the addressed. The idea of age, though perhaps not quite excluded, remains quite in the background: age was by no means a requisite for a position of high authority in the Church (compare 1 Tim. iv. 12). The elders here exhorted were ordained presbyters, the recognised teachers and rulers of the Christian community. A few verses further (in the 5th), he exhorts another class of subordinate officials to obedience: "Likewise, ye younger;" and then he turns to the whole community, in the words, "Yea, all of you be subject." The great Apostle addresses these local elders (or presbyters) with all loving humility. He styles himself their fellow-elder (*συνπρεσβύτερος*). What they were to their own little flocks, was not he to the whole Church? St. John, in his Second and Third Epistles, in like manner calls himself the elder or presbyter. St. Peter and St. John by assuming this appellation show what a high title of honour it really is, seeing that they, the two foremost of the twelve who stood nearest to the Lord, could claim no loftier a designation than "presbyter;" but to this St. Peter adds another title, which they, too, might share with him—in part, at least. "I exhort you—your fellow-elder and witness of the sufferings of Christ." The Greek word for "witness," *μάρτυς*, is translated in the English version, sometimes "martyr," sometimes "witness." The diversity of the rendering in the English version naturally weakens the force of the original. Here *μάρτυς* has the twofold meaning, for St. Peter styles himself a witness—an eye-witness of the Lord's sufferings and death; and this he refers to partly as the basis of his claim to apostolic dignity. But he was a witness, too, of Christ in another sense, being a life-long sufferer for Him and his holy cause; he was one who died daily, having before him constantly, as the crown of his earthly toils, his Lord's words, spoken that early morning after the resurrection, by the Sea of Gennesaret, telling him "by what death he should die" (St. John xxi. 18).

He was, then, a witness (*μάρτυς*) in the sense of Acts i. 22: "One must be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection" (election of Matthias into the college of apostles); and in the sense of Acts i. 8; ii. 32; x. 39.

But he was a witness or martyr (*μάρτυς*) in the sense of Heb. xii. 1, "Seeing we are encompassed by so great a cloud of witnesses" (here the English translation should have "martyrs"); in the sense of Acts xxii. 20, "When the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by;" of Rev. ii. 13, "Antipas my faithful martyr;" and of Rev. xvii. 6, "Drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus." The last title of honour the Apostle claims, he gives out with glad triumph. He is not only the elder, teaching, guiding, and ruling the flock of Christ; not only the martyr who by suffering bears his witness to his Lord, and shows a high example to the whole community of Christians. He is also "a par-

taker of the glory that shall be revealed." He tells of his future glory with the same certainty as he speaks of his present sufferings, of his future painful death—for did not his Lord foretell both? For the glory prediction, compare St. Matt. xix. 28; St. John xvii. 22, 24; and for the suffering and death, St. Matt. xx. 23, xxiv. 9; St. John xxi. 19.

Wiesinger has well noticed how the duties and subsequent reward of a faithful presbyter, set out in verses 2, 3, 4, exactly correspond to this title of honour St. Peter, in his loving humility, claims as his own:—

VERSE 1.

St. Peter claims to be an elder or presbyter.

He is a martyr for Christ's sake.

He is a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed.

VERSES 2, 3, 4.

Let them, too, show themselves to be really elders by feeding the flock of God for love's sake, and not for selfish ends.

If they in any way would be ensamples to their flock, they, too, must be prepared to be martyrs.

Then they, too, if faithful presbyters, at the advent of Christ should receive the crown which never fades.

The passage we have been discussing, and the verse that immediately follows, throws some light upon the vexed question of the internal organisation of the Church in the first ages of Christianity. It establishes two points very clearly. (a) At that early period (the First Epistle of St. Peter was written probably not later than A.D. 65 or 66) a well-defined system of government had been established in the Churches. We find elders or presbyters who appear in the possession of considerable power and authority; and also a younger and subordinate order; and both these distinct from the general community of the Church. And above all orders—in a position which, though apparently undefined, still sanctioned instruction, exhortation, reproof, command being addressed to presbyters and community alike—we find the apostle. (b) But with all this, we do not find as yet any trace of a distinct episcopal order. When St. Peter wrote, some time between A.D. 60 and 70, no distinction existed between the presbyter and the bishop—the terms were then synonymous. The elders (*πρεσβύτεροι*) of ver. 1, in ver. 2 are spoken of as taking the oversight—literally, acting as bishops (*ἐπισκοποῦντες*). The testimony of St. Peter confirms the testimony of St. Luke and St. Paul. St. Luke, in Acts xx. 17, quotes St. Paul addressing the elders (*πρεσβυτέρους*) of the church of Miletus; in ver. 28 he is speaking of the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made these same elders overseers—literally, bishops (*ἐπισκόπους*). Compare also St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, i. 5, 7; 1 Tim. iii. 1, 8; and Phil. i. 1. In both the latter passages St. Paul addresses bishops and deacons, evidently using the term *bishop* (*ἐπίσκοπος*) as equivalent to the term *elder* or *presbyter*. Thus putting the date of the writing of the Acts A.D. 63; the First Epistle of St. Peter, A.D. 65; the Epistle to the Philippians, A.D. 61; and the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, about A.D. 67-8, up to the year of the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, we have no clear intimation of any distinct establish-

ment of the episcopal order in the Christian Church. Up to this period two orders only, presbyters and deacons, had been formally established for the guidance and government of the Church; but over these, the Apostles—owing to their peculiar dignity, arising from their personal connection with the Lord—exercised a great and indefinite authority, as a college over the whole Church, as we see in Acts xv. 6 (and following verses); and individually, as in the case of James at Jerusalem; Peter in the case of the congregations addressed in his Epistle; Paul at Corinth, at Rome, at Ephesus, at Thessalonica, at Philippi; John in the case of the Seven Churches of Asia.

But the first three of these distinguished apostolic leaders were removed by martyrdom almost at the same time (A.D. 67 or 68). The deaths of Paul, Peter, and James were followed almost immediately by the destruction of Jerusalem, up to this period (A.D. 70) the visible centre of Christianity. The Church, during the twenty-five preceding years, had spread with a rapidity almost inconceivable by us. But notwithstanding the glorious success of the first years of Christianity, many causes were at work which contributed to weaken its present growth and to mar its efficiency, and which threatened grave danger to its future. Party feeling—attachment to various church leaders, such as we read of in the church of Corinth—was rapidly growing up. Dissensions, questionings, jealousies between the Jewish and Gentile converts, such as we read of in the Galatian Epistle, and at Antioch (Acts xv.), were threatening the peace of the Church of the first days. The many-sided Gnostic heresy, in varied forms, was already appearing in all the great Christian centres. St. Paul especially notices it in his Epistle to the Colossians: we find allusions to it in his pastoral letters. The prologue of St. John's Gospel is looked upon by many as a refutation of the early developments of Gnosticism. And when the three men who had been mainly instrumental in guiding and moulding the infant churches were taken away, the necessity of a new form of organisation in the government of the Church created the episcopal order. "Out of this need," writes Professor Rothe, "arose the Catholic Church. The greatness of the change may be measured in the picture of the Christian Church, painted A.D. 67, in the pastoral epistles of St. Paul, and in the pictures painted by St. Ignatius some thirty or forty years later." Now, by whom and by what authority was this new constitution

organised? In reply, he suggests that after the fall of Jerusalem, and the death of Peter, James, and Paul, a council, consisting of the apostles still surviving and of other Church leaders, was held to deliberate on the position and aspects of Christianity, and to provide against the imminent danger. To the deliberations of this council the formal institution of bishops is owing.

In support of this hypothesis, Rothe adduces a quotation from Hegesippus (in Eusebius), a fragment of Irenæus, and a remarkable passage from Clement of Rome, referring to this apostolic council held after the martyrdom of the three Apostles and the fall of Jerusalem. Professor Lightfoot, commenting upon this supposition of Rothe, while hesitating to adopt his hypothesis of an authoritative apostolic council held after the destruction of Jerusalem, agrees in the main with the German professor in his view respecting the institution of episcopacy. To quote Lightfoot's words, "In the mysterious period which comprises the last thirty years of the first century, and on which history is almost wholly silent, episcopacy must, it is true, have been mainly developed." On the whole question compare Professor Lightfoot's able and exhaustive dissertation on the Christian Ministry in his "Commentary on the Philippians."

The conclusions we come to on this much-disputed subject seem to suggest a fair and equitable settlement of the vexed question respecting the foundation of the episcopacy. Two grave errors have to be guarded against—the one which ascribes its institution to the very early days of Christianity; the other which relegates the institution of the order to a comparatively late period in the history of the early Church, when the apostles, their familiar friends and pupils, had been removed by death. It is clear, that with perhaps the solitary exception of Jerusalem under the government of James, the Lord's brother, no instance can be fairly adduced of episcopal government in the lifetime of Peter, James, and Paul—that is, before A.D. 68; while, again, it is equally manifest that in the lifetime of St. John and of others of the apostles, and before the close of the first century, while men like Polycarp, Ignatius, and Clement of Rome were teaching at great centres like Smyrna, and Antioch, and Rome, the order of bishops was definitely instituted in the Church of Christ, with the formal, or at least implied, sanction of men like St. John the Divine—men who had walked with Jesus on earth, who had received the gift of the Holy Spirit on that first solemn Pentecost after the Lord had risen.

MUSIC OF THE BIBLE.—III.

BY JOHN STAINER, M.A., MUS. DOC., MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD; ORGANIST OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS (*continued*).

AZOR.



AZOR (or *asor*) is an instrument but rarely mentioned, and then only in connection with the *nebel*. Here again we are met with the question whether we are discussing a harp or a lyre; and most discouraging it is,

thus to find how little is really known as to the nature of ancient instruments. But, as before noticed, as the *azor* is never used alone, we may conclude that it had some definite relation to that with which it is always associated—the *nebel*. The *nebel* being a large instrument, it seems quite safe to suppose that the *azor* was small, a point on which most commentators are happily

agreed. It may have been what we should term a "treble" to the *nebel*, perhaps used to support the voices of the boys and women, while the *nebel* supported those of men. If the *azor* were a lyre, it would be of an upright kind, probably very similar in shape to that depicted in Fig. 10; if a harp, probably a small instrument which could be carried under the arm. Engel has given the name *azor* to an Assyrian instrument, representations of which are preserved. The following (Fig. 26) is copied from a stone in the British Museum.

It will be seen that the strings are struck with a *plectrum*, and not plucked with the tips of the fingers. An ingenious critic once suggested that the hand which is carved at the extremity of the upright side was intended to hold the music while the performer was walking. This is by no means an improbable theory. The instrument here depicted has eight strings, but it will be observed that they terminate in four tassels. Is it possible that the Assyrians produced two notes from one string of double length by passing it round one pin or through one hole? If so, alas for the novelty of the system of putting wires in this manner on pianofortes, which is now universally adopted, but was only patented in 1827 by Messrs. Collard. It is found when a string thus starts from one tuning-pin, passes round a hitch-pin at the other end, and returns to another tuning-pin, that the two

halves may be separately tuned even to a divergence of several semitones, without risk of a slipping of the string at the hitch-pin. But this Assyrian *azor*, with its eight strings, unfortunately stands in opposition to a largely accepted theory that the *azor* had ten strings. In the Septuagint the word is translated ἐν δεκάχορδῳ or ψαλτήριον δεκάχορδον (*psalterium decem chordarum*), and also in the Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic versions, words are found for it which imply the existence of ten strings. In the passages "Sing unto him with the *nebel* and *azor*" (Ps. xxxiii. 2), and "I will sing a new song unto thee, O God: upon a *nebel* and an *azor* will I sing praises unto Thee" (Ps. cxliv. 9), the authorised version renders *azor* in both cases "an instrument of ten strings."

Here then we must leave the *azor*, looking upon it as a small harp used to supplement or add brightness of tone to its larger and invariable companion, the *nebel*.

SABEKA.

Sabeka is one of the instruments mentioned as being used in the well-known band of Nebuchadnezzar, as described in Dan. iii. 5. It was, therefore, not a Hebrew but a Babylonish instrument. It is most unfortunately translated "sackbut" in our version. This is to be regretted, because not only does the word possess no rela-

tion whatever to *sabeka*, but also it is itself a word the meaning and application of which is surrounded with much obscurity. The sackbut of Europe was certainly a kind of bass trumpet, most probably a *trombone*. The idea of having a sliding tube inside a trumpet, so that its length could be altered in order to produce different sounds, and consequently different series of overtones, seems to have existed in very early times. The Chinese, whose conservatism in art throws an air of antiquity over even their modern productions, possess instruments of this class. In Fig. 27 are shown some of these Chinese trumpets which the player has the power of shortening or elongating at will. This would be the simplest form of sackbut or trombone. The engraving is made from some specimens in the admirable collection of instruments in the South Kensington Museum.

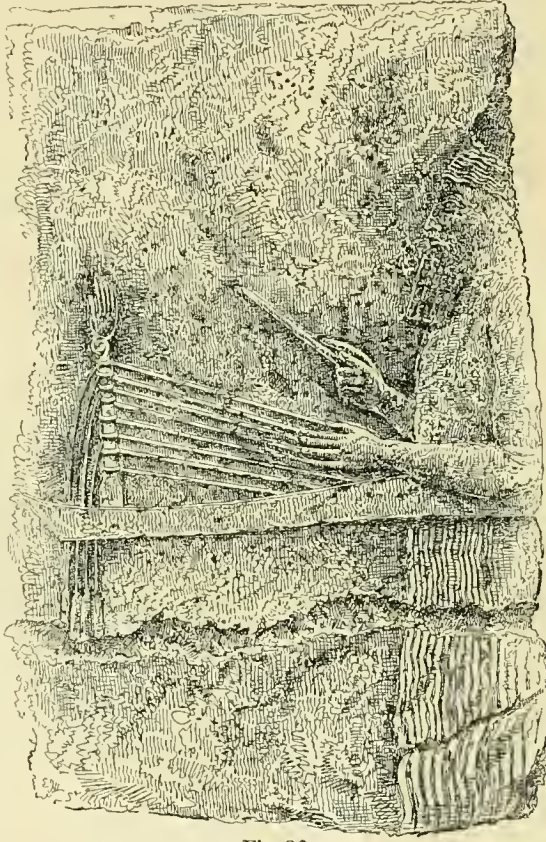


Fig. 26.

But, although we have before this given warning of the danger likely to arise from attempting to describe instruments from the derivation of their names, it is impossible to disregard that meaning when it is very obvious and almost undisputed. Now the root *sac*, signifying a pouch or bag, runs through a vast number of languages, Hebrew, Arabic, and most of the European languages dead or now used. There is also, according to some, a root *boog* in Arabic, and *buk* in Hebrew, meaning a "trumpet" or "pipe." There is a great temptation, therefore, to jump to the conclusion that a sackbut must have been a *bagpipe*, especially as the German name for a bagpipe is *Sackpfeife*, which looks, and is, a very near relation to sackbut; and, moreover, it seems difficult to account for the application of

such a term as *bag-trumpet* to a trombone, an instrument which is but very slightly, if at all, unlike a trumpet in the general form of its outline. To show this, Fig. 28 is given, exhibiting an old English trumpet, without valves or pistons, which, unless critically examined, might well be supposed to be a trombone. The fact, however,

Romans as an ingredient of Oriental luxury. They were evidently played upon by men as well as by women, as a player on the *sambuca* is a *σαμβουκιστής* or *σαμβουκίστρια*, *sambucist* or *sambucistra*. But, granting that the *sabeka* was a *sambuca*, the question is, what was a *sambuca*? Two answers are given. One, that it was

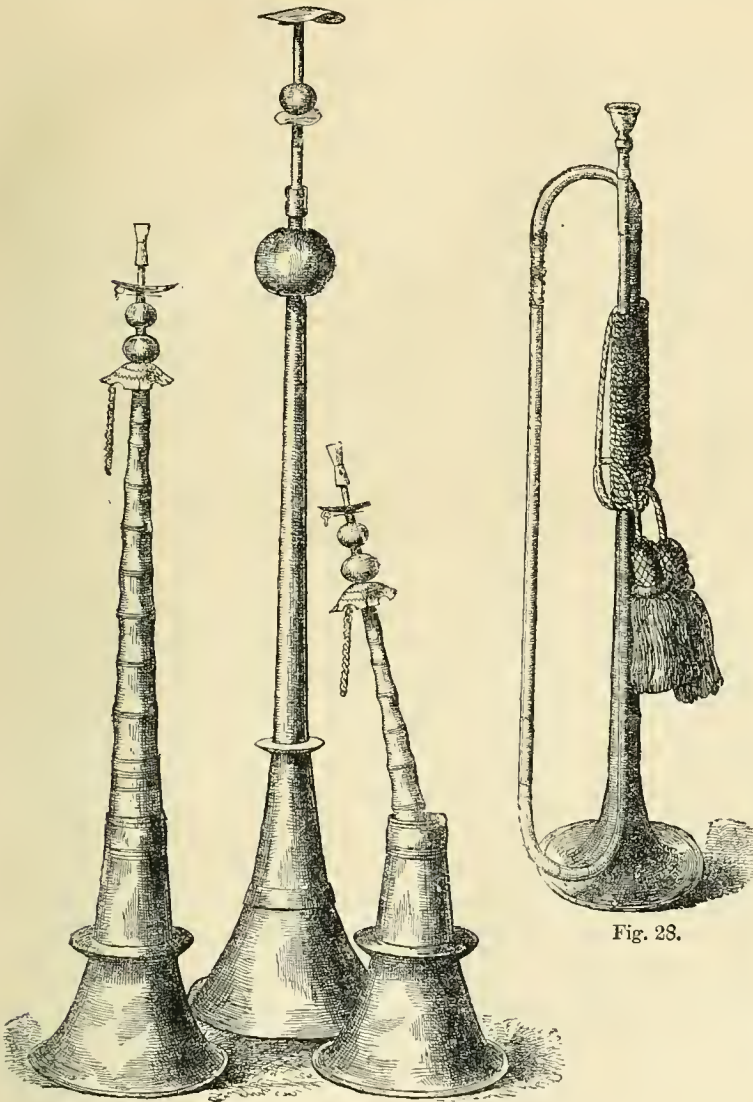


Fig. 27.

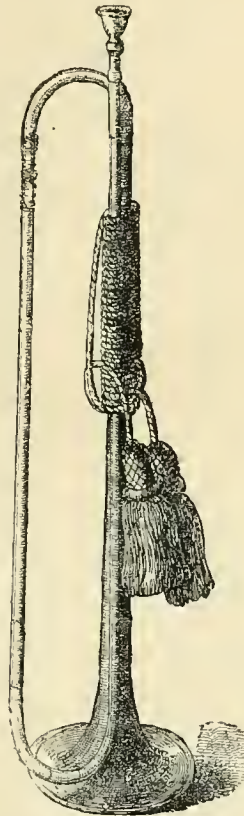


Fig. 28.



Fig. 29.

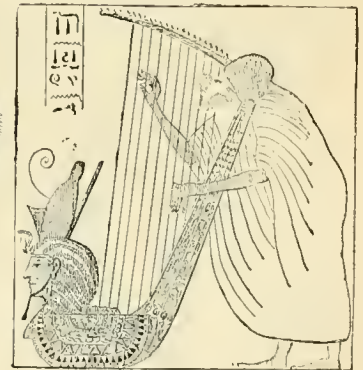


Fig. 30.

remains unshaken that the European sackbut was a trombone, the word being used in the same sense in many languages, as, for instance, in old French *saqueboute*, and in Italian, *sacabuche*. The reader must forgive this digression on a word which, as has been remarked, ought not to have found its way into our translation of the Book of Daniel. The *sabeka* then, which is not a sackbut, is generally identified with the *σαμβουξ* or *σαμβόκη*, *sambuca*, a harp known to the Greeks and

a very small harp of high pitch; the other, that it was a large harp with a great many strings. It is improbable that any very small high-sounding instrument could have been a special delight to a pleasure-seeking Roman or Greek, as acute sounds are not only often less pleasing in themselves than grave sounds, but are also more easily accessible to the instrument-maker, as emanating from small and comparatively cheap instruments. It is more probable, therefore, that it was a

large and powerful harp, of a rich quality of tone. Some have thought it very similar to, if not identical with, the great Egyptian harp, and have considered the next illustrations (Figs. 29, 30) as representations of it.

To say so is, perhaps, assuming too much; but what-

ever its exact form might have been, we may safely assume that the *sabeka* was of extensive compass, and capable, by its sweetness, of adding to the pleasure of the reclining feaster or of enriching the aggregate effect of the instruments used in luxurious Babylon.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.—VI.

BY THE REV. CANON RAWLINSON, M.A., CAMDEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

X.



HE inscriptions of an Assyrian king who reigned shortly after Tiglath-pileser illustrate several passages of Scripture, more especially Isa. xx. 1—5; 2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 10; and xx. 12. The name of this monarch is read as Sar-gina or Sar-kina,¹ and the time of his reign is fixed by the Assyrian Canon to the years B.C. 722—705. As Isaiah flourished from about B.C. 750 to 698, Sargina must have been contemporary with him; and as there is no other name at all like Sargina in the Assyrian royal lists, it is impossible to doubt that the monarch in question is identical with the "Sargon, king of Assyria," mentioned by Isaiah as a contemporary in chap. xx. 1 of his prophecy. That mention of an Assyrian king named Sargon had, until the Assyrian inscriptions were deciphered, received no confirmation at all from profane history. The occurrence of the name once, and once only, in Isaiah, and not at all in Kings or Chronicles, was commonly felt as a difficulty; and it was generally assumed that the monarch so called must have borne also one of the names assigned to Assyrian sovereigns in the Book of Kings—that he must, in fact, have been either Shalmaneser, or Sennacherib, or Esar-haddon.² The inscriptions of Sargina, and other Assyrian documents, have now shown that he was a distinct monarch from any of them, and that his reign of seventeen years intervened between those of Shalmaneser and Sennacherib, the former of whom ceased to reign in B.C. 722, while the latter ascended the throne in B.C. 705. Sennacherib tells us in all his inscriptions that he was Sargina's son; and Sargina is shown by the Assyrian Canon to have succeeded Shalmaneser.

The history which Isaiah attaches to the name of Sargon also exactly accords with the annals of Sargina. Isaiah tells us that Sargon, king of Assyria, on one occasion "sent Tartan (*i.e.*, a tartan, or commander-in-chief³) unto Ashdod, and fought against Ashdod, and

took it." Sargina informs us that Azuri, king of Ashdod, having revolted against him, about B.C. 715, he sent an army to put down the revolt, deposed Azuri from his kingdom, and made his brother, Akhinit, king in his room. Akhinit reigned peacefully for a time, but, about B.C. 712, the Ashdodites expelled him, and the "strong" city⁴ once more declared itself independent. This time Sargina represents himself as coming up against the rebel city in person, as besieging it and compelling it to surrender.⁵ We have here two captures of Ashdod by the Assyrians in the reign of Sargon implied, in one of which only was he engaged in person. The other must have been effected by a general, and it is to this apparently that Isaiah alludes in his twentieth chapter.

Isaiah at the same time declares, *prophetically* (chap. xx. 4), that the king of Assyria (the same king, it would seem, that had been mentioned three verses previously, *i.e.*, Sargon) "should lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot, even with their buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt." It is beyond the scope of the present series of articles to direct attention to the fulfilment of prophecy, and therefore no stress will be laid on the fact that Sargina reports a great victory as gained by his arms over the forces of Egypt at a time when Egypt was (he says) under the rule of Ethiopia. But the prophecy of Isaiah manifestly implies that, when he delivered it, Egypt and Ethiopia were already recognised as at war with Assyria; and it is pertinent, therefore, to remark that, according to the Assyrian inscriptions, Sargina was the first king who extended his arms beyond Edom and actually came into hostile collision with Egypt, which is represented as at the time under the dominion of Meroë, or Ethiopia. The relations between the three great monarchies, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Assyria, implied in Isaiah and 2 Kings, relations of a very abnormal character,⁶ are thus exactly

war, took his place at the head of the army, was called "the tartan." It is this official name, probably, which appears in 2 Kings xviii. 17 and Isa. xx. 1.

⁴ The word Ashdod is probably derived from the root *shad* (שָׁד) "strong," whence *Shaddai*, "the Almighty."

⁵ Oppert, *Inscriptions des Sargonides*, p. 27.

⁶ War between Egypt and Assyria seems first to have commenced in the reign of Sargon. Previously the two countries had been friendly (*Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii., p. 335). It was rarely that Ethiopia exercised dominion over Egypt. The only period when this relation existed was from about B.C. 730 to B.C. 664.

¹ The full name is *Sarru-gina* or *Sarru-kina*, the former being the Babylonian and the latter the Assyrian form. These forms are respectively contracted into *Sargina* and *Sarkina*. The Arabic form (preserved in the Geography of Yacut) was *Sargînûn*.

² Sargon was identified with Shalmaneser by Vitrings, Offerhaus, Eichhorn, and Hupfeld; with Sennacherib by Grotius, Lowth, and Keil; with Esar-haddon by Perizonius, Kahinsky, and Michaelis.

³ The Assyrian inscriptions show that the second personage in the kingdom, the commander, who, if the king did not go out to a

those which the Assyrian inscriptions of the time declare to have existed.

The inscriptions of Sargon also illustrate to some extent another curious narrative, which is common to Kings with Isaiah. We are told in Isa. xxxix. and 2 Kings xx. 12, 13, that about the middle of the reign of Hezekiah, or B.C. 713, "Merodach-baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present to Hezekiah: for he had heard that he had been sick, and was recovered. And Hezekiah hearkened unto them, and showed them all the house of his precious things, the silver, and the gold and the spices, and the precious ointment, and all the house of his armour, and all that was found in his treasures: there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah shewed them not." From this narrative we learn that contemporary with Sargon in Assyria (who reigned, it is to be remembered, from B.C. 722 to 705) was a certain Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon, an independent prince of some considerable power, who could send ambassadors a distance of a thousand miles, and could venture to take up an attitude hostile to Assyria, for a hostile attitude is undoubtedly implied in such an embassy as is spoken of from a Babylonian prince to one of Assyria's tributaries. Now Sargon's inscriptions show us a king with this exact name, who ruled in Babylon as an independent monarch from B.C. 722—721¹ to B.C. 710—709, and who, in the year last named, comes into hostile collision with Assyria, being attacked by Sargon within his own dominions, defeated, and expelled from his country. The narrative of Scripture thus completely harmonises with the Assyrian record,² and goes beyond it in furnishing a reason for Sargon's attack on Merodach-baladan, since the meddling of a king of Babylon with Assyrian affairs in the far west would naturally, and almost necessarily, have drawn upon him an invasion, the provocation being more than any Assyrian monarch could put up with.

In one point the inscriptions of Sargon have been thought to contradict Scripture; but when Scripture is carefully examined, they are found here also to be in perfect harmony with the Biblical narrative. Sargon relates that in his first year (B.C. 722-1) he took the city of Samaria, and carried into captivity 27,280 persons. Subsequently he speaks of re-peopling the place with colonists from other portions of his dominions as from Babylonia and Arabia; so that he would seem to be the "king of Assyria" spoken of in 2 Kings xvii. 6—27, and xviii. 11. But the impression left on the ordinary reader by those passages is that Samaria was

taken, its inhabitants carried into captivity, and a foreign population brought in to supply their place by Shalmaneser, the predecessor of Sargon upon the throne, and not by Sargon. The only Assyrian king mentioned in Scripture in connection with the final siege and capture of Samaria is Shalmaneser, whose name occurs twice (2 Kings xvii. 3; xviii. 9). Elsewhere throughout the narrative the phrase used is simply "the king of Assyria" (xvii. 4, 5, 6, 24, 26, 27; xviii. 11). Now it was, of course, natural to suppose that, so long as no new name occurred, the same monarch was intended; but such a conclusion was never more than a reasonable conjecture, and many commentators, even before the Assyrian records had been deciphered, were of opinion that "the king of Assyria" mentioned in 2 Kings xvii. 24 was not Shalmaneser, but Esar-haddon.³ It appears now that, though the siege was commenced by Shalmaneser, the capture fell into the reign of Sargon, and consequently that Sargon is the king of Assyria intended in 2 Kings xvii. 6, 24—27; xviii. 11. To the writer of Kings the circumstance that one Assyrian monarch died and another mounted the throne while the siege was still continuing is unimportant, and he does not trouble his readers with it. He does, however, give an indication that he was aware of it; for, in 2 Kings xviii. 9, 10, having said that "*Shalmaneser*, king of Assyria, came up against Samaria and besieged it," and having occasion to mention the capture, he goes on in the following verse thus—"And at the end of three years *they* took it," changing the phrase, because it would not have been correct to say, "*he* took it." Thus not only is there no contradiction on this point between Scripture and the Assyrian records, but a real agreement underlies the seeming discrepancy, and it may be fairly said that Scripture, by itself, might, to a careful reader, have suggested the fact which Sargon's inscriptions establish historically.

XI.

One of the most striking illustrations of Scripture, which the profane records of the world furnish, is that supplied by the earlier portion of the annals of Sennacherib in its bearing upon 2 Kings xviii. 13—16; 2 Chron. xxxii. 1—8; and Isa. xxxvi. 1. These portions of Scripture inform us that at a certain period in the reign of Hezekiah, son of Ahaz, king of Judah, which the existing text of Isaiah and Kings calls his fourteenth year, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came and entered into Judah, and encamped against the fenced cities (2 Chron. xxxii. 1), and took them (2 Kings xviii. 13). He was then "purposed to fight against Jerusalem" (2 Chron. xxxii. 2), and advancing towards the capital (see Isa. x. 28—32), took up a position on the north side, known thenceforth as "the camp of the Assyrians," and threatened to assault the city. Hezekiah made great preparations against him. He "took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city; and they

¹ The Canon of Ptolemy gives Merodach-baladan (Mardokempalus) a reign of twelve years, from B.C. 721 to B.C. 709; but the Babylonian dates are commonly one year too late, since the king's name was not entered on the list until the *Thoth* after he came to the throne. *Thoth* at this time fell in February.

² The only approach to a discrepancy is in the statement of Scripture that Merodach-baladan was "the son of Baladan," whereas in the Assyrian inscriptions he is always called "the son of Yakin." On this point it is enough to note that "son" in Scripture often means "grandson" (1 Kings xix. 16; 1 Chron. i. 17; iv. 1; &c.), or other descendant (Matt. i. 1, &c.).

³ Prideaux, *Connection*, vol. i., p. 23, note *re*, folio edition.

did help him: and there was gathered together much people, who stopped all the fountains and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come, and find much water? And he strengthened himself, and built up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without, and repaired Millo, the city of David, and made darts in abundance; and set captains of war over the people, and gathered them together to him in the square of the gate of the city, and spake comfortably unto them" (2 Chron. xxxii. 3—6). But all these preparations were unavailing: the siege was pressed,¹ and after a time the proud king of Judah was reduced to send an embassy to the Assyrian monarch, who was at Lachish, while his troops besieged Jerusalem, with the humble message, "I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me I will bear." Sennacherib accepted the submission, and "appointed unto Hezekiah, king of Judah, a tribute of three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold." In order to pay this, Hezekiah was forced not only to empty his own treasury and the treasury of the Temple, but also to strip of their adornment the doors of the Temple and the pillars which he had himself overlaid, and to give it to the King of Assyria (2 Kings xviii. 14—16).

Sennacherib's narrative of these proceedings is as follows:—"Because Hezekiah," he says, "king of Judah, would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms and by the might of my power I took forty-six of his strong-fenced cities: and of the smaller towns, which were scattered about, I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates, so as to prevent escape. . . . Then, upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem with thirty talents of gold, and eight hundred talents of silver, and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty. . . . All these things were brought to me at Nineveh, the seat of my government, Hezekiah having sent them by way of tribute, and as a token of his submission to my power."²

The agreement of these two narratives cannot but be admitted to be most striking. In both we have the same pair of adversaries, Tsîn-akh-irib (Sankherib), king of Asshur, and Klûzkiyahu,³ king of Judah; in

both the Assyrian is the assailant; in both the first brunt of his attack falls upon the strong fenced cities of Judah, which are successively taken and plundered; in both he then proceeds against Jerusalem, where Hezekiah is for a time shut up, while the siege is pressed; in both after a while submission is made, an embassy is sent, tribute is agreed on, and consists of a certain definite amount of each of the precious metals, gold and silver; in both the amount of the gold is identical. Each of the two narratives has much that is peculiar. The Assyrian monarch dwells on the number of the cities that he took, the extent of the spoil, the multitude of the captives, the alarm of Hezekiah, the rank of his ambassadors, the richness of the presents which they brought with them in order to propitiate him: the Jewish writers enlarge on the preparations made for resistance, on the terror felt within the city (Isa. xxii.), on the aspect of the Assyrian forces (*ib.*), the line of their march (Isa. x. 28—32), and the like; but in all this diversity there is nothing that approaches to a discrepancy, unless it be the amount of the silver which Hezekiah paid, and perhaps we ought to add, the exact date of the invasion.

The amount of the silver carried off by Sennacherib, which the Jewish writer states to have been 300 talents, is estimated by the Assyrian historiographer at 800 talents. Two explanations may be given of this. Either the number in the present Hebrew text may be corrupt—and there can be no doubt that the numbers in the later portion of the Second Book of Kings are excessively unsound—or the Jewish historian may intend to give the amount of the fixed tribute which Hezekiah agreed to pay annually, while the Assyrian writer means to state the actual weight received by Sennacherib from the ambassadors at the time when the submission was made. The ambassadors would, we may be sure, not go empty-handed to solicit peace. It may well be that, knowing the amount at which the tribute would be assessed, they took with them 500 talents of silver besides, as a means of propitiating the offended monarch, and inducing him to accept the proffered submission, and allow the rebel prince (2 Kings xviii. 7) to retain his throne.

With respect to the date of the expedition, which the Jewish numbers place in about B.C. 713, and the Assyrian in B.C. 701, there is, in the first place, a possibility that the Hebrew text of 2 Kings xviii. 13 may be corrupt, and the original number in the place may have been, not fourteen, but twenty-seven. We know nothing of the mode in which the ancient Hebrews expressed numbers; but on the whole it is most probable that they expressed them in some abbreviated form.⁴ Numbers so expressed are peculiarly liable to corruption; and the extent to which corruption can be proved in the later historical books of Scripture is

¹ For particulars of the siege see Isa. xxii. 1—14, which is shown to refer to this time by the mention of the alterations made in the water-courses in vs. 9 and 11.

² This is Sir Henry Rawlinson's translation, supplied to the author for his "Bampton Lectures" (pp. 141, 142). Compare the version of Dr. Hincks in Mr. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 143, 144.

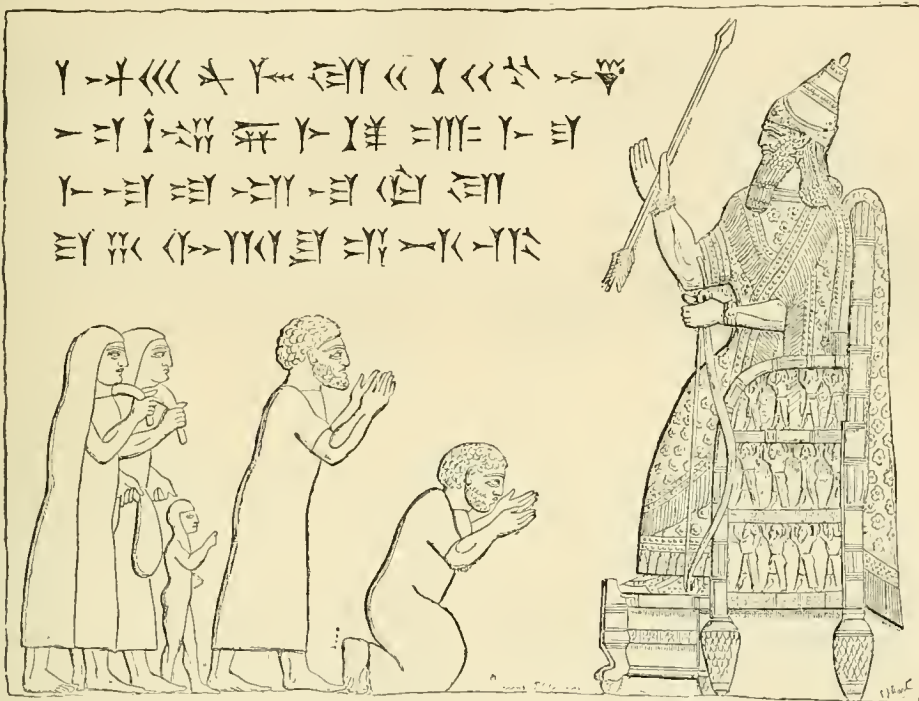
³ The Assyrian literature agrees exactly with one form of the Hebrew name, which is either לְכִזְקִיָּהוּ or לְכִזְקִיָּהוּ . Our "Hezekiah" follows the Greek form, Ἰζεκίας .

⁴ An abbreviated form of expressing numbers existed in Egypt from a remote antiquity, and in Babylonia from the time of the early Chaldean kingdom, which came to an end about B.C. 1300. The numbers, however, on the Moabite stone are expressed fully, in words.

very remarkable. It is an ingenious conjecture of Dr. Kennicott¹ that in these books the original system of numerical notation was not unlike the Roman—*i.e.*, there were distinct signs for a thousand, a hundred, ten, five, and one, whereas other numbers were expressed by iteration of these five signs. If a sign faded away wholly in a manuscript, it was naturally, when the MS. came to be copied, omitted altogether; if it partially faded, it was liable to be confounded with another, or to be replaced by two others. Discrepancies between the numbers of the later historical books can almost always be accounted for in one or other of these two ways. The most common discrepancies arise out

as in a Latin manuscript XIII might not improbably arise out of XXVII.

Another mode of explaining the discrepancy is by supposing that the entire clause in 2 Kings—"In the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah"—was absent from the original work, and has *crept in from the margin*. It is observed² that the author of Kings does not usually mention the dates of foreign expeditions, unless they are final, bringing about the destruction of the kingdom against which they are directed. Thus, he gives the year when the last siege of Samaria commenced (2 Kings xviii. 9), and the year when it terminated (chap. xvii. 6; xviii. 10); also the year in which



SENNACHERIB BEFORE LACHISH (?) RECEIVING CAPTIVES. (BRITISH MUSEUM.)

of the entire fading of one sign; and the numbers differ by a unit, a five, a ten, a hundred, or a thousand. Take, for example, the differences between the numbers in Ezra ii. and Neh. vii., which evidently ought to be identical. The cases of difference amount to some twenty-eight.² Of these, seventeen may be accounted for by the fading of a single form; two require the fading of two forms, while the remaining six alone are more complicated. In 2 Kings xviii. 13, if the original number was twenty-seven, and was expressed in the way suggested by Dr. Kennicott, the complete fading of one sign for ten, and the partial fading of the sign for five, would have naturally produced fourteen; just

the last siege of Jerusalem commenced (chap. xxv. 1), and the year of the capture (chap. xxv. 2). But he gives no date for the invasions of Shishak, or Zerah, or Pul, or Tiglath-pileser, or for the first expedition of Sennacherib (chap. xvii. 3), or for the *great* expedition of Sennacherib (chap. xviii. 17), or for the invasion of Necho (chap. xxxiii. 29), or for the two expeditions of Nebuchadnezzar against Jehoiakim (chap. xxiv. 1), and against Jehoiachin or Jeconiah (chap. xxiv. 11). It is therefore not likely that he would have dated the first expedition of Sennacherib, which was not very important. But a scribe, who did not see that two expeditions of Sennacherib were spoken of, and who believed chapters xviii., xix., and xx. to be closely connected, may have thought to obtain the date of the entire narrative

¹ Dissertation 11. (Quoted in Barrett's *Synopsis*, vol. iii., Part I., pp. 336-340.)

² Compare Ezra ii., vs. 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 17, 14, 15, 17, 19, 22, 23, 33, 35, 41, 42, 60, 65, 69, with Neh. vii., vs. 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 22, 26, 32, 37, 38, 44, 45, 62, 67, and 70-72.

³ See the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iv. p. 105.

from chap. xx. 6 compared with chap. xviii. 2, and may then have noted this date in the margin, opposite chap. xviii. 13. The inference of the scribe from the supposed *nexus* of the three chapters was wrong—the narrative in chap. xx. really occurring out of place—belonging to Hezekiah's fourteenth year, while chap. xviii. 13—16 belongs to his twenty-seventh year, and chap. xviii. 17—37, together with chap. xix., to his twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth.

In the opinion of Mr. Layard,¹ one of the largest and most striking of the reliefs discovered at Konyunjik, the site of the ancient Nineveh, represented Sennacherib on his throne before Lachish, at the time when he received the captives taken in the Jewish war, and the tribute of Hezekiah. That the sculpture represents Sennacherib is undoubted; and as he appears on it, so most probably he appeared to the ambassadors of the Jewish monarch when they made their submission. But Oriental critics are not altogether agreed that the city represented is Lachish,² much less that the prisoners who are being presented to the enthroned monarch are Jews.

¹ See Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 152; and for a full representation of the scene, see the same author's *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, pls. 22, 23.

² Sir H. Rawlinson has argued that the name does not represent the Jewish Lachish, since the final letter is not *shin*, but *samech*. He reads the inscription which is attached to the relief as follows:—"Sennacherib, the mighty king, the king of Assyria, sits on the throne of empire, and passes the spoil of Lakis before him."

This last opinion seems to rest entirely upon the supposed resemblance of the captives to the Jews physiognomically;³ but their physiognomy is really not markedly different from the Assyrian, and is nearly the same which in the sculptures of Sennacherib is assigned to *all* prisoners. The "Jewish captives" of Mr. Layard⁴ have thus no real title to the name; and all that can justly be said is that the sculpture shows the general character of the scene which must have occurred when the captains of Sennacherib brought the Jewish prisoners before him, and enables us to realise that event as we could not have done without it. The pomp and state of the monarch, his dignified position, and the compulsory humiliation of those who come before him, are vividly portrayed. We see their abject attitudes, their poor and mean attire, their bare feet and heads, their entire want of ornament. We see how the tender woman and the delicate child suffered equally with the military class, and presented themselves before the monarch ere they set out for the distant scene of their captivity. We are thus enabled to appreciate, far better than we could have done otherwise, many narratives of Holy Scripture; but the illustration afforded is indirect, and does not amount to an actual representation of any event that is recorded by the sacred writers.

³ Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 153.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

THE INSPIRATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.—I.

BY THE REV. F. W. FARRAR, B.D., F.R.S., MASTER OF MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE QUEEN.

THERE are, in the book of Exodus, several passages of sublime significance in which Moses is represented as having communed with God on the summit of Sinai. There were thunders and lightnings and a thick cloud upon the mountain, and it "quaked greatly;" and "the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder."¹ But the sight of all this majesty, and the awfulness of that supernatural thunder, was more than the sinful nation could bear. "And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us, and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we die. And the people stood afar off, and Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was."²

After a sojourn of forty days in the mount, and after witnessing the apostasy of his people, Moses once more returned to speak with God, and he said, "I beseech thee, show me thy glory." And Jehovah answered him, "Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see my face, and live. Behold, there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock: and it shall come to pass, while my glory passeth by, that I

will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by: and I will take away my hand, and thou shalt see my back parts; but my face shall not be seen."³

In this passage, so full of deep reverence, in spite of its fearless and startling anthropomorphism, we see a distinct indication that it was God's purpose in the Old Dispensation to reveal himself in a manner wholly different from that which we should have expected. It might have seemed to us that the Creator would have vouchsafed to his creatures a knowledge of his ways, not mediately, but immediately; not individually, but universally; not partially, but completely; not demonstrably, but decisively; not progressively, but at once. In all these respects our anticipations are reversed. It is a part of God's revelation to us that his ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts. One of the very stamps of the authenticity of his revealed will is the manner in which it runs counter to everything which man's unaided imagination could have invented respecting him. Until the fulness of time was come he spoke to many men; he made known his

¹ Exod. xix. 16, 18, 19.

² Exod. xx. 19, 21.

³ Exod. xxxiii. 18—23.

purposes to them in many fragments and many methods.¹ To Adam he spoke by a voice in the garden, borne upon "the wind of the evening;"² to some of the patriarchs by immediate intuition;³ to Abram by inward utterances, by angelic appearances, and by the vision of a smoking furnace and a burning lamp;⁴ to Jacob as an awful presence in the intense agony of prayer;⁵ to Joshua as the captain of the Lord's host;⁶ to his chosen people by Urim and Thummim, and by dreams, and above all by the voice of his prophets.⁷ Then came a pause of well-nigh 400 years, in which, as the Jews believed, they had no new indication of God's will, unless it were from chance voices and mysterious incidental sounds.⁸ Last of all, when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son⁹—the brightness of his glory, the express image of his person¹⁰—to reveal Him as he had never been revealed before, and thenceforth for ever to shed forth his Holy Spirit into the hearts of all his children.

Such has been the order of God's revelations; and the record of those revelations is contained in Holy Scripture.

1. The record is marked by all the peculiarities, and partakes of all the diversity which characterises the order and method of the revelation which it perpetuates and enshrines. The Old Testament comes before us as the fragmentary literature of a chosen people: the New as the fragmentary archives¹¹ of a sacred Evangel. We possess in the Bible a collection of books separated from each other by hundreds of years, written by men in every variety of rank and position, and addressed to a nation under every circumstance of prosperity and adversity. Now a single Eastern emir is called out of an idolatrous world to preserve alive the knowledge of the One True God; now a lawgiver is selected to deliver in the wilderness, to a perverse nation of slaves and fugitives, a moral code of unequalled majesty; now prophets and kings speak to that nation in its purity or its apostasy, in the zenith of its splendour or on the eve of its desolation; now priests or captives console its melancholy exile or inspire its feeble resurrection; now a little band of unlearned and ignorant men record the words and life of its divine and rejected Messiah; now a converted Pharisee preaches that new Gospel with an intense wisdom and fire; now a Galilean fisherman closes the Book of Revelation with words of perfect beauty and visions of unutterable love. In one small volume there is an epitome of all the best and highest and most sacred truths which God has revealed to man; and those truths are deep as the heart of man, and varied as his life.

Yet all this infinite diversity is—like the diversity of nature—merged in a yet more marvellous unity.

Kings, warriors, prophets, historians, poets, exiles, shepherds, gatherers of sycamore fruit, fishermen, tax-gatherers—"we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God." Whether we read the passionate pleadings of an afflicted Chaldean noble, or the rhythmic utterances of a great Mesopotamian sorcerer—whether it be the cynical confessions of a sated worldling, or the pathetic cry of a guilty and repentant king—whether it be the exultant thanksgiving for some splendid deliverance, or the impassioned denunciation of some intolerable wrong—whether it be the stately music of some gorgeous vision, or the brief letter of an aged prisoner recommending the forgiveness of an unprofitable slave—we feel that there reigns, throughout, a divine coherency, an unbroken unity; we feel that the long history is also a symbol and a prophecy;¹² that each writer was but the instrument, often the wholly unconscious instrument, of purposes loftier than his own, and the utterer of language often deeper than he himself could understand; we feel that in the Old Testament the New is prefigured, in the New the Old fulfilled. From beginning to end we recognise the truth, that though God is in all history, never had any nation a history so significant as that of this nation: none have ever known as these knew, or taught as these teach, the holiness of God and the majesty of man.

Once more we feel an essential difference in many respects between all other books and those of which the Scriptures are composed. If we take up any uncanonical or Apocryphal book of the same people, they often fill us with an astonishment largely mingled with contempt, and we feel that there is hardly one such book which, had it been admitted into the sacred canon, would not have given us a violent and painful shock. And if we take in hand the very richest, loftiest, deepest utterances of wisdom, whether Christian or Pagan, we find not only that they never surpass this book, but, even when its lessons were before them, and its wisdom had been instilled into them from childhood, they never equal it. The very best of these bear upon their pages the glaring proofs of human infirmity and human sin; but this book, when accepted in its completeness, when regarded in its true unity, seems, even in what might appear to be its weakest places, to transcend all human imperfections, and, even in its most perilous narratives, to be exempt from every human stain. Through other books the gust of passion and emotion sweep with uncontrollable mastery; this, because "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets," never, even in its most passionate passages, escapes beyond the true limits of a holy self-control. Other literatures depend for their power on the gifts of human genius, and the splendour of human eloquence; this seems to rise superior to the aid of genius, and, though it surpasses all other eloquence of oratory or song, it stands in no apparent need of such adornment. Other books appeal mainly to their own times and nations; this is equally dear to any nation in every age. They depend for their

¹ Πολυμερὲς καὶ πολυτρόπως (Heb. i. 1).

² Gen. iii. 8.

³ Gen. v. 24.

⁴ Gen. xii. & xviii.; xv. 17.

⁵ Gen. xxxii. 24–32.

⁶ Josh. v. 14, 15.

⁷ 1 Sam. xxviii. 6.

⁸ See various Rabbinical passages quoted in Vitringa, *Obs. Sacr.*, ii. 343–363; Prideaux, *Connec.*, ii. 351; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.*, ad Matt. iii. 17; Otho, *Lex. Rab.*, p. 68 (s.v. "Bath Kol"), &c.

⁹ Gal. iv. 4.

¹⁰ Heb. i. 3.

¹¹ John xx. 30; xxi. 25.

¹² "Dum narrat gestum prodit mysterium."—*Greg. Magn.*

chief power and beauty upon the language in which they are written; *this* is easily and universally translatable with no real evaporation of the Divine message which it contains. *They* appeal mainly to separate classes or to isolated intellects; *this* is "universal as our race, individual as ourselves." *They* are either for the aged or for the youthful—for the learned only or only for the ignorant; *this*, while inexhaustible to the learned, is intelligible to the ignorant—it neither sates the aged when familiar, nor tires the young when new. It has shallows which the lamb can ford, and depths which the elephant must swim. It is, to borrow the image of the greatest of the Latin Fathers, a great sea, whose smiling surface breaks in refreshing ripples at the feet of our little ones, but into whose unfathomable depths the wisest may gaze with the shudder of amazement and with the thrill of love.¹

2. And that this book does not stand on the same level as other books—that, in comparison with all other previous or contemporaneous literatures, it is sacred and *they* profane—all Christians are agreed. They are agreed, too, that it is not written by man's unaided wisdom. Many parts of it contain a history of events and actions which, to an extent that can be predicated of no other history, were evidently ordained by God as a distinct indication of his nature and his will; many parts of it reveal to us directly, and apart from all allegory or metaphor, the thoughts of God so far as the Infinite may be comprehensible to the finite; many again furnish us with hopes and promises which give a new impulse and a new dignity to life, such as were never attained by human insight or even dimly shadowed forth in human words. All this is summed up in the one expression, that the Bible was written by Divine inspiration. This, too, is an expression accepted in all Christian communities, as similar expressions were by the Jewish.² By St. Paul the Scriptures are called *ἅγια γράφα*³ and *ἱερὰ γράμματα*⁴—hallowed because given by God, holy as revered by men. The terms "God-inspired," "borne by the Spirit," or simply "inspired," are applied by the Fathers to the writers; and the books are rarely quoted in the early literature of Christianity without some qualifying adjective, expressive of their sanctity, divinity, or inspiration. The Church, in every age and every nation, has ever felt that the Holy Scriptures are indeed a tree of life, and that "the leaves of that tree are for the healing of the nations."

3. The broad and general meaning of the words "revelation" and "inspiration" admits of no doubt. By "revelation" we imply either the process by which God makes himself known to man, or the knowledge thus obtained; and all such revelations have been completed and perfected by Christ, the Word of God, who

declared and manifested his Father to mankind.⁵ By "inspiration" we mean that influence of the Holy Spirit which, when inbreathed into the mind of man, guides and elevates and enkindles all his powers to their holiest and noblest exercise. It is, if we may apply to it the language which Jesus the son of Sirach applies to Wisdom, "the brightness of the everlasting light," "the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty; which being but one, can yet do all things; and remaining in herself, yet regenerateth all other powers, and maketh all things new," and, "in all ages entering into holy souls, maketh them friends of God and prophets."⁷ And since neither in Scripture nor by the Church is the nature or limit of inspiration further defined—since all Christians, and even many who are not Christians, are fully agreed that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary for salvation"—since, if the knowledge were in reality necessary for us, we should hardly have been left without further and more definite guidance—since "God judges that he may teach, not teaches that he may judge"⁸—might it not be well to accept this belief in the simplicity with which we have received it, and to avoid all further discussion of it as due to that spirit of system, that *idolum theatri*, that fruitful source of error and of bigotry, which has done such infinite damage to the cause of Christian charity and the conceptions of Christian faith?

4. But however earnestly we might desire to avoid further definition and discussion, the complexities of modern inquiry, the vehemences of theological controversy, even the necessities of an extended exegesis, render it imperative either that we should accept one or other of the theories which have been propounded; or at least give a calm and careful reason why we prefer to leave the question as little defined as the Holy Scriptures themselves have left it, and therefore decline the specific adoption of any one of them.

Now there are no less than five well-marked theories—each of them tenable in the pale of the English Church, each of them supported by powerful arguments, each of them maintained by men of eminent authority, each of them compatible with earnest Christian faith, each of them depending for their validity upon obvious phenomena—which under some modification or other have found supporters in every age of the Church. These theories we must first state, and without necessarily giving our definite adherence to any one of them, we must, in our next paper, briefly discuss the grounds on which they rest.

⁵ It is hardly necessary to point out the singular incompleteness of the definition of this word in Hook's *Church Dictionary*, where it is defined to be "the declaration of God's will contained in the sacred writings of the Old and New Testament."

⁶ "There is a spirit in man; and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding" (Job xxxii. 8). "See, I have called by name Bezaleel . . . and I have filled him with the spirit of God in wisdom . . . to devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass" (Exod. xxxi. 2—4).

⁷ Wisd. vii. 25—27.

⁸ T. Erskine.

¹ "Mira profunditas eloquiorum tuorum, quorum ecce ante nos superficies blandiens parvulis: sed mira profunditas, Deus meus, mira profunditas! Horror est intendere in eam; horror honoris et tremor amoris." (Aug., *Conf.*)

² θεοειρηστα λόγια (Philo). θεόκτιστος νομοθεσία (2 Maccabees vi. 23).

³ Rom. i. 2; 2 Tim. iii. 15.

⁴ Both in the Authorised Version are rendered "holy Scriptures."

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.—IV.

ST. MARK, ST. PAUL, AND ST. PETER.

BY THE EDITOR.

LET US ASSUME, in regard to the Gospel according to St. Mark, as I did in the case of that according to St. Luke, conclusions which are now accepted by Biblical scholars with almost unanimous agreement, and shall therefore start with the supposition, as at least provisionally tenable, that the writer of that Gospel is the "John whose surname was Mark," whose mother's house was the chief meeting-place of the disciples at Jerusalem during the persecution under the first Herod Agrippa (Acts xii. 12); of whom we know also that his mother was sister to Joses, surnamed Barnabas, the Levite of Cyprus (Col. iv. 10; Acts iv. 36); that he accompanied his uncle and St. Paul, then Saul of Tarsus, on their first missionary journey (Acts xiii. 5), as their "minister;" that on reaching the more remote region of Perga in Pamphylia, he departed from them and returned to Jerusalem (Acts xiii. 13). The result of that abandonment of duty was that the Apostle of the Gentiles, when he was about to revisit the churches he had already planted and extend his labours to a wider region, could no longer rely on him as a trustworthy helper, and refused his offered services; that after being thus repulsed St. Mark met, as was natural, with a more lenient treatment at the hands of his kinsman, who took his part vehemently, so that there was a "very sharp contention"—a paroxysm of bitterness and alienation—between the two, Paul and Barnabas, who had once been brothers in their work, and accompanied the latter to Cyprus. After that date (circ. A.D. 53) we cannot trace his course with any precision as to details, but we find him with St. Peter at the real or mystical Babylon when that Apostle wrote his first Epistle to the Jews of the Dispersion (1 Peter v. 13); with St. Paul during the period of his first imprisonment at Rome, but apparently on the point of starting to revisit Colosse and other Asiatic churches (Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24). It would appear from the last mention of his name, in 2 Tim. iv. 11, that he was working among those churches as a fellow-labourer with Timothy, at the time when St. Paul's course was drawing to its close, and that the Apostle was at last able to rescind the condemnation which he had at one time been compelled to pass, and was able to recognise that "he (Mark) was profitable unto him for the ministry" (2 Tim. iv. 11).

I. These facts are in themselves interesting enough. They become yet more so when, by connecting them with each other, or with facts recorded elsewhere in the Apostolic writings, we are able to suggest explanations of some of the more striking phenomena of the history.

(1.) The fact that the uncle of St. Mark was prominent among the first converts at Jerusalem, and that

the house of the Evangelist's mother was, as it were, used as the church or synagogue of the disciples, makes it probable that they were among the first-fruits of the work of the apostles at Jerusalem, at the time when St. Peter was the leader of that glorious company. The conversion of St. Mark to the faith was therefore, we may believe, his work, and on that ground he can speak of him as "Marcus, my son" (1 Peter v. 13). The whole household must have stood to St. Peter in somewhat the same relation as that of Lois and Eunice at Lystra did to St. Paul (2 Tim. i. 5), and if we accept the italics of 1 Peter v. 13 ("*the church that is at Babylon*") as an unauthorised interpretation, "she that is elect with you at Babylon" may not improbably have been the same friend and helper as the one to whose house St. Peter went, as to a natural place of refuge, on his deliverance from his imprisonment.

(2.) There is, it will be noticed, a singular minuteness in the narrative which St. Luke gives of that deliverance: "When they passed the first and the second wards, they came unto the iron gate that leadeth into the city, which opened to them of his own accord: and they went out, and passed through one street; and forthwith the angel departed from him" (Acts xii. 10). He repeats the words of Peter's soliloquy as "he came to himself," which could have come only, directly or indirectly, from the Apostle's own lips. He gives the name of the damsel who was roused by his knocking at the door (Rhoda), tells us that she recognised the voice, and ran in to tell those who were assembled that Peter stood before the gate (vs. 11—15). We have no reason for thinking that St. Luke and St. Peter ever came into direct personal contact with each other. Whence, then, came this full and precise knowledge? The answer is surely found in the fact that the two Evangelists, who are mentioned by St. Paul in one and the same verse (2 Tim. iv. 11), were at one time brought together into closest fellowship, and that Mark may thus have informed the historian of the Apostolic Church of the events of which his own mother's house had been the scene. And if we admit this, then it will follow that much of the narrative of the early chapters of the Acts probably rests upon the testimony of the same informant.

(3.) It is not difficult, with these data before us, to account for the seeming half-heartedness which led the attendant minister of St. Paul and Barnabas to turn back from the work to which he had set his hand. The associations of his early life as a disciple connected him very closely with St. Peter, the Apostle of the Circumcision. He had clearly gone with his uncle to Antioch, and witnessed the work which made that city the metropolis of Gentile Christendom. From Antioch he sets forth with the two who are specially

called by the Holy Ghost, and appointed by the Church to a new and wider mission. They go in the first instance to Cyprus. It was the native country of his uncle, and if it was not also, as is likely, his own, he must at least have had kindred and friends there. The fact that he bore two names—one Hebrew, John, Joannes, the Jochanan of the Old Testament (a name which seems to have been a special favourite in the tribe of Levi, Acts iv. 6), and the other a purely Roman one, Marcus—indicates that he had in early life been brought into contact with Roman magistrates or centurions, and had taken that name as a matter of respect or convenience. It is open to conjecture that it was because he saw the advantage of such an *alias*, that Saul of Tarsus was led (partly also, doubtless, by feeling of respectful attachment to his new convert, the proconsul of Cyprus) to take the name of Paulus, and thus associate himself with the great historical memories with which that name was identified in the history of the Roman Republic. But when they went on their way further, and the plan of travel would have taken them into the remote regions of Pamphylia and Lycania, it may well have been that the young "minister" thought of the mother whom he had left behind at Jerusalem, of the distress which the famine that came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar was still causing among the disciples of that city, of the claims which the Apostle of the Circumcision, to whom he owed his conversion, had upon his services. It was not strange that all these considerations should appear to his kinsman as having, at least, the character of extenuating circumstances. It was as natural that the more thorough, impetuous nature of St. Paul should see in what he did the abandonment of a cause to which he had pledged himself, and the forfeiture of a sacred calling.

II. It is not without interest that we notice in the first Epistle of St. Peter (v. 12, 13), the names Silvanus and Marcus. Both had in their time been companions and fellow-workers of the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Silvanus (or, as he is called in the Acts, Silas) had gone down to Antioch, as a delegate of the Church of Jerusalem, bearing the decrees of the Council as to the admission of Gentile converts (Acts xv. 27, 32). When the "sharp contention" separated those who had been as brothers in the faith, Silas, who had remained at Antioch as specially interested in the work that was going on there, took the place which had been filled by Mark, and went forth with St. Paul into the interior of Asia Minor, the region from which Mark had shrunk, while Barnabas and his nephew revisited the more familiar and attractive regions of Cyprus (Acts xv. 39–41). Now, after an uncertain interval, we find them both with St. Peter. Their presence helps, in part at least, to explain the essentially Pauline phase of Christian doctrine and feeling presented by that Apostle's first Epistle, the respectful mention of St. Paul's name as "our beloved brother" in the second, and the obvious acquaintance of the writer with his epistles, with those especially which, like the two to the Thessalonians, spoke of the end of

all things, and the second coming of the Lord. What I would lay stress on is that the presence of the two who had been, both of them, fellow-workers with St. Paul, one of whom (Silvanus) had been united with him in writing the Epistles to the Thessalonians, gives a natural and simple explanation both of St. Peter's knowledge of St. Paul's writings, and of the obvious influence they had had in leading him to see the great truths of the Gospel from the same point of view.

III. The way in which St. Mark, and he alone of the Evangelists, names Simon of Cyrene as "the father of Alexander and Rufus" (Mark xv. 21) has often been noticed in its bearing upon the questions that have been raised as to the place where he wrote his Gospel, and the readers for whose use it was in the first instance designed. I have myself dwelt elsewhere¹ on the inferences which it suggests as to the probable discipleship of Simon during our Lord's ministry, and the connection between him and St. Paul, dating probably from the time when "men of Cyrene" came down from Jerusalem and began to preach to the uncircumcised Greeks at Antioch. Many writers have combined this mention of Rufus with the message of greeting sent by St. Paul in Rom. xvi. 13, and both with the prevalent tradition of the early Church that St. Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome, as the interpreter or secretary of St. Peter. This, it has been said, accounts for the prominence which he gives to the names of the sons of Simon of Cyrene. If they were in any way prominent among the early disciples of Rome, it would be natural that one writing for those disciples should state a fact which had a special interest for them. So far I am but repeating what has often been said before. There are, however, some other coincidences clustering round these names which ought not to be passed over. (1.) The disciples at Rome consisted, as we have seen, largely of those who were, in some sense or other, "of Cæsar's household," slaves, or more probably freedmen, in the imperial palace. Jews occupying that position would be among the Libertines (*Libertini*, or emancipated slaves), who had a synagogue at Jerusalem. It is not without significance, in relation to our present inquiry, that that synagogue appears to have been shared with others, and that the first on the list of those who were tenants in common with the Libertines, were *Cyrenians* (Acts vi. 9). (2.) Still more significant is it that men of Cyprus and Cyrene were joined together in the work of preaching the Gospel to the heathen at Antioch (Acts xi. 20). Mark and Barnabas, though not at first among them, must have had many points of connection with the former. Simon, Alexander, and Rufus may have been among the latter. (3.) The names of both Alexander and Rufus occur in the Roman inscriptions referred to in my last paper, as belonging to the imperial household. The commonness of both names, however, renders identification in this instance more uncertain than in those of Stachys or Tyrannus.

IV. The early tradition already referred to, and which

¹ *Biblical Studies*, "Simon of Cyrene," p. 393.

it may be well to give in the words of the earliest writer that records it, tells us that "Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately, but not in [chronological] order, the things that were said or done by Christ, so far as he remembered them. For he had neither heard the Lord nor followed by his side, but afterwards, as was said, by that of Peter, who adapted his modes of teaching to the needs of men, but not as forming a systematic collection of the Lord's words: so that Mark did not err, after this fashion writing some things as he remembered them. For this one thing he took care to provide, that he should omit nothing of the things he had heard, and say nothing false in telling them." The extract is given by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* (iii. 39) from the work of a much older writer, Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, who died A.D. 169; but Papias himself reports it as coming from a presbyter who bore the name of John, and who had been among the disciples of the Lord, and whose oral statements, "coming from the living voice, seemed to him of more worth than many books." His account is confirmed and supplemented by another, obviously independent, reported by the same historian (vi. 14), from Clement of Alexandria, who died A.D. 220, and whose evidence, as belonging to a Church which had been traditionally founded by St. Mark, is of special interest. He, too, reports it as what he had heard from presbyters or elders, who had received it from the men of a yet earlier generation, and what they said was that "the Gospel according to Mark had its origin as follows:—That when Peter had publicly preached the Word, and had by the Spirit set forth the Gospel, those who were present, and who were many in number, entreated Mark, as having accompanied with him for a long time and remembering the things that he had said, to write out what had thus been spoken, and that he then compiled his Gospel, and gave it to those who had made this request to him. And Peter, when he had knowledge of it, in a manner that gave encouragement, neither checked him nor urged him on."

The point to which I now wish to call attention is, that internal circumstantial evidence presents much that confirms what is thus seen to have been a widely accepted tradition.

(1.) St. Peter, in his second Epistle, with manifest reference to the facts of the Gospel history of which he had been an eye-witness, lays stress on his desire to impress those facts on the memory of those to whom he writes. The nearness of his own end ("knowing that I must shortly put off this my tabernacle") made him all the more earnest to leave nothing in this matter undone that it was in his power to do. "Moreover I will endeavour (better, "I will do my utmost") that ye may be able after my decease to have these things always in remembrance" (2 Peter i. 14, 15). When he wrote the first Epistle Mark was with him. One who had acted as "interpreter" to the Galilean fisherman, who was as his own "son" in the faith, was not likely to leave him in his old age. What was more likely than that the willing "minister" should devote

himself to the work of carrying out his master's purpose, and put on record what otherwise might have faded from men's memories?

(2.) The dominant characteristics of the Gospel of St. Mark fall in with this supposition. On the one hand it gives, more frequently than any other, the very syllables of the Aramaic words which came from our Lord's lips, as he taught in the common speech of Galilee, as "Boanerges" (iii. 17), "Talitha cumi" (v. 41), "Ephphata" (vii. 34), and explains Bartimæus as meaning "the son of Timæus" (x. 46), as though Peter, in narrating the facts, could not but recall the very accents and tones which had left an indelible impression on his memory. On the other, there is no book in the New Testament in which there are so many Latin words, chiefly of a technical or military character, such as a writer familiar with Rome and writing for Romans would be likely to employ. Thus we have him using, in common with the other Gospels, the words *δηνάριος* (the Roman *denarius* or penny (xii. 15), *φραγελλῶν* (*phragelloō*, "I scourge," formed from the Latin *flagellum*, xv. 15), *λεγεών* (the Roman *legio*, v. 9), *κοδράντης* (the Latin *quadrans*, the fourth part of the coin known as the *as*, xii. 42), *πραιτώριον* (the Latin *praetorium*, the barracks, or, as here used, the residence of an officer in command, xv. 16); while he alone always gives the Greek word *κεντυρίων* (*centurion*, xv. 39, 44, 45), and uses others which they do not, like *ξεστῆς* (vii. 4, 8) (*vestes*, the Latin *sextarius*, a vessel containing about a pint and a half), and *σπεκουλάτωρ* (*speculator*, used in some technical way of a soldier employed as an executioner) (vi. 27). All these phenomena fit in with the supposition that St. Mark, himself a Hellenistic Jew, and writing naturally in Greek as his mother-tongue, was in contact at once with one who spoke the language of Palestine, and with others to whom Latin technical words were familiar things.

(3.) The special vividness which marks the narratives of St. Mark's Gospel, and shows, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that it is far more than an epitome of St. Matthew's, leads to the same conclusion as to his having derived his impressions from one whose memory was singularly tenacious. Thus we note how, in the miracle of the feeding the five thousand, he describes the multitude as "sitting down by companies upon the green grass," "in ranks, by hundreds, and by fifties" (vi. 39, 40); how, in that of the man sick of the palsy, he tells us that "when those who bore him could not come at Jesus for the press, they uncovered the roof where he was; and when they had broken it up, they let down the bed wherein the sick of the palsy lay" (ii. 4); how, in that of the Gadarene demoniac, with a fulness which we do not find in the others, he records that "no man could bind him, no, not with chains: because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in pieces; neither could any man tame him. And always, night and day, he was in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones" (v. 3—5). These are a few of the more

striking examples only, but the same characteristic pervades, as Archbishop Trench and other scholars have long ago pointed out, the whole Gospel, and it will be well worth the labour of any who are interested in such inquiries to carry on the investigation for themselves.

(4.) It may be noticed, further, that the Gospel of St. Mark in some very striking respects stands, as it were, midway between those of St. Matthew and St. Luke. It has no clear indications, like the former, of being adapted specially for the use of Hebrew converts, nor, like the latter, of having been governed by a principle of selection in harmony with the special teaching of St. Paul. It omits the genealogy, and the birth, and the childhood, of which each of those writers gives different phases, and enters at once upon the active work of the ministry of the Lord Jesus. It occupies, so to speak, a position of neutrality between the two great representatives of the Church of the Gentiles and the Church of the Circumcision, such as, at least, harmonises with our idea of the work of St. Peter. It harmonises, we may add, not less strikingly with the personal character of both the writer and the readers for whom he wrote. The want of grasp, comprehension, depth of insight, which we note in the absence of the long discourses that we find in St. Matthew, or the parables, of wide range and varied interest, recorded by St. Luke, is what we might expect from one whose name is never mentioned as connected with the higher work of prophet or preacher, but as the "minister," the attendant, the servant, whose help was profitable because, one instance excepted, it was prompt and true. And it fell in, we may add, with the character of the Roman Church, from the first essentially practical, resting on historic facts, less gifted in the first two centuries than most other churches, and yet finding in that limitation of its genius the very secret of its strength. (5.) And in yet another way does the Gospel connect itself with the character and office of the writer. As the Gospel of St. Matthew is essentially that of the kingdom, and St. Luke's that of the Son of man, and St. John's that of the Son of God, so that of St. Mark is essentially the

Gospel of the servant of the Lord. It passes over the infancy and childhood, and begins at once with the ministry of Christ. The first words of St. Peter, as a preacher of the Gospel, after the Pentecostal gift, "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you" (Acts ii. 22), his reference to God's holy servant Jesus (not "child," as in the Authorised Version (Acts iv. 27, 30), might almost serve as an epitome of the work of his "interpreter," and make us feel that it is just such a Gospel as might have rested upon St. Peter's teaching as a groundwork.

(6.) The characteristic of St. Mark's record, as especially the Gospel of *service*, shows itself in another very marked peculiarity. There is one word which our translators render, with a capricious variety, as "immediately," "straightway," "by-and-bye," "anon," and of which, therefore, it is difficult to note the recurrence in the received version. In the original, however, where the word is one and the same throughout (*εὐθέως*), a reference to a Greek concordance shows us that it occurs with an almost startling frequency, meeting us not less than forty-five times in this, the shortest of the Gospels, while in St. Matthew it is found in eighteen passages, in St. Luke in eight, in St. John in seven only. If it is true in any degree that a writer's vocabulary may be at least influenced by the circumstances of his calling, it is surely legitimate to connect this strange frequency of the word in question with the work of St. Mark as the "minister"—in other words, the personal attendant—of the two great Apostles. Like the "Anon, anon, sir," of the household servants of older English life, it would be the ever-recurring phrase of his daily occupation, would be employed to give an almost dramatic vividness to the facts of his narrative, would suggest itself to him as the most natural and fitting word to use when he wished to describe a service higher than his own, and to portray the prompt and ready obedience of One who "came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many" (Mark x. 45).

DIFFICULTIES OF THE GOSPELS.—III.

THE MESSIANIC PROPHECIES OF THE EARLY CHAPTERS OF ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS.

"Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us."—Matt. i. 22, 23.



HE saying of Lord Bacon respecting Divine prophecies generally, that they are not punctually fulfilled *at once*, seems specially applicable to the Messianic prophecies quoted in the early chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel.

These prophecies had for the most part a typical as well as an ultimate fulfilment; they had their vernal

shoots, as well as their autumnal ripeness. The history of the chosen people was, in an eminent degree, figurative of that of Christ and of his Church. It is thus that we trace throughout its entire course, in the direct revelations of the future which were given to their prophets, in the institutions of their law, and in the incidents of their wanderings in the wilderness and of their settlement in the land of Canaan, a continuous witness to their selection from amongst the nations of the earth, not only that they should become the depositories of the Divine will, but also that they should furnish typical representations of Christ and of his Church.

In a very remarkable manner did the legal institutions and the historical incidents of the Israel of the Old Testament prefigure the leading events of our Lord's earthly history.

In some cases the types (*i.e.*, the acted prophecies) stand alone; in other cases the acted and the written prophecies illustrate and confirm each other.

In some cases, as *e.g.*, in the designed sacrifice of Isaac, Scripture records only the facts, and we are left to draw our own conclusions from the recorded facts as to their typical character.¹ In other cases, as in that of the brazen serpent and of the paschal lamb, we have, either in the words of our Lord, or in those of the inspired writers of the New Testament, direct testimony to the fact that, however imperfect an apprehension of their meaning was possessed by the Israelites, the ordinances of Moses were designed as types and shadows of the leading facts and doctrines of the Gospel. And, yet further, whilst some of these incidents of our Lord's earthly history seem to have been prefigured in types which were not confirmed by the voice of prophecy, and whilst a yet larger number of those incidents were foretold only in prophecy, and not pre-enacted in type, there are others, as *e.g.*, the flight into Egypt, and the summons to return out of it, which were both prefigured in type and also foretold in prophecy (Hos. xi. 1).

To this latter class, as it will now be attempted to prove, belongs not only the lamentation in Ramah, but also, though in a *limited sense*, the event foretold in Isa. vii. 14, of which the accomplishment is recorded in the passage now under consideration.

The following is a literal translation of the words of the prophecy as originally delivered by Isaiah, and also as quoted by St. Matthew:—

"Behold, the virgin (is) with child, and bearing a son, and she will call (or calls) his name Immanuel" (Isa. vii. 14).	"Behold, the virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel" (Matt. i. 23).
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The quotation, as it stands in the Gospel of St. Matthew, does not coincide verbally with the LXX., nor is it, in every respect, an exact rendering of the Hebrew. In the LXX. the last clause reads thus, "Thou shalt call his name Emmanuel," a translation which, if the punctuation be disregarded, the Hebrew will admit, but which does not equally well agree with the context, which seems to require that the Virgin should be the subject of each of the predicates in the verse, as conceiving, and as bringing forth, and as giving a name to the child.

The difficulties of the passage may be stated as follows. Jerusalem was threatened in the days of King Ahaz by the allied kings of Israel and of Syria. In this season of terror, Isaiah received a direction from Jehovah to go forth with Shear-jashub, his son, and to meet Ahaz at the aqueduct of the upper pool. It was from this source—the upper Gihon pool—that Jeru-

salem received its supply of water, and it was probably with the view of securing that supply to the city, and shutting it off from the reach of the invaders, that King Ahaz was found by the prophet Isaiah in the same spot on which, within a few years, as the result of his stubborn unbelief, the blasphemous insults of Rabshakeh were uttered in the ears of the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

In obedience to the command which he had received (for although Jehovah is himself represented in ver. 10 as speaking to Ahaz, the context shows that the words were uttered by the lips of Isaiah), the prophet offers to King Ahaz *personally* ("Ask for *thee*") any sign which he might select, whether "he made his petition deep" or "raised it to the height above," as a pledge and assurance to himself and also to his kingdom that the threatened danger should be averted, and that God's favour towards the house of Judah should be prolonged. The king, who was bent upon the Assyrian alliance, hypocritically veils his disobedience to the Divine command under the pretext of his unwillingness to tempt Jehovah (see Deut. vi. 16). Thereupon, the prophet, having first severely reproved the king for his refusal to hearken to the voice of the Lord, no longer summons King Ahaz individually, but the house of David collectively (and this must not be overlooked in our interpretation of the words which follow), to listen to the sign which Jehovah would himself appoint, and which he would give, not as before (where the singular number is used) to Ahaz individually, but to the whole of the house of David, until, in the person of Him who is at once the Root and Offspring of David, the prophecy should receive its complete accomplishment. "Therefore the Lord himself gives to *you* (plural number) a sign. Behold, the Virgin is with child, and is bringing forth a son, and she shall call his name Immanuel. Butter (or rather thickened milk) and honey (*i.e.*, wild honey) shall he eat at (or up to) the time of his understanding to refuse the evil and to choose the good. For before the child shall understand to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings (or, the land of whose two kings thou art afraid shall be desolate)."

The inquiry naturally arises, How, if the predicted child be Christ, could his miraculous birth serve as a sign either to Ahaz or to his kingdom that the land of Judah should be delivered from the threatened invasion of the kings of Israel and of Syria? It might be replied to this inquiry that a Divine assurance of a specific event, though that event is to follow after, not to precede, the event of which an assurance is required, is represented in Scripture as a sign or pledge of that nearer event. It is thus that the worship of the Israelites on Mount Sinai after the exodus is described as a "sign" (the same word which is here used) to Moses that God had sent him to effect their *previous deliver-*

¹ Heb. xi. 19 has been supposed to contain a direct warrant for our belief in the typical reference of this event to our Lord's passion (as Chrysostom and others), or to his resurrection (as Theodoret and others). The words, however, do not appear sufficiently explicit to justify any positive assertion.

² We may compare the similar course adopted by Hezekiah (see 2 Chron. xxxii. 3), who appears to have stopped up the head of the pool of Gihon, and, having thus diverted the current, to have conveyed the stream underground into great pits within the city.

ance (Exod. iii. 12).¹ And when regarded as a standing assurance to the faithful (and it was on their faith or their unbelief that the national stability of the people was suspended, ver. 9), not only in the days of Ahaz, but also in those which should follow, that the Lord God of Israel would be mindful of his promise to his servant David, and in accordance with that promise "raise up a horn of salvation" for his people in that very house of David (see Luke i. 32, 69) to which the words of Isaiah were addressed, it is not hard to understand how, under all the vicissitudes which they were about to experience, and more especially at those times when the kingdom seemed to be "given up" as a prey to its adversaries, the promise that that "giving up" should not be for ever, but only "until the time that she which beareth hath brought forth" (Mic. v. 3, where the same word is used as that which occurs in Isa. vii. 14), was one well calculated to diffuse light in the midst of darkness, and to create hope in the hour of despair.

Now, that the words of Isaiah had express reference to the birth of Jesus Christ, and found their complete accomplishment only in his miraculous birth, will appear from the following considerations:—

1. Independently of the fact that the word rendered "virgin" cannot be proved to be used in a different sense in any of the six or seven² other places in which it occurs in the Old Testament, the definite article which is used by Isaiah, and which is preserved by St. Matthew, serves still further to restrict the reference; and the emphatic "Behold," which is found in the quotation, as well as in the original, suffices to dispel the idea of an ultimate reference to one of Isaiah's auditors, even could it be proved that any such was present at the time, in whose case the prediction uttered might have received its primary accomplishment.³

2. Whereas the following chapter limits the fulfilment of the prophecy to one who was to be ruler of the land of Judah, inasmuch as that land is described in ver. 8 as the land of "Immanuel," not only is there no evidence that any of David's royal house bore that name, but, further, no successor to Ahaz could have been born about that time, seeing that Hezekiah was then nine or ten years of age, and that Manasseh was not born till a much later period.

3. The resemblance between this prophecy and that of the "son born" and the "child given," of chap. ix. 6, and also the prophecy of Mic. v. 2, to which allusion has already been made, is so striking that it seems impossible to deny that the subject of these three prophecies is the same.

4. The terms in which St. Matthew introduces the quotation are such as to exclude the idea that the words

are adduced only by way of accommodation, the formula employed being that which most clearly and expressly connects the prophecy with the fulfilment: "Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled (*ἵνα πληρωθῇ*) which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet" (i. 22).

5. In the fact recorded by St. John, that "the Word was made flesh and dwelt (or tabernacled) among men," the prophecy of Him whose name was to be Immanuel, i.e., according to Hebrew usage, who was himself to be that which the name denotes, received its literal accomplishment.

6. In the words of the angel to Mary, "Thou shalt call his name Jesus" (Luke i. 31), we trace a remarkable, and it can scarcely be deemed an undesigned, accordance with the terms of the prophecy, that the Virgin should herself give a name to her miraculously-conceived Son.

7. The Messianic interpretation is that which not only existed in the ancient Jewish Church, but which was exclusively, or almost exclusively, adopted by Christian expositors until the middle of the eighteenth century.

It is by no means inconsistent, however, with the interpretation assigned to the prophecy by St. Matthew, to suppose that this, like many other prophecies, had a germinant and partial accomplishment in the days of Ahaz. Isaiah's own sons were, as we are expressly taught, in close proximity to this prophecy, "for signs in Israel" (Isa. viii. 18). Shear-jashub, who went forth with his father to meet King Ahaz, conveyed, in the name which he bore, an assurance that, notwithstanding the number of those who were carried into captivity, *a remnant should return*. Maher-shalal-hash-baz, whose name signifies *spoil speedily—booty hastens*, appears to have been born about nine months after the preparation of the roll and the witnessing of the writing recorded in chap. viii. 1, 2, which transactions cannot be assigned to a period much subsequent to the interview with Ahaz. That child, it may be well supposed, during his infancy and youth, which seem to have coincided with the desolation of the land of Judah, as well as of Syria and Israel, lived upon the curdled milk and honey which, when all the land had been converted into pasture, and bread and wine had become unattainable, would be the only sustenance of those who had escaped the Assyrian "razor" (Isa. vii. 20—22).⁴

⁴ It will be seen that we reject *in toto* Dr. Kennicott's attempt to explain the prophecy on the supposition that the prophecy up to ver. 16 relates exclusively to Christ, and that from ver. 28 it refers exclusively to Shear-jashub. This interpretation appears inadmissible on the following grounds:—(1) It seems impossible to disconnect the subject of ver. 15 from that of ver. 16. The same child who is to eat the curdled milk and honey till he shall know how to refuse the evil and choose the good must, as it seems to us, on all sound principles of exegesis, be the same who is spoken of in ver. 16 in almost identical terms. (2) Shear-jashub was old enough, at the time of the interview with Ahaz, to go forth with Isaiah to the upper conduit of the fuller's field. It is, therefore, improbable that he had not already attained that age which seems to be denoted by the terms "refusing the evil and choosing the good." (3) The partially identical and partially equivalent language of chap. viii. 4 seems to determine the reference (if applicable, as we believe, to either of Isaiah's sons) to be to Maher-shalal-hash-baz, and not to Shear-jashub. And (4) the fact that the younger son of the prophet was born, as nearly as can be con-

¹ Compare also Isa. xxxvii. 30.

² Perhaps more correctly six other places, as in 1 Chron. xv. 20 the word seems to occur in the same signification as in the title to Ps. xlv.

³ This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that no mention is made of the presence of any maiden to whom the prophet can be supposed to have pointed.

Whilst, however, the immediate juxtaposition and the almost verbal resemblance of the prophecy respecting Isaiah's son (viii. 4) as compared with that of the virgin-born Immanuel in the preceding chapter, seems to require that the two should be interpreted, not disjunctively but connectedly, it must be constantly borne in mind that the former was but a type and earnest—a pledge and assurance—of the latter. It may be that in this, as in other cases (more especially in the prophecy

excluded from the general tenor of the prophecy, within a year after the interview with Abaz, whether his mother was or was not married to Isaiah previously to that interview (for it by no means follows that the mother of Shear-jashub was also the mother of Maher-shalal-hash-baz), suggests a primary reference of the words of the prophet which is altogether in harmony with our interpretation of other Messianic prophecies, and which the immediate juxtaposition of the circumstances related in viii. 1—4 naturally, if not necessarily, implies.

of the siege of Jerusalem and of the second advent of the Lord), it is hard to draw a definite line between those portions of the prophecy which relate exclusively to the one or the other of the events foretold, and those portions, if such there be, which found their primary accomplishment in the one event, and their complete and ultimate accomplishment in the other.

It must suffice us in such cases, if we can trace the meaning of the prophetic annunciation with sufficient clearness, to arrive at these results—(1) That the words spoken were sufficiently intelligible to those to whom they were originally delivered to impart the warning or the consolation then specially required; and (2) that they are not only *capable* of a larger and more complete accomplishment, but that they are absolutely inexplicable on any other method of interpretation.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.—VIII.

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ASS—WILD ASS.

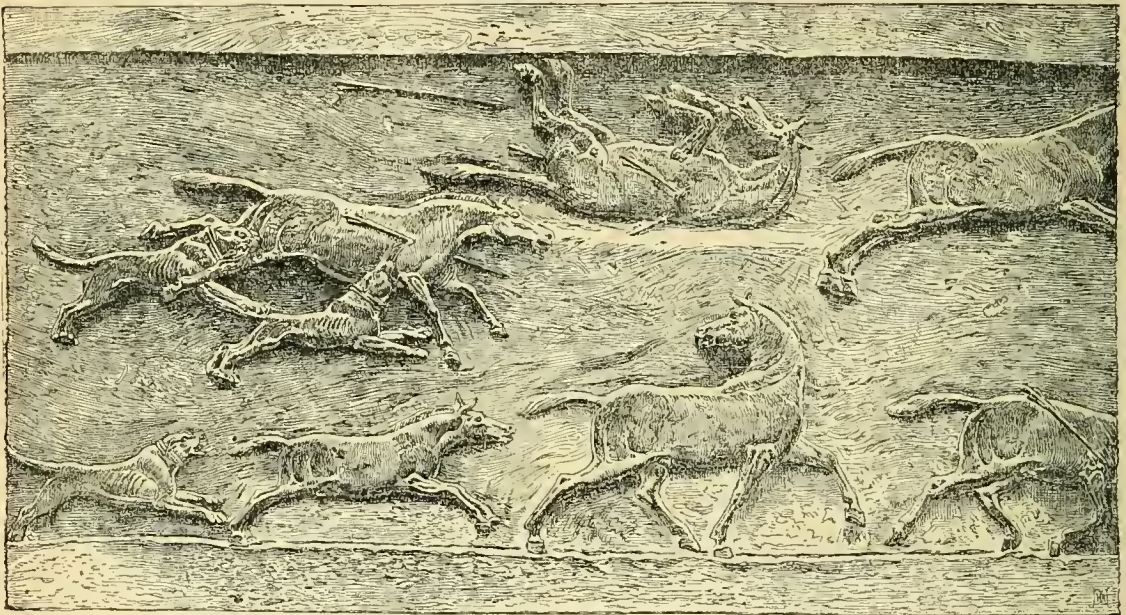
THE references to this animal, both in its domestic and wild state, are very numerous. Three distinct Hebrew names, *chamôr*, *athôn*, and *'ayir*, occur to represent the domestic animal, and two, *perc* and *'arôd*, the wild ass. *Chamôr* appears to denote more particularly the male animal, and *athôn* the female. This distinction will be seen very clearly in the two following passages:—"And he entreated Abraham well for her sake: and he had sheep, and oxen, and he-asses (*chamôrîm*), and men-servants and maid-servants, and she-asses (*athônîm*), and camels" (Gen. xii. 16); "And to his father he sent after this manner; ten asses (*chamôrîm*) laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she-asses (*athônîm*) laden with corn and bread" (Gen. xlv. 23). At the same time *chamôr* was doubtless also used generally for any domestic ass. The young of the ass was usually denoted by the Hebrew *'ayir*, according to Fürst, from a root signifying "to suck;" but the word was also applied to a young ass capable of bearing burdens. Jacob sent as a present to his brother Esau, amongst other things, "twenty she-asses and ten foals" (*ayarîm*) (Gen. xxxii. 15). See also the well-known verse, "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion: . . . behold, thy King cometh unto thee, . . . lowly and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass" (Zech. ix. 9). The word is also applied to the young of the wild ass, as in Job xi. 12—"Vain man would be wise, though man be born like a wild ass's colt."

The domestic ass of the East is a very different animal from that of Western Europe in size, power of endurance, and spirit. Much attention is paid to the breed by crossing the finest specimens. They are much cared-for, groomed, and well fed, attaining the height of thirteen or fourteen hands. They have often great

vivacity, and exhibit both ingenuity and humour, sometimes decidedly mischievous. "One of our asses," says Dr. Tristram, "which had been severely beaten for misconduct by a member of our party, never forgot the circumstance, but, while ready to sniff and caress any of the others, would stand demurely whenever his old enemy was near, as if unconscious of his presence, until he was within reach of his heels, when a sharp sudden kick, with a look of more than ordinary asinine stolidity, was the certain result." The same traveller says that "the Eastern ass will accomplish quite as long a day's journey as the horse or the camel; though its speed is not so great, it will maintain an easy trot and canter for hours without flagging, and always gains on the horse up the hills or on the broken ground." A well-bred animal is worth from ten to twenty pounds. The Jews used the ass for riding, carrying burdens, and baggage in war (2 Kings vii. 7, 10), and for ploughing (Deut. xxii. 10)—"Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters, that send forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass" (Isa. xxxii. 20); "The oxen likewise and the young asses that ear the ground shall eat clean provender" (Isa. xxx. 24). The word "ear," now obsolete, is derived from the Latin *arare*, "to plough," and has been introduced by our translators from the Anglo-Saxon *erian*. It is frequently used by old writers (see *Piers Ploughman's Vision*, 13491, 3800; Shakespeare, *Richard II.* iii. 2; *All's Well that Ends Well*, i. 3). It occurs in our version again, in 1 Sam. viii. 12, "He will appoint him captains . . . and will set them to ear his ground." The participle of the verb occurs in Wiclif's version of Luke xvii. 7, "But who of you hath a scravaunte crynge or lesewinge oxis." Whether asses were ever employed by the ancient Hebrews for treading out corn does not appear from any reference in the Bible, but Josephus says, "Asses are the same with us as with other wise men, creatures that bear the burdens

that we lay upon them; but if they come to our threshing floors (*etsi ad areas accedentes comedant*), and eat the corn, or do not perform their duties, they receive many stripes" (*Contra App.*, ii. §. 7). Asses were similarly employed by the ancient Egyptians (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.*, iii. 34). The ass was also not uncommonly used for turning a large kind of mill both by Eastern and Western nations. The Egyptians so employed the animal, and doubtless the Hebrews; for although in our English version no definite mention is made of this duty, it is evidently implied in the expression (*μύλος ὄνικος*) of the Greek Testament in Matt. xviii. 6; Luke xvii. 2, "It were better for him that a millstone were hanged around his neck." And here it

posed that this prohibition had a special reference to the pre-eminent economic value of the ox, from a consideration of his great utility in all the operations of farming, in ploughing and threshing, or rather treading out the corn. This is the opinion of J. D. Michaelis (*Laws of Moses*, art. 166), and it carries, we think, great weight. The farther we go back into ancient times, the more proofs do we find that mankind repaid the labours of the ox in agriculture with a strong degree of affection and gratitude. We may see evidences of this in the early history or traditions both of the Semitic and Aryan races; the *gopas* or *gopatīs* of the Vedic hymns show the extreme importance which attached to oxen; *go-pati* means in Sanskrit "the lord



HUNTING WILD ASSES. (ASSYRIAN.)

is worthy of note that, as Lightfoot (*Horæ Heb.*, Matt. xviii. 6) observes, our Lord referred to a large kind of millstone to distinguish it from that smaller kind used for grinding spices (*aromata*) for the wound after circumcision, or for the delights of the Sabbath (*deliciis Sabbaticis*); hence we note our Lord's severity of condemnation against those who would "offend one of his little ones." He selects the largest millstone with which to sink such an offender in the depths of the sea. The same kind of mill, worked by an ass, was used by the ancient Romans. To this Ovid alludes—

"Inde focum servat pistor, dominamque focorum,
Et quæ pumiceas versat asella molas."—*Fasti*, 317.

(See also Cato, *De Re Rust.*, c. xi.) The ass devoted to this labour was often blindfolded.

The joining together under the same yoke of an ox and of an ass was forbidden by the law of Moses (see Deut. xxii. 10): "Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together." Some writers have sup-

posed that this prohibition had a special reference to the pre-eminent economic value of the ox, from a consideration of his great utility in all the operations of farming, in ploughing and threshing, or rather treading out the corn. This is the opinion of J. D. Michaelis (*Laws of Moses*, art. 166), and it carries, we think, great weight. The farther we go back into ancient times, the more proofs do we find that mankind repaid the labours of the ox in agriculture with a strong degree of affection and gratitude. We may see evidences of this in the early history or traditions both of the Semitic and Aryan races; the *gopas* or *gopatīs* of the Vedic hymns show the extreme importance which attached to oxen; *go-pati* means in Sanskrit "the lord

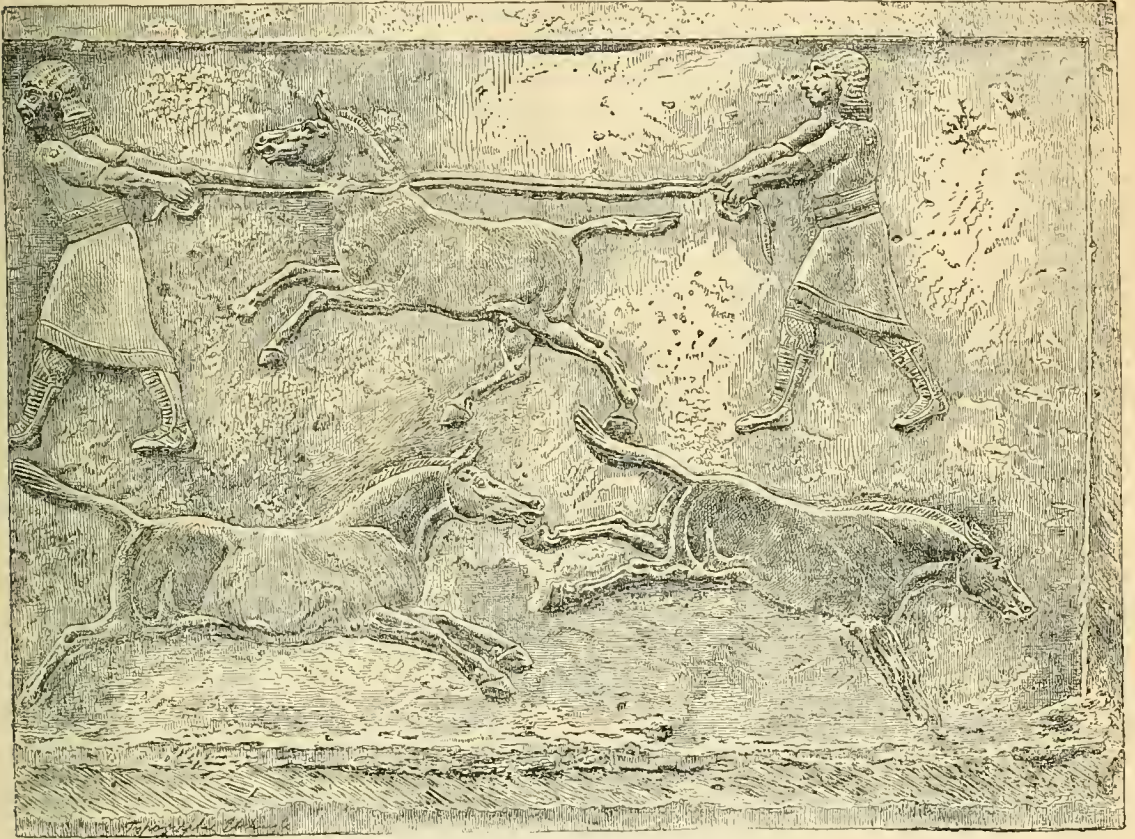
"Ante etiam sceptrum Dictæi regis, et ante
Impia quam cæsis gens est epulata juveucis."

(*Geor.* ii. 536.)

To yoke an *unclean* animal, as the ass, with the *clean* ox would, therefore, be considered an indignity to the latter animal. Nevertheless there may be other reasons also for this prohibition; it may have, as Le Clere believes, a symbolical meaning forbidding improper alliances in civil and religious life: see 2 Cor. vi. 14, "Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers." Again, the

prohibition may be of the same kind as that mentioned in Lev. xix. 19: "Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind; thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed; neither shall a garment mingled of linen and woollen come upon thee," *i.e.*, to borrow the words of Dr. Kalisch, "You shall not deviate from the appointed order of things, nor abandon the eternal laws of Nature as fixed by Divine Wisdom; for all things and living creatures, as they came perfect from the Creator's hand, were pronounced by Him to be very

hadad against Samaria, the flesh of the ass was eaten. "There was a great famine in Samaria: and, behold, they besieged it, until an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver" (2 Kings vi. 25). Necessity knows no law. The head of the ass would be the worst part of the animal, and fourscore pieces of silver (or eighty shekels, equal to about £5 of our money), as the price thereof, will show what great straits the Jews were in. The passage in Ezekiel (xxiii. 20), "Whose flesh is as the flesh of asses," clearly refers to the lustful properties



LASSING WILD ASSES. (ASSYRIAN.)

good; and every plant was decreed to produce other animals and plants 'after their kind'" (*Com. on Levit. xix. 19*). The joining together under the same yoke an ox and an ass would thus appear, as it were, out of harmony with God's work in the world of Nature. Or the prohibition, while it includes, perhaps, both these ideas, may also have reference to the physical reason, "lest the weaker animal, being compelled to exert itself to keep up with the superior power of the other, should become exhausted, and sink under the effort" (*Philo, De Humanit. xix.*).

The ass, though not expressly mentioned as forbidden food to the Israelites, was, of course, so considered, being an animal that "did not divide the hoof and chew the cud." In extreme cases, as in the siege by Ben-

hadad against Samaria, the flesh of the ass was eaten. According to the Talmudists, the flesh of the ass will make a man avaricious, while it will cure an avaricious man of such a moral complaint.

Mention is made of a breed of white asses in Judg. v. 10: "Speak, ye that ride on white asses." The Hebrew word (*tsâchôr*) would, like the cognate Arabic, seem more especially to refer to a colour of white mixed or tinged with red, and such animals would be esteemed of great beauty and value. The expression, therefore, "ye that sit on white asses," would thus denote the magistrates and nobles of the land. White animals—in cases where white was a departure from the general colour of an animal—have long been, and still are, in great repute amongst Orientals: note, for instance, the

white elephant of the Burmese. Bagdad is celebrated for its breed of white asses; Buckingham tells us that they are large and spirited, and have an easy and steady pace. Bokhara also imports into Peshawar fine specimens, thirteen hands or more high; they are worth 80 or 100 rupees each. We must not forget that riding on an ass conveys a very different notion from that which attaches to such a mode of conveyance in our own country; for the most noble and honourable amongst the Jews were wont to be mounted on asses, and our Lord made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem in this manner. Jesus came "meek and lowly," but the idea of humiliation or degradation must not be associated with the fact of his having ridden on an ass. He meant, no doubt, to show the peaceful nature of his kingdom, choosing rather the quiet ass than the proud war-horse.

The Hebrew word (*chamôr*) for "ass" appears as a proper name in Gen. xxxiii. 19: "Hamor, Shechem's father;" see also Josh. xxiv. 32; Judg. ix. 28. With this we may compare a similar name amongst the Romans. Thus Asina was a surname of the Scipios. Asellus of the Claudii and the Annii. When Ti. Claudius Asellus, who belonged to the equestrian order, was deprived of his horse by Scipio Africanus the younger, and complained that he had been unjustly degraded, for his military services had been distinguished, Scipio, punning on his name, quoted the proverb, "Agas asellum, si bovem non agere queas"—i.e., "you must be content with an ass if you cannot have an ox." In the Hebrew Bible also there is a play upon the word *chamôr*, which means both "an ass" and "an heap;" see Judg. xv. 16. "And Samson said—

בְּלִי הַחֲמֹר הַחֲמֹר הַחֲמֹר
בְּלִי הַחֲמֹר הַחֲמֹר הַחֲמֹר

*Bilchî hachamôr, chamôr chamôrôthâyîm,
Bilchî hachamôr hikkéythi eleph ish;*

"With the jaw-bone of an ass, one heap, two heaps,
With the jaw-bone of an ass I have slain a thousand men."

From these words we can picture to ourselves Samson exultingly triumphant over his enemies; the mighty man, like a giant refreshed not with wine, but with the blood of his slaughtered foes. dances wildly amid the vanquished heaps with weapon in hand raised on high (Oriente-Hibernicè), and sings with savage glee the pœan of his victory. The passage relating to the account, in the Book of Numbers (xxii. 28—30), of Balaam holding a conversation with his ass has been variously explained. On this subject we give no opinion of our own, but content ourselves with quoting the remarks on the passage in the *Speaker's Commentary* (Vol. I., p. 736).

"The account of this occurrence can hardly have come from any one else than Balaam himself, and may perhaps have been given by him to the Israelites after his capture in the war against Midian . . . That which is here recorded was apparently perceived by him alone amongst human witnesses. For though his two servants were with him (ver. 22), and the envoys of Balak also (ver. 35), yet the marvel does not appear to have

attracted their attention. The cries of the ass would seem then to have been significant to Balaam's mind only (so St. Greg. Nyss., *De Vita Mosi*, sub finem). God may have brought it about that sounds uttered by the creature after its kind became to the prophet's intelligence as though it addressed him in rational speech. Indeed to an angur, priding himself on his skill in interpreting the cries and movements of animals, no more startling warning could be given than one so real as this, yet conveyed through the medium of his own art; and to a seer pretending to superhuman wisdom no more humiliating rebuke can be imagined than to teach him by the mouth of his own ass. These, the special significances of the transaction, would be missed entirely if we were to suppose (as Maimonides and Grotius in loc., Bauer, Tholuck, and especially Hengstenberg, *Geschichte Bileams*, pp. 48, sqq.) that the whole passed in a vision, Balaam being by the power of God cast into an ecstatic state. And the words 'the Lord opened,' &c., clearly indicate that it was on the ass, not on the prophet, that the Divine hand was more immediately laid. On the other hand, the opinion that the ass actually uttered with the mouth articulate words of human speech (though still defended by Baumgarten, Von Gerlach, Wordsw., &c.); or even that the utterance of the ass was so formed in the air as to fall with the accents of man's voice on Balaam's ears (à Lapidè in loc.), seems irreconcilable with Balaam's behaviour. Balaam was indeed labouring under derangement, induced by his indulgence of avarice and ambition, and this too aggravated at the moment of furious anger; yet it seems scarcely conceivable that he could actually have heard human speech from the mouth of his own ass, and even go on, as narrated in vs. 29, 30, to hold a dialogue with her, and show no signs of dismay and astonishment."

Turning from Biblical notices of the domestic ass we come to those of the wild one, and, as has been said above, we find two distinct Hebrew words applied to wild asses, *'ârôd* and *pere*, though there is much reason to believe that the names, being synonymous in etymology, are synonymous in signification. The name *'ârôd*, from the root *ârad*, "to retreat timidly," "to flee swiftly," occurs only in Job xxxix. 5, "Who hath sent out the *pere* free? or who hath loosed the bands of the *'ârôd*?" and in its Aramaic form (*'arâd*), in Dan. v. 21, where it is said that Nebuchadnezzar's "dwelling was with the wild asses" (*'arâdayah*). The word *pere*, from *pârâh*, "to flee swiftly," occurs several times in the Hebrew Scriptures. In the account of the angel's promise to Hagar (Gen. xvi. 12), it is of Ishmael said, "He shall be a wild (Hebrew, *pere adam*, "wild ass") man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him." Most of the allusions in the Bible refer to the wild and shy nature of the wild ass, its extraordinary swiftness, and its home amid barren and desolate deserts: "The forts and towers shall be for dens for ever, a joy of wild asses" (Isa. xxxii. 14). The prophet Jeremiah compares Israel to "a wild ass used to the wilderness, that

snuffeth up the wind at her pleasure" (ii. 24); and in a very few forcible words, draws a graphic picture of these animals during a season of drought: "The wild asses did stand in the high places, they snuffed up the wind like dragons (jackals); their eyes did fail, because there was no grass" (xiv. 6). The obstinate and refractory nature of the wild ass is referred to by the prophet Hosea: "For they are gone up to Assyria, a wild ass alone by himself" (viii. 9). The prophet complains of Ephraim seeking to form political alliances with idolatrous nations, such as Assyria, by offering presents, and compares his conduct to that of a wild ass roaming his own way, perverse and kicking at all restraint.¹ But the fullest and most graphic account of the wild ass appears in the Book of Job (xxxix. 5—8): "Who hath sent out the wild ass (*pere*) free? or who hath loosed the bands of the swift runner (*arôd*) [A.V., "wild ass"]? whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwellings. He scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth he the crying of the driver. The range of the mountains is his pasture, and he searcheth after every green thing."

Several species of wild ass have been described by zoologists, three of which, the *Asinus hemippus*, or Syrian wild ass, the *Asinus vulgaris* of North-east Africa, the species from which our domestic race is descended, and the *Asinus onager* (the *khur* or *koulân* of the Persians, the wild ass of Kutch and the Indus), were probably known to the ancient Jews. Dr. Tristram saw the *Asinus vulgaris*, in small troops of four or five, wild in the Sahara desert. At first, he says, we took them for antelopes, "then by our glasses discovering they had no horns, we suspected they were the horses of Bedouins who might be concealed behind them, till they allowed us to approach near enough to make them out more clearly, when sniffing up the wind, they dashed off at a speed which the best of our horses could not have approached." The same traveller tells us he afterwards saw a wild ass in the oasis of Souf which had been snared when a colt; but though it had been kept for three years in confinement it was as untractable as when first caught, biting and kicking furiously at every one who approached it, and never enduring a saddle on its back. In appearance and colour it could not have been distinguished from one of the finest specimens of the tame ass. Of the Syrian animal Dr. Tristram says that it in no way differs from the African in habits (*Nat. Hist. Bible*, p. 43; see also *The Great Sahara*, p. 318). Mr. Blyth considers that there are three species of wild ass with characters sufficiently defined. We will quote from his own valuable paper on "The

Different Animals known as Wild Asses." It may be mentioned that zebras and quaggas are also referred by naturalists to the genus *Asinus*, but these animals are confined to Middle and Southern Africa.

"(1.) *Asinus vulgaris*, Gray (*Equus asinus*, Linn.). The true onager, onager, or aboriginal wild ass. Indigenous to North-east Africa, if not also to the southern parts of Arabia and the island of Socotra.

"(2.) *A. hemippus* (*E. hemippus*, Is. St. Hilaire; *E. asinus onager*, apud Wagner). The hemionus or hemippus of the ancients. Inhabiting the deserts of Syria, Mesopotamia, and the northern parts of Arabia.

"(3.) *A. onager* (*E. asinus onager*, Pallas). The koulân or ghor-khur. Inhabits West Asia from 48° N. latitude southward to Persia, Beluchistan, and Western India.

"(4.) *A. hemionus* (*E. hemionus*, Pallas; *E. kyang*, Moereroft; *E. polyodon*, Hodgson). The Dshiggetai or Kyang. Inhabits Tibet, and thence northward through the Gobi desert into Mongolia and Southern Siberia. The last two are distinguishable by shades of colour only, and by unimportant differences in the relative extension of different hues and markings." This last, whether a distinct species or mere variety of the preceding animal, would have been unknown to the Jews, Assyrians, Persians, and other neighbouring people.

The *A. hemippus* doubtless was the one more especially referred to in the passages we have quoted above from the Bible. It is the species of which Xenophon in his *Anabasis* speaks as being extremely swift, and numbers of which he saw during his march in these very plains; it was only by dividing the horsemen into relays, and succeeding one another in the chase, that they were able to take them. It is the species which Mr. Layard saw on his way through the desert to Tel-Afer, and of which he writes, "In fleetness they equal the gazelle, and to overtake them is a feat which only one or two of the most celebrated mares have been known to accomplish. The Arabs sometimes catch the foals during the spring, and bring them up with milk in their tents. I endeavoured in vain to obtain a pair. They are of a light fawn colour—almost pink." (*Nin. and Bab.*, i., p. 324, note.)

Of the *Koulân* or *Ghor-khur* (*A. onager*) of Western Asia, a species, doubtless, known to the Jews, Assyrians, and Persians, and the animal, we believe, that appears on the Assyrian monuments as hunted by King Assurbanipal, many observers have written. It appears to have a wide geographical range, and can endure intense cold or heat. In the depth of a Khiva winter this animal was observed in numerous herds near the western extremity of Lake Aral, by Major James Abbott, who writes, "We ascended some high land covered with snow—wind scarcely endurable. We every day see herds of wild asses and flocks of the Saiga antelope. I counted 800 wild asses in a single herd." It is said by Lieutenant Irwin to be common in Persia, the western parts of Khorassan, the plains of Turkistan, from which it extends north into the Russian dominions and the centre of Asia. Southwards they abound in

¹ This is Rosenmüller's interpretation of the passage, which is natural enough. Maurer (*Com. in loc.*), however, demurs to it, and understands the words thus:—Ephraim has gone up to Assyria seeking help. The wild ass dwelleth alone, having nothing to do with other animals. Ephraim is thus less wise than the wild ass of the desert; so too Leeser in his Jewish version has rendered the passage, "Swallowed up is Israel: now are they among the nations as a vessel without any value. For they are needs gone up to Assyria, they who like a wild ass should dwell alone." The original will bear either of these constructions, and each is suitable.

the parched and rugged deserts of Beluchistan; in the desert between Asni and the hills, west of the Indus above Mithur-Kote, they are to be found, he says. "wandering pretty well throughout the year; but in the early summer, when the grass and the water in the pools have dried up from the hot winds (which are here terrific), the greater number, if not all, of the Ghor-khurs migrate to the hills for grass and water. The foaling season is in June, July, and August, when the Beluchis ride down and catch numbers of foals, finding a ready sale in the cantonments for them, as they are taken down on speculation to Hindostan. They also shoot great numbers of full-grown ones for food; the ground in places in the desert being very favourable for stalking."

The monuments of Assyria represent an animal decidedly more like the horse than the ass; the head is small, and so are the ears; the legs not sufficiently slender: a figure of a wild ass on the monuments of Persepolis shows a better appreciation by the sculptor of the length of the ears, but the animal is decidedly too thickly made. Hunting wild asses seems to have been a favourite pursuit of the Assyrian monarchs: for this purpose they used the large kind of mastiff employed in the chase of the lion and wild bull, which, one would have supposed, would not have been swift enough for the capture of the wild ass. One of the marble slabs in the British Museum represents a wild ass literally being pulled down by four of these strong dogs; the poor creature with stiffened body and open mouth panting for breath, a picture of distress. There are five clay models of these dogs in the British Museum, and they bear the following inscriptions:—

1. Munasiku-gari-su, *i.e.* "biting his enemies."
2. Epar-tallik-epus-kaka, "who gives tongue in chasing the deer." (?)
3. Dahm-rigis-su, "smoking with his rage." (?)
4. Kasid-aibi, "capturing enemies."
5. Musezu-liuutti, "removing evil."

The reading of some of these names is doubtful, consequently the translation is also. We are indebted to Sir H. Rawlinson for kindly sending us the translations. Mr. G. Smith has also given us his readings, which, with the exception of No. 3, correspond with those of Sir Henry. (See woodcut of one of these models at page 56.)

The hunters, mounted and on foot, speared or shot the animals with arrows; they were also caught by the lasso, as the monuments show. There is reason to believe that the Assyrians ate the flesh of the wild ass, as do the Bedouins east of Damascus, and the Arabs of whom Mr. Layard speaks. Xenophon says that the flesh of those captured was like that of red deer, but more tender (*Anab.* i. 5). The Romans also ate the flesh both of the wild and domestic ass; according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* viii. 68), Mæcenas was the first person who had the young of the domestic ass served up at his table, the flesh of which was in those days preferred to that of the onager or wild ass. Martial apparently alludes to the flesh of the wild ass as food in these lines:—

"Cum tener est onager, solaque lalisio matro
Pascitur; hoc infaus sed breve nomen habet."

i.e., the wild ass, when tender and fed only by its mother's milk, has the name *lalisio* (an African word) applied to it, but only for a short time.

In Egyptian mythology, the ass—to borrow Sir G. Wilkinson's words—enjoyed the marked but uncomplimentary honour of being sacred to Typho, the evil genius. This distinction entailed upon it another less enviable, though more positive mark of their notice, "the Coptites being in the habit of throwing an ass down a precipice, considering it unclean and impure, from its supposed resemblance to Typho" (Phitarch, *De Isid. et Osir.*, cap. 30, F. ed. Wytenbach). The inhabitants of (Abydos) Busiris and Lycopolis carried their detestation of this animal still farther; so that they even scrupled to make use of trumpets, because their sound was thought to be like the braying of an ass" (*Ælian.*, *Nat. Anim.*, x. 28). It was from the idea entertained by the Egyptians of the stupidity and sensuality of its disposition that they gave the Persian prince Oehus the name of the ass, in token of their execration of so detestable a tyrant. "Even the colour of this animal was thought to partake of the nature of the evil being, and, with a similar prejudice, whenever any individual happened to have a red complexion or red hair, they considered him connected with Typho" (*Anc. Egypt.*, v. 185). Sir G. Wilkinson says representations of an ass-headed deity sometimes, but rarely, occur. The only place where he has seen the onoccephalus is at Tuot, the ancient Tophium. It is apparently of the order of demons, or an inferior class of gods, connected with a future state in the region of Amenti. The head of the ass is sometimes introduced among the hieroglyphics. Horapollo (*Hieroglyph.* i. 23) says that when the Egyptians wished to symbolise a man that had not travelled out of his own country (*ἄνθρωπον τῆς πατρίδος μὴ ἀποδημήσαντα σημαίνοντες*), they represented an onoccephalus (animal with an ass's head), because he neither knows anything of history or of foreign affairs. The prejudice against the ass appears to have been almost universal in Europe, as an animal obstinate, sensual, and stupid; in the Middle Ages he sometimes played a prominent part at church festivals, as on the *Feast of Asses*, celebrated the 14th of January, representing the flight of the Virgin Mary into Egypt, on which occasion a young girl, mounted upon an ass, elegantly adorned, and holding a child, was led in procession, and placed near the altar. After the conclusion of the mass, the priest turned to the people, and instead of the usual dismissal, said three times *Hinham*, the people replying *Hinham, hinham, hinham*. Du Cange has preserved the hymn used on the *Feast of Asses*. We reproduce it here, as it is very curious:—

"Orientis partibus
Adventavit asinus,
Pelcher et fortissimus,
Sarcinus aptissimus.
Hez, Sire Asses, car chantez.
Belle bouche rechignez,
Vous aurez du foin assez
Et de l'avoine à planter."

"Lentus erat pedibus
Nisi foret baculus
Et eum in clunibus
Pungeret aculeus.
Hez, Sire Asucs, &c.

"Hic in collibus Sichem,
Jam nutritus sub Ruben,
Transiit per Jordannem,
Salut in Bethleem.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.

"Ecce maguis auribus
Subjugalis filius
Asinus egregius
Asiuorum dominus.
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.

"Saltu vincit hinnulos,
Damas et capreolos,
Super dromedarios
Velox Madianeos.
Hez, Sire Asucs, &c.

"Aurum de Arabia,
Thus et myrrham de Saba

Tulit in ecclesia
Virtus Asiaria.
Hez, Sire Asucs, &c.

"Dum trahit vehicula
Multa cum sarcinula,
Illius mandibula
Dura terit pabula.
Hez, Sire Asucs, &c.

"Cum aristas hordeum
Comedit et carduum;
Triticum a palca
Segregat in area,
Hez, Sire Asnes, &c.

"Amen, dicas, Amen.
(Hic genuflectabatur.)

"Jam satur de granine:
Amen, Amen iterum
Aspernare vetera.
Hez va! hez va! hez va! hez!
Bialx, Sire Asnes, car allez;
Belle bouche car chantez."

(Du Cange, *Glos.*, s.v. *Festum Asinorum*.)

THE INSPIRATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.—II.

BY THE REV. F. W. FARRAR, B.D., F.R.S., MASTER OF MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE QUEEN.

THE first may be called briefly the *organic*, mechanical, or dictation theory. It held that every sentence, every word, nay, even every syllable, letter, and vowel-point of Scripture had been divinely and supernaturally imparted;¹ that the authors of the various books, known or unknown, had no share in the composition; but they were but the amanuenses and instruments, "not only the penmen but the pens" of the Holy Spirit—being not even the active recipients, but the mere passive vehicles, of that which through them, but with no co-operation of their own, was imparted to mankind. According to those who held, or possibly even hold, this theory, the Bible not only records but *is* a revelation, not only reveals but *is* a religion, not only contains but *is* the Word of God. This theory may indeed be countenanced by incidental expressions of the Fathers rather than by their actual method of dealing with Scripture,² but it is mainly since the Reformation and in Protestant Churches that it has been formulated into an accurate theological dogma or that any great stress has been laid upon it. It found a partial expression in the popular but loose and narrow formula of Chillingworth, "The Bible and the Bible only is the religion of Protestants."

ii. The second theory has been called the *dynamic*. It holds that Holy Scripture was not "dictated by," but

"committed to writing under the guidance of," the Holy Spirit. While recognising the Divine energy, it does not annihilate the human co-operation. The truths are inspired by the Holy Spirit, the words and phrases are the result of the writer's own individuality; the material is of God, the form is of man. Just as, in the old mythology, Apollo was regarded as the mere receiver of the oracles which he delivered—learning them from Zeus, but interpreting them for men—so the prophet is, to use the phrase of Philo, the "interpreter" of those as yet unspoken thoughts which God suggests to his understanding. To borrow a metaphor which is very common among the Fathers, the wind breathes upon the *Æolian* harp, which without its agency utters no sound, but the resultant melody is largely modified by the actual construction of the lyre itself. There may be weaknesses and imperfections in the mode of expression; there can be none in the truth revealed. The books of Scripture, though not dictated, are yet infallible, indisputable, perfectly truthful in the minutest particular. The theory may best be summed up in the pregnant expression of St. Augustine, "*Inspiratus a Deo sed tamen homo*;" and it is perhaps the view most prevalent in the English Church.

iii. The next theory may be called the theory of *illumination*. I adopt this term because it recognises various *degrees of inspiration*. Now inspiration, properly speaking, cannot admit of degrees. *Illumination*, as has been frequently pointed out, may be intermittent; it may sink into the faintest possible twilight, or may beam with noonday splendour; but, from the very nature of the case, *inspiration* must be continuous. It is true that this theory does not necessarily exclude the former, but it regards the subject from a wholly different point of view. This view dates from the days of the Rabbis, who not only divided the Scriptures into

¹ *Hebraicus V. T. codex, tum quoad consonas, tum quoad vocalia, sive puncta ipsa, seu punctorum saltem potestatem, et tum quoad res, tum quoad verba theopneusticæ. Formula Consensus Helveticæ, quoted by Ersch and Gruber, and Buxtorf, Tract de Punct. Vocal., II. v. (See on Inspiration, p. 447.)*

² We may instance Jerome's criticisms on the "*Rusticitas*," in the style of some of the prophets, the "*solecisms*" of St. Paul, &c. (Proem in *Esaiam*; Proem in *Jerem.*; ad Gal. iii. 1, &c.); and even his great opponent, St. Augustine, says that the Evangelists wrote "*ut quisque meminisset et ut cuique cordi erat*" (*De Cons. Evang.* ii. v.).

the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, but distinguished also between the "Prophetic Spirit" which inspired the Law and the Prophets, and the "Holy Spirit" which enabled men to write such words of holiness and wisdom as do not transcend the ordinary faculties of man to attain, and which was the only inspiring power recognised by them in the Kethubim.¹ From the days of the schoolmen downwards the different degrees of inspiration have been variously classified. Some have distinguished between the grace of *superintendency*, which merely saved from positive error; the grace of *elevation*, which uplifted the thoughts and words to a lofty standard; the grace of *direction*, which guided them alike in what they omitted as in what they expressed; and the grace of *suggestion*, which vouchsafed to supply both words and thoughts. Others, again, and this is a view which has found some favour among leading theologians of the Church of Rome, distinguish between *antecedent, concomitant, and consequent inspiration*, the last being merely a general sanction that a book, though not written by the aid of the Holy Spirit, yet contains nothing false. Although this theory does not ostensibly abandon the doctrine of inspiration for the whole of Scripture, it is clear that in its extremest form it nearly merges into the next theory; for, to quote the words of Bishop Daniel Wilson, in his *Evidences of Christianity*, "where nature ended and inspiration began, it is not for man to say."

iv. The next theory, which has been widely embraced, may be called the theory of *essential* as distinguished from *plenary* inspiration. Its favourite formula is, that the Bible *contains* the word of God, while it rejects, as inaccurate, the expression that the Bible *is* the word of God. Those who accept this view believe, indeed, that the Holy Scriptures are the record of a Divine revelation, and that their authors were inspired by the Holy Spirit, but they confine this inspiration to matters of doctrine, matters of morality, and, above all, matters of faith.² They do not accept as necessarily inspired or infallible the accidental allusions and passing phrases of Scripture. They do not consecrate the *obiter dicta auctoris aliud agentis*. They do not believe that the sacred writers would have wished us to attach the slightest importance to the scientific accuracy or inaccuracy of the popular expressions in which they describe natural phenomena or natural laws. They would not be in the least shocked to find that Moses could have expressed a current fallacy of observation, that St. Stephen could have fallen into an error of memory, or that St. Paul could have founded an illustration upon a mere Rabbinical tradition. This was the theory held by Erasmus, R. Simon, Grotius, Le Clerc, and Pfaff;³ it is now held by many eminent Roman Catholic divines, even when they differ so widely as Perrone and Dr. Döllinger; it is accepted by the great mass of German theologians, of profound learning and unin-

peachable orthodoxy; it has been formally repeated and sanctioned among ourselves, even by writers so widely separated as Bishop Lowth, Bishop Warburton, Archdeacon Paley, Clarke, Doddridge, Baxter, Archbishop Sumner, and Mr. Thomas Scott.⁴

v. The fifth theory may be called that of *ordinary* inspiration. The other four may differ in the extent to which they apply the working of inspiration, but they all agree in regarding it as being an *extraordinary*, transcendent, and supernatural energy. The fifth, on the other hand, which found in Schleiermacher its foremost exponent, regards inspiration as a thing entirely subordinate in the Divine economy. It believes that Christ came to reveal and declare his Father to mankind, and that the New Testament contains the truthful record of his life, his death, and the doctrine which he taught. The holders of this theory believe that the action of the Holy Spirit, as exercised in the inspiration of Scripture, is not *generically* distinct from the ordinary influence of that Holy Spirit upon the heart and intellect of Christian men, which all admit to be *analogous* to it.⁵ They believe that the Bible animates and awakens the religious consciousness of man, but they attach no infallible truthfulness to all its utterances, nor any Divine sanctity to its incidental and non-religious teachings. They hold that each book and passage of Scripture must be tested by its inherent consistency with that which we learn of God's will from his revelation of himself, above all in the life of Christ. They attach consummate importance to the saying of St. Paul, "The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life."⁶

It is clear that this theory is the very antipodes of the first or organic theory. According to the *organic* theory, the Bible is in every text absolutely supernatural, transcendently divine; according to the *dynamic* theory, it is throughout human, as well as throughout divine; according to the *illumination* theory, it is divine, but in differing degrees; according to the *essential* theory, it is divine only in matters of faith; according to the *ordinary* theory, it is inspired, but not always miraculous—sacred but not always supernatural—that it is always to be revered, but not always and in every point to be accepted as divinely authoritative; that it is divine only as all else is divine which is good

⁴ The name of Luther has often been claimed as sanctioning some such view, and his slighting language as regards the Apocalypse, and the Epistle of Jude, no less than his contemptuous rejection of the Epistle of St. James, as an "epistola straminea," might seem at first sight to sanction it. The fact is, however, different. Luther set up in his own mind a certain arbitrary test of canonicity and inspiration—viz., that no writing was inspired unless in some degree it testified to the truth of Christ's Gospel ("Auch ist das der rechte Prüfstein alle Bücher zu tadeln, wenn man siehet ob sie Christum treiben oder nicht"); and acting on this test he rejected these portions of the Canon. (See *Lect on Inspiration*, pp. 72-426.)

⁵ Analogous expressions to those in which inspiration is described by the Fathers may also be found in Pagan writers—e.g., Plato, *Ion*, pp. 523, 534; *Tim.*, p. 74; *Arist.*, *De Mundo*, 4; *Cic.*, *De Div.*, i. 50; *Liv.* v. 15; *Sen.*, *Ep.* 27; *Virg.*, *Æn.* vi. 47; and many other passages, which may be summed up in *Cic. Pro Arch.* 8:—"Nemo vir magnus sine aliquo afflatu divino unquam fuit."

⁶ 2 Cor. iii. 6. Cf. *Rom.* vii. 6, "That we should serve in newness of spirit, not in the oldness of the letter" (ii. 29).

¹ *Isaionides*, *Moro Nechohim*, ii. 37, 45.

² St. Thomas Aquinas distinguishes between the things that belong to faith, *principaliter* and *indirecte*.

³ See Tholuck in Herzog's *Cyclopædia*.

and noble¹—in so far as the heart of man is divine when under the influence of the indwelling Spirit of God.

5. The very fact that all these theories are severally held by men of authority in the English Church, and that, by formal decision of the Court of Ultimate Appeal, even the fifth is, within certain limitations, capable of being maintained without any violation of her formularies, would naturally lead us to the conclusion that she has pronounced upon the question no authoritative decision. Such is indeed the case. The Church of England requires of her ministers a belief that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation;"² she defines Holy Scripture to be the undoubtedly canonical books of the Old and New Testament; she makes a passing allusion to Scripture as "God's word written;"³ she declares that the Old Testament is not contrary to the New, and that in both alike everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ;⁴ she requires of her priests and deacons "unfeignedly to believe" them, and to be persuaded that they "contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ." It is clear that in these passages, while the Scriptures are accepted as a volume in the highest degree sacred, yet no exclusive sanction is given to any special theory of inspiration. Indeed, so far as the word is concerned, it is a singular, though possibly an undesigned circumstance, that both the word "inspiration" and the verb "inspire" occur but five times in the Book of Common Prayer, and in every one of those five instances are used to imply, not the extraordinary and, so to speak, extinct, but the ordinary and continual workings of the Holy Spirit of God—the inspiration which cleanses the thoughts of the Christian's heart⁵—the inspiration which enables us to think those things that be good⁶—the inspiration which makes our works pleasant and acceptable to God.⁷

6. Nor again is the language of Scripture on the subject of its own inspiration so definite or decisive as to justify us in building up formal theological systems on isolated passages, treated apart from the general progress of revelation. Undoubtedly there is a vast multitude of passages in which the inspired writers claim to be delivering the direct messages of God.⁸ The Scriptures generally are called the "oracles of God."⁹ In three several instances, passages from the Psalms are attributed to the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰ St. Peter says that "the prophecy came

not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;" and he says that the Spirit of Christ was in the prophets.¹¹ St. Paul says that he taught "in words which the Holy Spirit teacheth," that "the Holy Scriptures are able to make wise unto salvation through faith in Jesus Christ," and that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."¹² He also describes his own teaching as not being the word of man, but "in truth the word of God." Our Lord himself appeals to Scripture from the beginning to the end of his ministry—in the wilderness and on the cross—and often in the emphatic words, "It is written," or "Have ye not read."¹³ That these facts and these passages do undoubtedly prove the very deep reverence which we should attach to Holy Scripture, the exceptional weight and sanctity of its language, and its inestimable value as the chief source of our knowledge respecting the nature and will of God, is entirely evident; but they cannot, except by a fallacy of extension, be fairly regarded as attributing infallibility to each separate statement in Holy Writ, or as implying that every book, and every portion of every book, was written under the influence of an exceptional illumination. Luther, in his commentary on Genesis, is careful to point out that the expression "God said," while it does imply the direct conviction of a Divine message, does not mean a necessarily miraculous communication or a voice in the air. It is said in Scripture of David, and of Samson, that they were powerfully moved and influenced by the Spirit of God;¹⁴ yet this did not apply so completely to their words or actions as to save them from the commission of even grave and terrible sins. The Apostles were mitred at Pentecost with the tongues of cloven flame, and were "full of the Holy Ghost," yet we know that they could and did err, and that in serious matters connected with the duties of daily life. Four times in the most solemn manner did they receive from their Divine Master the promise of the Holy Ghost,¹⁵ and it was his last promise that he would be with them always, even to the end of the world.¹⁶ We know how fully and richly that promise was fulfilled; yet it left them to the last "men of like passions with ourselves,"¹⁷ capable of errors both in judgment and in practice.¹⁸ It has, indeed, been often and emphatically denied that this possibility of mistake could affect them in what they wrote. That they *did* so err I am not so irreverent as to assert, *nor* has the widest learning and acutest ingenuity of scepticism ever pointed to one complete and demonstrable error of fact or doctrine in the Old or New Testament. But what we are now considering is

¹ James i. 17.

² Art. VI.

³ Art. XX.

⁴ Art. VII.

⁵ Collect in the Communion Service.

⁶ C. Hec for Fifth Sunday after Easter.

⁷ Art. XII. Cf. the Collect of the service already referred to, and the Hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*. The use of the word in other writers accords with this. Thus Milton writes, "Inspire as thou art wont my prompted song, else mute." And in his *Animadversions*, "And as thou didst dignify our fathers' days with many revelations . . . so thou canst vouchsafe to us (though unworthy) as large a portion of thy Spirit as thou pleasest. For who shall prejudice thy all-governing will, seeing the power of thy grace is not passed away with the primitive times, as fond and faithless men imagine, but thy kingdom is now at hand, and thou standest at the door." Many analogous passages might be quoted alike from ancient and modern authors.

⁸ 2 Sam. xxiii. 2; Jer. i. 9, &c.

⁹ Rom. iii. 2.

¹⁰ Acts i. 16; Mark xii. 36; Heb. iii. 7.

¹¹ 2 Pet. i. 21; 1 Pet. i. 11.

¹² 1 Cor. ii. 13; 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16.

¹³ Mark ii. 25; ix. 12, 13; xiv. 27.

¹⁴ 1 Sam. xvi. 13; Judg. xiii. 25. Cf. Judg. vi. 34; 1 Sam. xi. 6.

¹⁵ Matt. x. 19, 20; Mark xiii. 11; Luke xii. 11, 12; John xiv.

¹⁶ Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

¹⁷ Acts xiv. 15.

¹⁸ Acts xv. 36—39; Gal. ii. 11, &c.

the possibility of arriving at some inflexible theory of inspiration; and it is at least a reasonable argument to suppose that there may be a real analogy between the facts observable in, and the laws which apply to, the *lives* and the writings of inspired men. Except by a slavishly literal interpretation, and a fallacious extension of applicability, there is no passage of Holy Scripture which can be made to bear the immense weight of meaning laid upon it by those who maintain that all Scripture, down to its minutest particulars, is absolutely infallible and supernaturally inspired. Accepted ac-

cording to the ordinary rules of language, and tested by the simple and natural canons of criticism, the writers of the Bible never claim for themselves, or for each other, any such purely miraculous exaltation above the possibilities of human imperfection. To claim that they write by the aid of the Holy Spirit of God, to insist with the whole emphasis of their convictions that they are delivering the Gospel and the messages of God, is a widely different thing from claiming that every word which they utter is as far above all human criticism as if it had been articulated by a voice from heaven.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.—VII.

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XII.

THE history of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who stands out as an important figure in Isaiah's narrative of Sennacherib's great expedition against Judah (Isa. xxxvii. 9),

receives illustration both from the monuments of Egypt and from those of Assyria. The monuments of Egypt place before us a king, whom they call Tehrak, or Taharuka,¹ at exactly the time when the Tirhakah of Scripture alarms Sennacherib.² This monarch appears in the Egyptian records, first of all, as a hostile king of Ethiopia, whose power is unacknowledged in Egypt. Later he is found to have established his dominion over the lower country, and to be lord of the two Egypts, no less than of the Ethiopian highland. The point of time whereto the narrative of Isaiah belongs seems to be just when one of these two conditions was merging into the other. Tirhakah is called "king of Cush" (Ethiopia), not king of Egypt, since his authority apparently is not yet fully established in the lowland. But, on the other hand, he evidently claims a certain suzerainty over the Nile valley; since otherwise he would not feel aggrieved by Sennacherib's proceedings, or have any reason for setting his forces in motion against him.

It does not appear that the two great rivals, Tirhakah and Sennacherib, ever came into contact. The miraculous destruction of the Assyrian host paralysed the aggressor, and forced him to return hastily to his own land, before his troops came into collision with those of his powerful antagonist. But that antagonist profited by his withdrawal. All the extant records show that Sennacherib's great failure was followed by the retirement of Assyria from the position of an assailant of Egypt; and that, as that country was too weak to stand alone, Ethiopia, in the absence of Assyria,

obtained an undisputed supremacy. Hence the great name which Tirhakah obtained among the Greeks and Romans.³ The Assyrian records show us that the eminence of Tirhakah was maintained for nearly thirty years, and that it was only forfeited after a severe

struggle with the Assyrians under Esar-haddon, the son of Sennacherib, who reduced all Egypt under his authority, and forced Tirhakah to retire upon Meroe, his capital. Egypt then passed under Assyria for a space of some two or three years (B.C. 671—669), during which period there was "a pathway out of Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian came into Egypt, and the Egyptians served with the Assyrians" (Isa. xix. 23). Esar-haddon vainly gloriously styled himself during these years "King of Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Meroe, and Ethiopia."⁴ But even then the spirit of the great Ethiopian was not crushed. Tri-

hakah bided his time, and in B.C. 669, learning that the Assyrian monarch had fallen ill and partially abdicated his throne, he once more issued from his Ethiopian fastnesses, and burst upon the Nile valley with overwhelming force. Expelling the governors whom Esar-haddon had set up in the various towns, he established his court at Memphis, and reigned undisturbed for two (or perhaps three) years, Assyria making no effort against him. At length, however, in B.C. 667 (or 666), Sardanapalus (Asshur-bani-pal), having succeeded his father Esar-haddon, took in hand the recovery of Egypt, and in the course of a couple of years succeeded in re-establishing the Assyrian suzerainty. Tirhakah was once more compelled to fall back upon his native dominions, B.C. 665 (or 664); and his death happening about the same time, the Assyrian power was soon firmly established in Egypt. Ethiopian ascendancy was repressed, and henceforth no "king of Cush" was ever able to subject Egypt or even seriously trouble it.



CARTOUCHE OF
TIRHAKAH,
AT EGYPTIAN
THEBES.

¹ "Tehrak," according to Wilkinson (Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. ii., p. 319, 2nd edit.); "Taharuka" according to Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, vol. iv., p. 543).

² See 2 Kings xix. 9.

³ Strab. i. 3, § 21; xv. 1, § 6. ⁴ *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 201.

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.—I.

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INTRODUCTORY.



STUDY of the Bible would be very incomplete which did not include some attempt to understand the character of its poetry. But it is a study beset with difficulties, even to those who have a familiar acquaintance with the Hebrew language. In the literature of other nations it is easy to distinguish prose from verse.¹ The common features of versification—quantity, metre, and rhyme—are generally well marked, and though compositional professedly prose often abound in imaginative writing, the greater part of the poetry, whether of ancient or modern times, conforms to fixed metrical laws.

"Numbers and rhyme, and that harmonious sound,
Which not the nicest ear in harshness wound,
Are necessary."²

It is not so with the literature of the Hebrews. Isaiah was numbered with prose writers till rescued by Bishop Lowth³ a century ago. The same pen which placed the sublime bard among his poetical compeers was the first to give a satisfactory explanation of the structure of Hebrew verse. The following passage gives the learned bishop's estimate of the difficulties of the branch of study in which he achieved such marked success. After remarking that no selected examples can exhibit "the full force of the peculiarities which serve to distinguish the poetical diction of the Hebrews, and to preserve that sublimity and splendour for which it is so remarkable," he continues:—"The perfect character and genius, the whole form, principles, and nature of the poetical diction and ornaments, can neither be comprehended in any minute or artificial precepts whatever, nor perhaps be reduced altogether to rule or method; the complete knowledge and perception of these are only to be attained by reading and investigation, united with acuteness of judgment and delicacy of taste."⁴

In the following series of papers little more can be promised than an attempt to indicate to the student the direction which his investigations should take, and to furnish him with the principal results attained by the labours of Lowth and other scholars, German and English.

The Bible contains nearly the whole of the literature of a highly imaginative people. This fact shows itself, even in a translation, in the poetical character of the language. There are, in every language, words in common use to express moral or intellectual facts,

which, if traced back to the root, are found to be borrowed from some material appearance. "*Right* originally means straight; *wrong* means twisted; *spirit* primarily means wind; *transgression*, the crossing of a line; *supercilious*, the raising of the eyebrow. We say the *heart* to express emotion; the *head* to denote thought; and *thought* and *emotion* are in their turn words borrowed from sensible things and now appropriated to spiritual nature. Most of the process by which this transformation is made, is hidden from us in the remote time when language was framed;"⁵ but as we trace back the literature of a country we see the process in many cases at work, and we are conscious that the language, as we recede, grows more and more picturesque until its infancy, when it is all poetry. The Bible offers examples of this. There we see the process at work in the case of some of the words just cited. The spirit is still the *breath* or the *wind*.⁶ The word describing a man of justice and integrity is repeatedly applied to a road, where it is in our version translated "straight." To sin is to miss the mark, to stumble, or to wander from the right road;⁷ while a life of holiness is represented as a walk in the path approved by God.⁸

But in addition to this, which might be called the unconscious tendency of a language to poetic expression, there are abundant proofs, at almost every page of the sacred volume, of the Hebrew love for metaphor and figurative use of words. The discourses of our Lord alone will afford sufficient examples of this. Within the compass of a few short verses He likens himself both to a shepherd and to the gate of the sheep-fold, and in every parable there appears a fresh symbol of the kingdom of heaven.

Another interesting fact bears witness to the poetic power resident in the Hebrew tongue. Nations generally have many words for that which interests them most, and the language of the Israelite is rich and copious in terms for natural objects, from which we perceive how deep and extended was his feeling for nature. In Hebrew there are ten different words for different kinds of *rain*. A *stream* might be called by one of nine names. Five words in the Bible are translated by our one "valley," while thirteen are rendered "light." There are also in the compass of the Bible as many as 250 botanical names.

These indications are evident to the reader of the English Bible. A slight acquaintance with Hebrew discloses other signs of its poetical capacities. Children, and nations in the infant stage, by converting nouns into verbs, lend great force and liveliness to their rude and imperfect speech. A great deal of the life and action of Hebrew poetry is due to a similar close

¹ Prose and verse are terms which arose in copying MSS. Prose is written straight on (*prosus*); verse (*a versendo*), though it derived its original meaning not from metrical considerations, but from the importance of preserving an even margin, became limited to writing in numbers.

² *Essay on Poetry*, by the Duke of Buckingham.

³ Lowth's *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry*, and Dissertation prefixed to the Translation of Isaiah.

⁴ Lecture xv.

⁵ Emerson on *Nature*.

⁷ Prov. xix. 2, &c.

⁶ Job xxvi. 4; John iii. 8.

⁸ Ps. i. 23 (margin).

relation between the verb and noun¹ which have the same root-form. A peculiarity, too, in the tenses, which permit an instantaneous change from past to future, enables a writer to give to a picture a vividness and sense of present reality which can scarcely be preserved in translation. The effect is heightened by the genius of the language to combine in one word those different members of a sentence which other languages must express by many different terms.

These facts would be enough to indicate how largely imagination was likely to enter into every Hebrew composition, and how great a proportion of the literature of the nation might be expected to take a poetical form. The student will appreciate the remark of Herder, that the Hebrew tongue declares for itself, "I myself am a poem." But there is one other tendency in the same direction which is frequent and deserving of notice. The Jews never developed a philosophy. Abstraction was foreign both to the national habits of thought and to the language. The Bible exhibits this in the frequency of its personification. Nothing came within the Jews' intelligence which did not take a bodily shape. Even in St. Paul's Epistles, and in arguments which in other respects reflect the philosophy of Greece, this Hebrew tendency is continually displayed. In the Apostle's consciousness there are two rival combatants striving for the mastery.² The law becomes a living creature with power to kill or bless, charity a sensitive thing capable of patience and kindness.³ Sin assumes a terrible individuality as a monster armed with a sting, or a person bearing a goad.⁴

These considerations prepare us to regard the whole Bible as cast in a poetical mould. That it begins and ends with a poem; that its history is told in a manner which reminds us more of Shakespeare's manner of telling history than of that of professed historians in past or present times; that its prophetic inspiration was accompanied with the gift of song; that One greater than all the prophets did not disdain the poetic form natural to his country,⁵ and spoke with a tenderness and truth of nature, and a sympathy for all the depth and mystery and complexity of the human heart, to which we look for parallels only in the poetic literature which owes its fullest inspiration to Christianity; that the Apostle Paul, in compositions removed as far as possible from poetical intention or form, is often carried away by the splendour of his thought into almost lyric bursts of passionate eloquence;—all this follows on the fact that the Hebrew mind was naturally capable of quick and vivid imagination, and that the Hebrew language was an instrument of singular flexibility and power.

But a more important consideration yet remains. This poetic nature was doubtless given that Israel might

the better perform the great function committed to it by God. That it might fulfil this end, it needed to be subordinated to the great master truth by which the nation was possessed, and which made its glory and its strength. The poetry of the Hebrew was the handmaid of his religion; there is therefore in the poetry of the Bible something which elevates it above all other literature of the same kind. The transcendent nature of its inspiration seems to consecrate all other works of human genius to which we give the name *inspired*. Much that bears the name of poetry is degraded by unworthy associations or by the subject on which it is employed. It is well known how the great Grecian philosopher planned to exclude from his ideal republic even the works of Homer and the great tragedians. Yet there were songs worthy, as he deemed, of entrance. "These two harmonies I ask you to leave: the strain of necessity and the strain of freedom, the strain of the unfortunate and the strain of the fortunate, the strain of courage and the strain of temperance; these, I say, leave."⁶ What would have to be added to these to exhibit the supreme excellence of Hebrew poetry? It raises the strain, not of courage and virtue only, mighty as these are, but of truth and holiness, of faith and hope, of progress and perfection, of fidelity to God, and unbroken trust in his goodness and love. Ever since it was poured forth from the full hearts of the sweet singers of Israel, the world has been drinking deep draughts of life and strength from its stream. Whatever dreams of future glory humanity shapes for itself, the poetry of the Bible is not excluded, but is welcomed as the music of the kingdom of heaven.

These remarks on the general poetic character of the Bible will not seem out of place if we consider for a moment how much depends on our ability to distinguish its poetry from its prose. Many fatal errors in theology are due to the confusion of figure with fact, metaphor with demonstration. There is danger when terms used in a fluid and emotional way are taken for formal and rigid symbols. Both among Jews' and Christians opinions and practices have ere now been surrounded with the sanctity of religion, which rest on no other basis than the determination to find literal and scientific exactness where God has bestowed the nobler gift of poetry.

The books of the Bible which have a claim to be regarded as strictly poetical present certain marked peculiarities of style and a distinct poetical structure. They will be enumerated here in the order in which they occur in our Bibles, the history of the origin and development of Hebrew song being left more conveniently for a later paper. The poem of Job, the Book of Psalms, the

⁶ Plato, *Republic*, iii., Jowett's translation.

⁷ There is no limit to the absurd literalism of the Rabbinical interpretations. An instance will suffice. In Ps. i. the poet says of the upright man, "His delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night." Starting the objection that sleep and cares would render this ceaseless meditation impossible, R. Kimchi concludes that to fulfil the text it is enough to wear tephillin or phylacteries. (See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, under "Fronlet.")

¹ Herder, *Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*.

² Rom. vii. 8, 9.

³ 1 Cor. xiii.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 55. (See Dean Stauley's note.)

⁵ The parable, it will be seen presently, was a natural development of Hebrew versification. The structure called *parallelism* is also clearly evident in the New Testament, especially in our Lord's discourses.

Proverbs, the Canticles, proclaim their own character. The prophets, it has been well said, "vibrate between poetry and prose." Isaiah, with the exception of a few chapters which occur also in the Book of Kings, is poetry of the most sublime and elegant kind. "The first of the prophets, both in order and dignity, he abounds in such transcendent excellences that he may be properly said to afford the most perfect model of prophetic poetry."¹ Jeremiah ranks below Isaiah, though deficient in neither sublimity nor elegance. Only half of his book can be pronounced to have the character of poetry. The Lamentations are an elegy of deep and sustained pathos. Ezekiel is "deep, vehement, tragical, with sentiments elevated and full of fire." The greater part of his prophecy is poetical both in matter and diction. Of the minor prophets, Jonah (with the exception of his hymn) and Haggai must rank with Daniel as prose writers. Zechariah is only partly poetical, and Malachi is composed in a "kind of middle style." The rest, while exhibiting each his peculiar excellence, are all to be considered as coming within the limits of the poetical part of the Bible.

But the list is not complete.² Scattered through the ancient Scriptures, from the very beginning, are

¹ Lowth (Lecture xxi.).

² Part of the Book of Ecclesiastes is decidedly poetical. Ruth is an exquisite pastoral idyll. The Apocrypha, too, contain at least one book of undoubted poetic character and excellence—viz., Ecclesiasticus.

passages of a high order of poetry—hymns, war songs, odes of invocation, chants of victory, psalms of praise, elegies of exquisite tenderness and pathos. Nor does the stream die away with the Old Testament, but reappears from the desert period that separates it from the New, like a buried river bursting forth with eagerness to its native light and air. Finally, among those compositions which possess in great abundance most of the elements of poetry, must be reckoned the marvellous group of visions unrolled before the eye of the seer of Patmos, which forms so fitting a close to the sacred canon.

These have been preserved of the "Songs of Zion;" but probably more have perished. The songs of Solomon were a thousand and five.³ Of these probably not one remains, for the beautiful composition which bears the monarch's name, and is called the Song of Songs, contains internal evidence against this authorship; and of the two psalms ascribed to Solomon by their titles, only the first can, in any probability, come from his pen. Jeremiah composed a dirge or elegy for Josiah,⁴ which unfortunately has not survived with the other book of Lamentations of the same prophet. Two books, at least, containing songs and poetical narratives, only a few specimens of which have been preserved, are quoted, "The Book of the Wars of Jehovah"⁵ and "The Book of Jasher, or the Upright."⁶

³ 1 Kings iv. 32.

⁵ Numb. xxi. 14.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.

⁶ Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—XIII.

THE PATRIARCHS.

JACOB.

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.

JACOB and Esau were fifteen years old when their grandfather died. It must have been some years thereafter—giving room for Esau's taste for the chase being developed—when one evening, at Beer-sheba, Jacob was cooking for himself a very savoury mess of red lentils. "The red lentil," Dr. Tristram tells us, "is considered the best. We have eaten it mixed with meal for bread; but it is now generally used as a pottage, or cooked as the Spaniards cook haricot beans, stewed with oil and flavoured with red pepper."¹ Jacob's cookery may not have matched that of the Spaniard, but if the red lentil were then a rarity lately introduced from Egypt, and if Jacob was following the instructions of that clever housewife, his mother, in preparing the dish, we may well believe it to have been a singularly attractive one. Just as it is ready, Esau returns from a long day's unsuccessful hunting, faint with fatigue, famishing with hunger. We are told of the Arab by those who know him well that his hunger is madness. This madness is now upon Esau. As he looks at the pottage and scents

its exciting fragrance, he exclaims, "Feed me, I pray thee, with that red—that red!" He knows not what to call it. His wily brother, perceiving how passionately impatient he is, at once seizes the opportunity, and guarding the food so coveted, says to him, "Sell me this day thy birthright." He knew that this birthright belonged to his brother as the first-born. Besides a double portion of the household estate, and headship over the family and tribe, in the case of Abraham and his descendants this birthright carried with it the entail of the higher spiritual blessings of the covenant. What ideas at their age Jacob and Esau respectively entertained regarding it, it is difficult to say. Their common understanding may have been that some mysterious benefits were attached to it. So far as these were purely spiritual, to be realised in their descendants rather than in themselves, we may well believe that Esau cared little about them. That in this respect Jacob's impressions, even in early life, were other than and opposite to those of his brother is more than probable; but that his anxiety to get possession of the birthright sprang solely or mainly from a true appreciation of the spiritual benefits, unmixed with any care or

¹ *The Natural History of the Bible*, p. 462.

concern for the secular advantages involved, it is difficult to believe. His mother had told him that in the case of her two sons the customary order was to be reversed; that the elder was to serve the younger. There seemed but little chance of this being brought about, either by his father's ordering, or by his own superior vigour carrying it over his brother's weakness. Here, however, was a chance of his getting Esau voluntarily to part with his birthright. That Jacob was so very prompt to seize the moment of advantage, tells how actively he was on the watch—how keen anyhow to gain the benefit. He so far succeeds. To his demand, "Sell me this day thy birthright," the hungry, impatient, unspiritual child of the chase replies, "Behold, I am on the point to die: and what profit shall this birthright do to me?" Let him have the pottage, and he will give up the birthright. Not satisfied with such a random word, which might afterwards be disavowed, Jacob will have a firmer security: "Swear to me this day." Ready to do anything to gratify the claimant appetite of the moment—an oath with him perhaps a thing of little weight—Esau swears, gets the bread and pottage, "eats and drinks, and rises up and goes his way" (Gen. xxv. 34).

This unbrotherly, ungenerous, ignoble attempt to fleish the birthright out of Esau's hands, is the one solitary incident recorded in the first seventy-seven years of Jacob's life. It pleases us to think that he got no benefit by it. It did not alter his position for the better in the least. It was not upon Esau's having voluntarily bartered away the birthright that his deprivation of it by Isaac rested; nor did Jacob himself ever venture to make that barter the basis of his claim. The fifty years or more that intervened between this and the next recorded incident in Jacob's history, do not seem to have much changed his character. Rebekah, noticing the growing frailties of her husband, and fearing that he may soon die, overhears one day a commission given by him to Esau, and suspects its design. It rouses her to prompt decisive action. In all the haste of one who has contrived a skilful plot, and is eager for its instant execution, she goes to Jacob, and telling him what he is at once to do, says, "Now therefore, my son, obey my voice according to that which I command thee" (Gen. xxvii. 8). Jacob hears, but for a moment hesitates. Is it a sensitive conscience shrinking from the dishonour of the deed? No, it is but a timid and calculating spirit foreseeing a great risk, and trembling to encounter it. The hesitating Macbeth says to his unflinching wife, "If we should fail." "We fail!" is her reply: "but screw your courage to the sticking-point, and we'll not fail." "Peradventure," says the hesitating Jacob to his unflinching mother, "my father will feel me, and I shall seem to him as a deceiver; and I shall bring a curse upon me, and not a blessing." The Lady Macbeth of the Hebrew story answers, "Upon me be thy curse, my son: only obey my voice." Jacob takes the place, and acts the part that she prescribes. He does it well; his courage never falters, never fails. It is severely tried. He comes to Isaac with the prepared venison,

and says, "My father." At first hearing of his voice, his father suspects and challenges him: "Who art thou, my son?" There must be no hesitation now, and there is none. The bold, the barefaced falsehood hangs not on the lip: "I am Esau, thy first-born. I have done according as thou bade me; arise, I pray thee, sit and eat of my venison,¹ that thy soul may bless me." "I love Jacob's blessing," says the good Bishop Hall, "but I hate his lie."² Besides that created by the voice, a new doubt crosses the old man's mind. He had never known Esau come back from the hunting fields so early. "How is it that thou hast found it so quickly, my son?" he asks. The answer is, "Because the Lord thy God brought it to me." The lie is backed by something worse. "The baseness of Jacob," says Dean Alford, "is here coped by his blasphemy."³ Isaac remembers what a hairy man Esau is. He will use this test: "Come near, I pray thee, that I may feel thee, my son, whether thou be my very son Esau or not." The very thing that Jacob told Rebekah that he feared. But she had put out all her skill in clothing every exposed part of his person with skins of kids, as like to human hair as possible.⁴ Her device succeeds. Jacob goes near; is handled. Still Isaac doubts. "The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau." Again the direct appeal is made, "Art thou my very son Esau?" Jacob had already practised on Isaac's piety, by attributing his quick success to his father's God. He will now practise on his father's weakness—his known inability to resist any who took up a determined front: so with a bolder effrontery of falsehood than before, he says, "I am." Overcome thereby, Isaac asks the venison to be brought to him that he might eat. Isaac does so. "I should have dropped the dish," says Luther, "and run away."⁵ Jacob holds it steadily, and afterwards brings wine. Revived and strengthened, Isaac is now ready to pronounce the blessing. Even still there is a lingering doubt. But he remembers how Esau's garments always bore about them some of the fragrance of the wild-flowery hills he hunted in. This last test he will try. "Come near now, and kiss me, my son." This too, the mistress of deceit has foreseen and provided for; so "he came near and kissed him: and he smelled the smell of his raiment, and blessed him, and said, See, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed." The last lin-

¹ "The flesh of the Beden (the wild goat) is excellent venison, far superior to the dry meat of the 'gazelle,' and is probably the venison which Esau went to hunt for his father in the wilderness of Judea." (Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*, page 97.)

² *Contemplations*, vol. i., p. 85.

³ *The Book of Genesis*, p. 122.

⁴ "Martial (lib. xii., Epig. 46) alludes to kid skins as used by the Romans for false hair, to conceal baldness. The wool of the Oriental goat is much longer and finer than of those of this country (cf. Cant. iv. 1). See Bochart, *Hieroz.*, p. I., lib. ii., c. 51. See also Rosenmüller, *Tuch*, etc." (*Speaker's Commentary*, Part I., p. 16.) "We must not think of our European goats, whose skins would be quite unsuitable for any such deception. It is the camel-goat (or angora-goat) of the East, whose black silk hair was used even by the Romans as a substitute for human hair." (Keil and Delitzsch on the *Pentateuch*, vol. i., p. 275.)

⁵ Lange on *Genesis*, p. 519.

gering scruple is overborne. The inward impulse is upon his spirit, and the long-coveted blessing is pronounced. The story is one of the most picturesque and most pathetic in all the Bible. It fills the eye, and fixes itself in the memory of childhood. Old age bends over with unabated interest. But it is as humiliating as it is attractive, exhibiting, as it does, an expenditure of contrivance, activity, self-possession, untruthfulness, profanity, all employed by wife and son, in practising a mean fraud upon such a husband, and such a father, believed by both to be upon the bed of death.

The only immediate issue of the success is the fiery wrath and dark threat of Esau. Jacob's life is in danger, and she who had brought upon him the peril hastens in her own way to shield him from it. He must go to her brother Laban, to stay with him a few days till his brother's fury turns away; and, without knowing her reasons for the step, Isaac must approve and take part in it. It is dexterously done: Isaac blesses Jacob, and sends him off to Haran. How great the contrast between this departure from Beer-sheba and a previous one on a like errand! Eliezer, the servant, had gone off with his ten camels and their attendants, and the rich presents; Jacob, the son, goes off on foot, alone. Eliezer is followed by the best wishes of all he leaves behind, and goes on his way with the assurance in his heart that the God of his master Abraham will guide, protect, and prosper him; Jacob departs furtively, unwillingly driven away by terror rather than urged on by hope, a solitary fugitive, with but a poor companionship in his own thoughts, and that terrible retrospect behind; for, ever as he looks back, there rises up that scene by his father's bed-side. He hears again his brother's passionate outcries; he sees again the looks of hate that tell of purposed vengeance. If twenty years after this the very thought of meeting Esau once again made him tremble, with what terror at this time must it have filled him! One can well imagine that, as at first he fled, the fancied sound of pursuing footsteps was in his ear, and that ever and anon he cast behind a glance to make sure that Esau was not on his track. True he carried with him his father's blessing, but there was not much to comfort in the remembrance of how that blessing had been obtained. As to God—"the fear of Isaac"—what were now his thoughts? Few, perhaps, obscure and troubled. Parting from Beer-sheba, from that altar on which he had so often seen his father sacrifice, before which he had so often joined with him in prayer, he may have had the feeling that he was parting from his father's God. And yet it is even here and now that new and inner folds of his complex character begin to show themselves. He is away, at last, from the home influences to which he had so long been subjected. Out from under the sway of the worldly, ambitious, plotting, resolute Rebekah, he enters upon his own separate and independent path. And the very first stage of that path reveals to us how much there was in him of the imaginative, the devotional, the capacity to see heaven opened, the susceptibility to impressions from the world of spirits.

On leaving Beer-sheba, Jacob took the path through

Central Palestine, which the thoroughfare of ages marked out as the one from Maure northward to the fords of the Jordan, and on to Haran. On the second or third evening after his departure this path led him along the western slope of the hill upon whose summit the town or hamlet of Luz had been then, or was afterwards, erected. The sun had set, darkness gathered round him; here he must tarry for the night. There are parts of Palestine, now barren and dreary enough, where rich crops once grew, and where the vine and the olive once flourished, known generally by the remaining traces of those terraces by which the soil was sustained and the fertility created. There are other parts, such as the bare sides of many of the higher summits, which must have been always much like what they now are. Such was the place that Jacob lighted on. We cannot identify the spot, but we are sure of the neighbourhood—an upland region, bare and bleak, the sides of whose gently-swelling heights present little else to the eye than sheets of purely stony surfaces, curiously intersected by horizontal lines. "And he took of the stones of that place for his pillows, and lay down in that place to sleep; and he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it." The last sight that had filled Jacob's eye as he lay down to sleep was that of the singularly-marked hills around. Did that sight help to shape the dream that followed? From a journal kept by the writer of a visit to the Holy Land in 1863, I extract a single sentence written upon the spot:—"In approaching Bethel the hill-sides presented frequently such an exact resemblance to the steps of a stair, that it may have been from them that the vision of Jacob's dream was borrowed." I did not know when I penned these words that the idea suggested by them receives such confirmation from the true interpretation of the original record. The Hebrew word translated "ladder" occurs but in this single passage, and, so far as we can judge, would be more correctly rendered "staircase," derived as it is from a verb signifying "to raise or pile up." A towering elevation, as of hill piled on hill, consisting of ledges of rocks, serving as steps by which it might be ascended, would correspond far better with the meaning of the word than a solitary, narrow, unsupported ladder, offering no seemly footing for ascending and descending angels. And something like to this it may have been, as if the heights around had risen or been piled up one upon another till their summits were lost in the starry heavens—their lined sides, the broad staircase, with ample room for angels' footsteps, "sloping in brightness up to God." The dream was not less from God, and shaped by a Divine Hand, that the form of it may have been borrowed from the peculiar character of the scenery surrounding the sleeper. Whatever the sight he saw, narrow ladder or broad hill-stair, earth appeared as joined to heaven. No gap or gulf between, no intervening space unoccupied, the pathway between the two peopled by busy messengers coming and going, sustaining a continued and unbroken correspondence. Had nothing more than this vision been seen by the

sleepers (the assurance sent into his heart that it came from God), Jacob could scarcely have failed to gather from it the truth so vividly pictured by it of the ever open, close, and constant communication that there is between earth and heaven—the ever watchful and gracious providence of God. And applying this truth to his own case and to his own peculiar circumstances, he might have taken home the comfort to his heart, that solitary as he now was, separated from those on whose care and kindness he had so long leant, there were other eyes upon him and other arms around him to guide and to support. Still, had this been all, the lesson had been comparatively obscure and ambiguous. But at the summit of the lofty staircase a form appears, undescribed, indescribable, and from the heavens above the voice descends: “I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed; and thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the west and to the east, and to the north and to the south; and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.” Twice, to Abraham and once to Isaac had the same promises, in nearly the same terms, been made. Now for the first time does God speak to Jacob, and recognise him as their heir. It would seem, too, as if to him the promise was not only renewed, but somewhat enlarged,¹ the expressions “westward,” “eastward,” “northward,” “southward,” pointing to that world-wide universal embrace of the kingdom of the seed of Abraham, which transcended all the destinies of the Hebrew commonwealth. So far, the promise was so broad and general that it might take generations to see it accomplished. But now in special adaptation to Jacob’s forlorn condition, to the circumstances of his present distress, God adds: “And, behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land; for I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee of.” Most comforting assurance, meeting so exactly and so fully all Jacob’s need. We miss the most wonderful thing about it, if we forget the immediately preceding incidents of Jacob’s life, and the impression that these must now have made upon him. He had just committed a great offence; his flight from home, his personal loneliness, his fears about the future, all the consequences of this transgression; the burden of care that by itself his condition brought with it, incalculably enhanced by that heavier burden that an awakened conscience presses down upon his heart. Never before had the Lord appeared to him, never before had that voice divine sounded in his ear. Jehovah now meets him by the way, as he comes fresh from his transgression, and meets him how? Is it as he met the prophet in his flight, saying, “What doest thou here, Elijah?” Is it as he met Moses, after his offence, indicating his sore displeasure? No, not a word of challenge, not a hint as to the past, not an expression of displeasure. It is thus that the God of his fathers deals with his adopted child, become now

humbled and penitent, depressed, doubtful even of Divine forgiveness, still more of Divine protection and favour; the promise of watchful care and help enfolding an assurance of forgiveness bestowed before it is asked. It is the beginning of Jacob’s higher spiritual training which opens with the benign assurance of the merciful loving-kindness of Him whose guiding eye was ever to be on him, whose everlasting arms were to be beneath and around. The less the progress that he had made in his past approaches unto God, the deeper the impression that such a mode of approaching him on God’s part was fitted to create.

If the dream and vision came early in the night, and if Jacob awoke out of his sleep immediately thereafter, his awakening would be in the stillness of midnight. The dusky forms of the stony hills dimly visible around; and above, the bright but far-off, silent, starry skies. Yet the solitude had been filled—the silence broken. That awful form still fills his eye—that voice from heaven still fills his ear, as he awakes and says, “Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not.” As I laid me down way-worn and wearied, and looked around, I thought it the loneliest place I had ever seen; knew not, thought not, that God was here. Now, my whole soul thrills with the consciousness of his immediate presence. How dreadful, how awful is this place—no spacious tent—no stately temple—no walls but those bare hills—no roof but those starry heavens. Yet this—for His presence fills it—“this is none other than the house of God;” and this—for he has marked out my path, and assured me of his guidance and his help to me—“this is the gate of heaven.”

“And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillows, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it.” The placing erect of a large single stone, or the building up a pile of smaller ones, was perhaps the earliest, certainly one of the most ancient, modes of commemorating events. Battles, victories, oaths, covenants, boundaries, tombs, places for worship have thus, from the earliest ages, been signalled. This erection of the stone at Bethel is the first instance of the kind in Scripture story. And what was this stone erected and anointed to commemorate? A single incident in the life of a solitary traveller, with nothing whatever outwardly striking about it; no wonderful escape from sudden danger, no marvellous deliverance out of the hands of some infuriated foe, no signal external benefit conferred here worthy to be so commemorated. No, but a truly wonderful and most gracious manifestation of the Most High God to a single human being in a season of depression and need; the voice and vision conveying to one human heart the great lesson of an entire and constant trust in God; and a beautiful type of all the modes and manifestations of God’s special loving care and providence over all individuals and all nations down to that greatest of them to which Jesus referred, when he said to the very first of his followers, “Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man” (John i. 51).

¹ Cf. Gen. xii. 3; xxii. 18; xxvi. 4.

"And Jacob vowed a vow." This vow has often been characterised as mercenary, as if in it Jacob were bargaining with God; and certainly, as given in our translation, it does bear something of this aspect. But it is to be noticed, (1) that our translation does not give the exact rendering of the original text, and that its correction strips the vow, partly at least, of that aspect;¹ (2) that the conditions it lays down are but echoes of the assurance which God had already given; (3) that in it Jacob asks, beyond the Divine guidance and protection, but little for himself—"bread to eat and raiment to put on;" (4) that in making it, "he appears to take a step in advance of his predecessors." The response of Abraham and Isaac to the Divine communications had

lain in acceptance, trust, and service. But now Jacob makes a "spontaneous movement towards God, offering the homage of a loving, dutiful, and grateful heart in the most frank and open utterance of new-born spiritual liberty from the heart of man that has yet appeared in the Divine record."² Accepting the Lord to be his God, Jacob goes forth from Bethel with this vow upon his lips, and the sentiments it expresses deep, we doubt not, in his heart. But it needed twenty years' bitter experience, and another and very different meeting with God from that of Bethel, to show him the power that other and lower tendencies of his nature yet had over him, and to make him what he afterwards became.

¹ See *The Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i., p. 167. Hengstenberg's *Kingdom of God under the Old Testament*, vol. i., p. 183, etc.

² See Murphy on *Genesis*, p. 1,439; Lange on *Genesis*, pp. 522, 523, etc.

MUSIC OF THE BIBLE.—IV.

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STRINGED INSTRUMENTS (*continued*).

PSANTERIN.

THE consideration of this instrument will lead us into much that is interesting. Almost on all sides it seems to be allowed that the *psanterin*, *pesanterin*, or *phsanterin* (Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15), has been rightly

the peril of a fiery death, to pronounce their sublime belief in opposition to the grovelling veneration of wood, stone, or gold; and when they boldly stood forth, a mere handful of righteous men, in the midst of a mighty idolatrous nation. One can hardly realise the awfulness of the scene, the intense anxiety on all faces, when, as

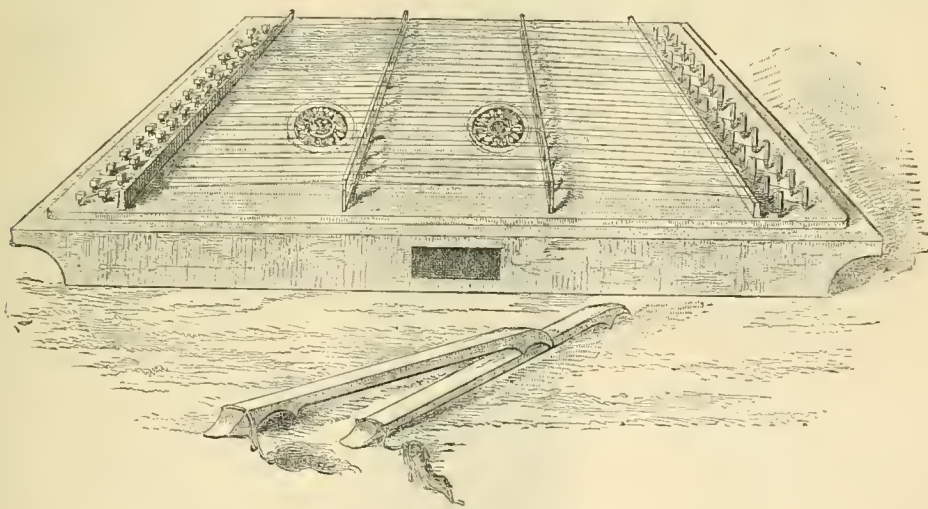


Fig. 31.

translated by the word *ψαλτήριον* (*psalterion*), *psalterium*, which is rendered "psaltery" in the English version; and which in all probability is the *dulcimer*. Perhaps no instrument has undergone less changes, or been of more wide-spread use, than the dulcimer. When, therefore, in our own villages we have seen the itinerant rustic musician place one on a table or stool and rap out a merry tune, we have really seen an exact counterpart of the instrument which was used in that terrible ordeal when the true God-worshippers had, at

the music broke forth, a signal for all to bend to the golden image, those three children stood unmoved, upright. When the sounds of harps, trumpets, and bagpipes gathered on the ear, to which these simple dulcimers added their share, how every eye must have been strained to catch a glimpse of those strange believers in the Unseen!

The custom of causing a loud crash of musical sounds to accompany any tragic scene has survived amongst many savage nations, torture and executions being not

unfrequently accompanied by the noisiest attainable music.

It is without doubt true that, when contemplating a common dulcimer at a country fair, a direct descendant is seen (if one may be allowed the expression) of those very instruments which, more than two thousand years ago, echoed over the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon, when Ananias, Azarias, and Misael did indeed "bless the Lord," and by their constancy "praised and magnified him for ever."

It must be carefully borne in mind that the word "psaltery" is often used as a translation of *nebel*, but no confusion need arise if it be remembered that mention of the *psanterin* is only to be found in Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15. That the word "psaltery" should have been somewhat loosely used by the learned translators of the Bible is not surprising when we remember that the verb $\psi\alpha\lambda\lambda\omega$ (*psallo*) signifies "to play upon a harp or lute," that $\psi\alpha\lambda\tau\eta\varsigma$ (*psaltes*) is a male harpist, and $\psi\alpha\lambda\tau\iota\alpha$ (*psaltria*) a female harpist. And, moreover, so thoroughly is this class of words connected with harp or lute playing, that the very title of the Book of "Psalms" is given to it because it is a collection of songs sung to the accompaniment of a harp or lute. And still more, in ecclesiastical Latin *psallere* not unfrequently means "to sing the Psalms of David." *Psanterin* is unquestionably connected with the Chaldee *santeer*; but Villoteau, quoted by Fétis, goes on to say that the Egyptians would affix to it the article *pi*, making it *pisanteer*; and, again, that the Assyrians would suffix *in*, making the whole *pisanterin*; whence *psanterin* or *phsanterin*. Comparative philologists will easily be able to gauge the value of this argument. But the mention, in the above-named quotation from the Book of Daniel, of several other instruments whose Chaldee names have a very similar sound to their Greek translations—namely, *karna* ($\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$), cornet; *kithros* ($\kappa\iota\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$), harp; and especially *symphonia* ($\sigma\upsilon\mu\phi\omega\eta\alpha$), bag-pipe—has led many able writers to believe that these names were actually borrowed from the Greek. The intercourse between Asia and Greece, through Phœnicia, is sufficient to account for this. But, on the other hand, it would seem very remarkable that the *orchestra* (as we term it) on this occasion should consist entirely of

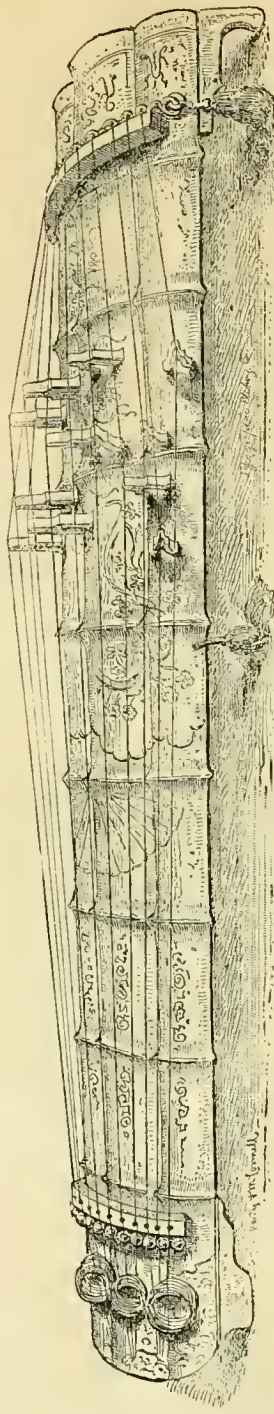


Fig. 32.

foreign instruments. The arguments on both sides are to be found in many of our best critical commentaries on the Bible. The word *psalterion* is, as before remarked, formed from *psallo*, which is a strengthened form of $\psi\alpha\omega$ (*psao*), which signifies "to touch on the surface, stroke." To many of our readers an apology may be necessary for entering into such well-known details; but it is felt that to some, into whose hands the BIBLE EDUCATOR may chance to come, such information may not be uninteresting or useless. A word derived from this $\psi\alpha\omega$ has been aptly used of, the *twitch* which a carpenter gives to a coloured or chalked string when he wishes it to leave a mark. This is highly suggestive of the action of harp or lute playing; it is not strange, therefore, that when used in a musical sense, the word should imply *plucking with the fingers*, as opposed to striking with a *plectrum* or *style*, which latter was as common or more common a practice among the ancients than the former.

Our word "dulcimer" seems on good authority to have been derived from the Italian, perhaps from the old word *dolcimela*, which is connected with *dolcin*. Now *dolcin* is a kind of *hautboy*; but it must not be thought that any relationship whatever to the *hautboy* was suggested by the title "dulcimer." This is but one more proof of the utter confusion which is to be found in the application of musical terms; or rather, perhaps, suggests the intimate connection which has existed between all phases of musical history. The word *dolcin* survives to this day in the catalogues of the registers or stops in old German organs, appearing as *dolcan*, *dulcan*, *dulcian*, or *dulzian*, and signifying generally either a deep *hautboy* or high *bassoon*. From this source we get our *dulciana*, the name of the lovely soft-toned stop invented by old Snetzler, the builder of many fine organs in different parts of England. The Spanish have the exact counterpart of this word in their *dulçaynas*, mentioned in "Don Quixote,"

where deep-toned *hautboys* are evidently meant, and where they are ascribed to a Moorish origin. *Dulciana* is, however, not wisely applied to Snetzler's organ-stop, as it consists of *flue*, not *reed* pipes.

The earliest form of the dulcimer was of the rudest description, probably a flat piece of wood, generally

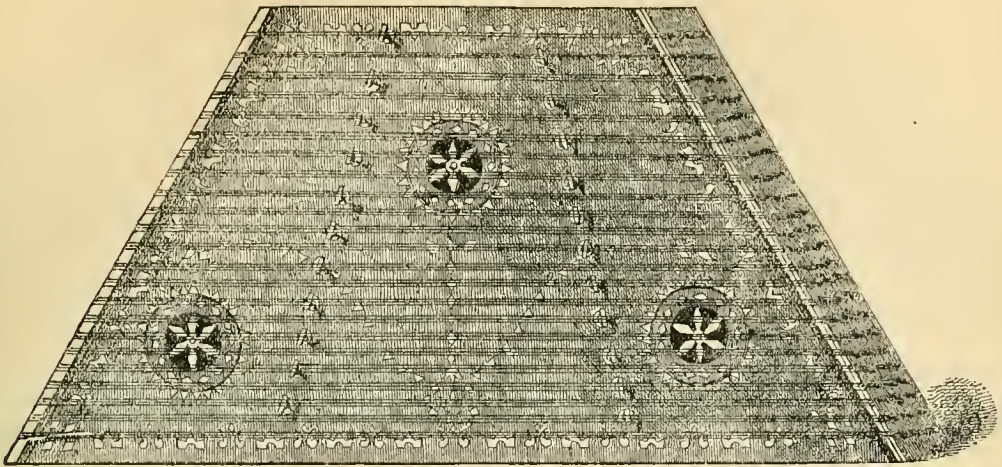


Fig. 33.

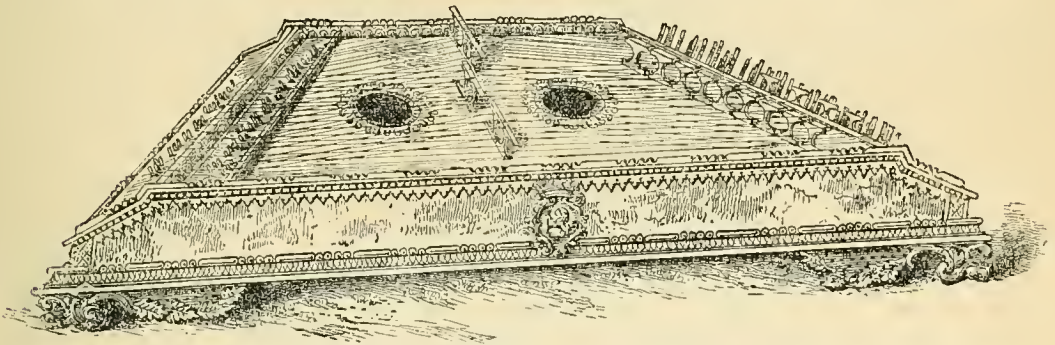


Fig. 34.

four-sided, either rectangular or with two converging sides, having strings attached to fixed pins on one side, and to movable tuning-pins on the other. Then, in process of time, the simple flat piece of wood was developed into a hollow sound-board, or resonance-box, which would add greatly to the quantity of tone produced. Then, again, the strings would be made, on the inner side of the pins, to pass over a bridge, either as a *continuous* bridge running parallel to the converging sides, or as separate movable bridges under each string. Then, again, in order to produce a greater volume of tone, more than one string came to be allotted to one note, several strings, perhaps as many as three or four, tuned, of course, in unison, being grouped to each note. In nearly all cases the instrument has been played upon by little hammers, one being wielded by each hand of the performer. The German name of the dulcimer, *hackbret* (chopping-board), is eminently expressive of the posi-

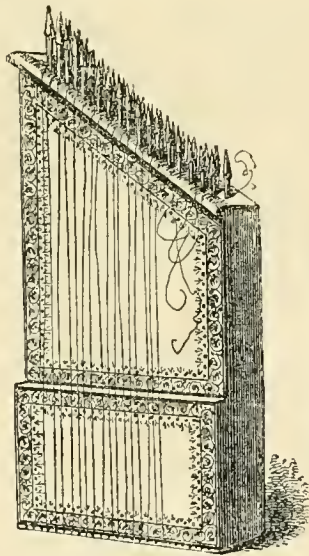


Fig. 35.

tion and action of the player. It is important to note that the Italian name of the instrument is *salterio*, because this word connects the Greek *ψαλτήριον* with the modern European instruments. By some strange fatality the translators of the Authorised Version have dragged in the word "dulcimer" as a translation of *symphonia* (*συμφωνία*), and not of *psalterion*; so the last three instruments mentioned in our version are these: sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer; whereas they should read, *harp* (*sabeka*), *dulcimer* (*psanterin*), *bag-pipe* (*symphonia*). Fig. 34 illustrates a Chinese dulcimer, called by them *yang-kin*. It is played with two little sticks; the strings, which are of brass, are very thin. On this instrument, Carl Engel (to whose learning and persevering research the public interest in these subjects, which

culminated in the valuable collection at South Kensington, is mainly due, and to whom we are indebted for kind permission to make sketches from his loan exhibi-

tion) remarks: "The resemblance of the *yang-kin* to our dulcimer, and to the *santir* of the Arabs and Persians, is very remarkable, and suggests various conjectures." The *kin*, another Chinese instrument, which is of a long oblong shape, with a curved belly, has been improperly called the *scholar's lute*, because it was the favourite instrument of Confucius. When played, it is, like the dulcimer, placed on a table; but unlike the dulcimer, the strings are twanged with the fingers, instead of being struck with hammers or sticks; and also, the strings are made to produce several notes by being pressed down by the fingers at given points, or, as we technically term it, by being *stopped*. The Japanese have instruments called *goto* or *koto*, which are of the dulcimer class; that shown in Fig. 32 is a *taki-goto*, made of bamboo, having movable bridges, which, of course, enable a performer to tune it to several distinct successions of intervals or scales. Some are played with the plectrum, others twanged with the tips of the fingers. The strings, thirteen in number, are of carefully twisted silk. To this instrument the Chinese *tsang* or *tehe* bears a remarkable resemblance, not only in shape, but in having movable bridges. The next illustration (Fig. 33) is a *santir* of Georgia, of very elegant construction, being made of wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl. It has twenty-five sets of wire strings, four strings tuned in unison making up each set.

The handsome instrument depicted in Fig. 34 is an Italian dulcimer or *salterio* of the middle of the last century. The comparison of this with that shown in Fig. 33 will lead to the most interesting results. One more illustration will be given, and then it is hoped the reader will have had sufficient proof of the connection between the *salterio* of Europe, derived from *psalterium*, and the *santir* of the East, derived from *psanterin*, Fig. 33 showing the *santir*, Fig. 34 the *salterio*.

The next illustration (Fig. 35) is that of the dulcimer of Benares. This specimen is in the Indian Museum. An instrument of a very similar shape and appearance, and having the tuning-pins arranged in the same way, is the *lanoon*, which Engel says is a favourite instrument with the ladies of Turkey. Its strings are of gut, and are twanged with a plectrum of tortoise-shell pointed with cocoon-shell. An Egyptian instrument of similar construction, called also *chánóon*, has been described by Lane. The Hindoos have a kind of *santir* which they call *sar mudal*.

It is worthy of remark that the early English dulcimer was called *sautrie* or *sawtry*, an evident corruption of "psaltery." Allusions to this in old writers are sufficiently numerous. Chaucer, in describing the charms and accomplishments of Nicholas, the Oxford cleric, and the furniture of his room, says:—

"And all above there lay a gay sautrie,
On which he made on nightes melodie
So swetely that all the chambre rong;
And Angelus ad Virginem he song."

Fortunately a contemporaneous account of this instrument is to be found in Bartholomæus' *De Proprieta-*

tibus Rerum, written originally in Latin and translated in 1398. It is given by Hawkins as follows:—

DE PSALTERIO.

"The sawtry highte Psalterium, and hath that name of *psallendo*, syngyng; for the consonant answeyth to the note thereof in syngyng. The harpe is like to the sawtry in sowne. But this is the dyuersyte and discorde bytwene the harpe and the sawtry: in the sawtry is an holowe tree, and of that same tree the sowne comyth upwarde, and the strynges ben smytte downward and sownyth upward; and in the harpe the holownesse of the tre is bynethe. . . . Stringes for the sawtry ben beste made of laton,¹ or elles those ben goode that ben made of syluer."

The old citole (*cistella*, a little chest) seems only to have differed from the sawtry in that its strings were twanged with the finger-ends.

But instruments of the dulcimer family are not only interesting to us as being used over such a wide geographical area, and among nations of such various types, but also as being the forerunner of that most useful, as it is too one of the most beautiful, of modern instruments—the pianoforte. Imagine a dulcimer the hammers of which are made to strike by means of keys or *claves*, and a miniature pianoforte is the result. There seems to be some doubt as to whether a system of keys was first applied to the organ or to a stringed instrument. The leap from a dulcimer to a pianoforte would have been immediate, had the first instruments with keyboards had *hammers* wherewith to strike the strings. But the form which these early keyed-stringed instruments took was that of the *clavicytherium*, or keyed cithara, a small oblong box containing strings which, when the keys were pressed down, were plucked by quills. The tone produced in this manner has been aptly described as "a scratch with a sound at the end of it." Yet this peculiar twang, though not always similarly produced, was not only borne with, but delighted in, from about the twelfth century to the beginning of the eighteenth—a most lasting popularity. The clavichord, clarichord, or monochord, which was a successor of that first attempt, the *clavicytherium*, was, though a vast improvement on its predecessor, of a comparatively clumsy construction, its chief characteristic being that a brass pin at the end of the key not only set the string in vibration, but by resting against it portioned off the part which was to vibrate. Much information is given on the subject of this instrument in Dr. Rimbault's valuable work on the History of the Pianoforte. But clumsy as this system seems to us, the clavichord held its own till the time of J. S. Bach, that marvellous man whose instinctive mastery of the art of music has made his works the treasure-house of all accomplished musicians to this day, albeit he was born in 1685! His son, C. P. E. Bach, played on one to Dr. Burney. But in the meantime, the upright pin striking and resting against the string had been superseded by a quill plect-

¹ A mixed metal similar to brass.

trum, as in the clavieitherium, the quill being placed in a small wooden frame called a *jack*, in such a manner, that as the jack rose, the quill plucked the string; but as it fell again, the quill passed by the string, and remained ready for another stroke. In all instruments of this kind bits of cloth were used as *dampers*, that is, stopped the vibration of a string when the key was allowed to rise, just as is the case in a modern pianoforte. The *virginal* and *spinet* were two instruments of this class, the first so called because the favourite of ladies, or, as some say, in compliment to Queen Elizabeth; the latter from the resemblance of the quill plucker or plectrum to a thorn (*spina*). They seem to have differed from each other in shape, the former being made oblong, the latter three-sided, or the shape of a harp lying down. An engraving of both is given (see Figs. 36 and 37).

These were to be in time ousted by the *cembalo*,

described, our forefathers were wont to bestow much decoration. Sometimes, as the lid was thrown open for the performer, its inner side disclosed an elegant oil painting, a landscape, or symbolical figures. Many were very richly inlaid with various woods, or even with precious stones. In this utilitarian age we pride ourselves (a little too much, perhaps) on giving consideration to the tone and disregarding the appearance of the case.

The harpsichord is by no means to be despised as a musical instrument; for although vastly inferior in quality and quantity of tone to a grand pianoforte, they possessed a remarkable power of variety, and can be either bright and sparkling, or rich and sonorous in sound. On such an instrument did Handel practise or wile away his time, or perchance draw out the threads of some of his grand conceptions. The fact that the pianoforte did not generally

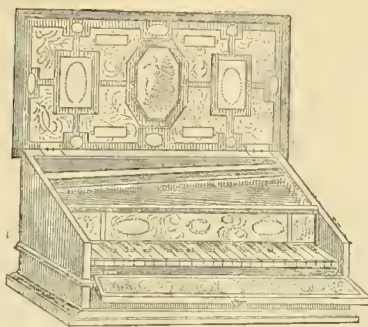


Fig. 36.

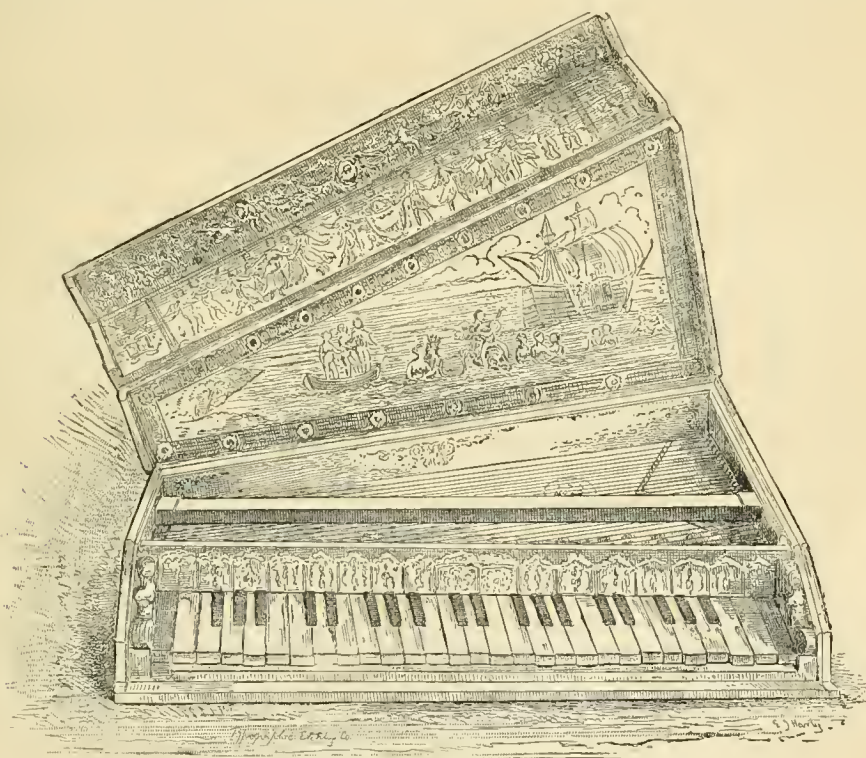


Fig. 37.

or *harpsichord*, which included many improvements, such as covering the striking part with leather, the formation of two rows of keys, mechanical contrivances for causing one key to play simultaneously its own note, and that of its super or sub-octave, &c.

On the *cases* of all instruments of the kinds above

receive sufficient public favour to enable it to displace the harpsichord, accounts for the overlapping of the history of the two. The highly finished harpsichord was, no doubt, superior to the tentative pianoforte: we can therefore fully sympathise with the public feeling of that day.

We may, therefore, well bring this division of our subject to a close, merely expressing a hope that no excuse will be necessary for thus tracing a Bible

instrument from its almost rudimentary form up to its perfected state in our nineteenth century drawing-rooms.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—II.

THE PROPHETS:—HABAKKUK.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

II.—THE DOOM OF BABYLON.

IN the previous chapter we have heard Habakkuk denouncing judgment on Judah for its sins, rejoicing in the discovery that this judgment is intended for correction, and not for destruction, and yet mournfully questioning with himself whether, after all, in relying on the merciful intention of the Divine judgment, he may not be the mere fool of hope. In this second chapter he turns from Judah to Babylon, and predicts the doom that will fall on the Chaldeans when they shall have discharged the solemn duty for which God has raised them up, and shows us how they, "the rod of Jehovah," will be broken and cast into the fire so soon as the moment of correction has passed. As we study it, we are profoundly impressed with one of those large convictions which widen and elevate and comfort our striving thoughts; for it sets the Maker of heaven and earth before us as using men and the races of men for ends of mercy they wot not of, as giving a dramatic unity to the whole human story, and conducting it to a happy close, in which "all the earth" will be gathered into "his holy temple."

The chapter consists, in the main, of a satirical poem, a taunting song, veiled in enigmatical and oracular forms of speech, in which the conquered races exult over the fall of their Chaldean oppressors. But to this song we are led up by a brief preface, which is full of interest and instruction; for it both announces the theme of the poem, and places us at the prophet's point of view.

(1.) *The Preface* (vs. 1—5.) Different as the themes of the two chapters are, the opening verses of the second stand in close relation to the closing verse of the first chapter. As he considered the judgment that was coming on the Hebrews, Habakkuk rose to the conviction that, since Jehovah, their God, their Holy One, was from everlasting, they would not die; He might chasten, but he would not destroy them. This conviction, however, grew dubious to him, as he turned from communion with God, to contemplate the victorious course of the Chaldean armies, and the desolations they wrought in the earth. He reasoned with God, questioned Him, brought his doubt to *Him*. To his oppressed and forecasting spirit, it seemed that the Chaldean stood, like a fisherman, casting and recasting his net, gathering all nations into it, and making them his prey. Is this to go on for ever? Can the just God suffer so monstrous an injustice to continue unrebuked?

To this question, when the second chapter opens, the prophet has received no reply. He is bent on reaching one; and therefore he hushes the unquiet voices of fear and desire within his soul; he climbs by prayerful meditation nearer to heaven, and listens in the silence for the voice of God. Nor does he listen in vain. A voice is heard, an answer given. "Rising above his care," he meets, "as in the air," God, "who comes forth to greet his soul with peace." The answer is so satisfying, so momentous, that he would have all the world hear it, even the busiest and most heedless. And the answer which fills him with a sacred content, dispersing all his doubts, is simply this; that, while the man who is puffed up with self-confidence shall have no tranquillity of heart, "the righteous man," who trusts in God, "shall live by his faith," that is, by his unwavering fidelity to Heaven. This series of thoughts is expressed in Oriental and prophetic figures. Habakkuk represents himself (ver. 1) as shaking off the growing oppressions of doubt with the resolve—

"I will stand upon my watch-tower
And station myself on the fortress,
And will watch to see what He will say in me,
And what I shall answer to my plea."

The figure is taken, no doubt, from the ancient custom of sending a sentinel to the loftiest tower of the fort or wall, to spy out and report the motions of the enemy. Isaiah employs the same figure in a more complicated form (in chap. xxi.), when he also is looking for the fall of Babylon and its allies. But those critics must surely be very prosaic readers of poetry, who maintain that the prophet actually went up a steep and lofty tower, where, far removed from the noise and bustle of men, he turned his eyes to heaven, and collected his soul for profound meditation on the will of God. The prophetic watch-tower is in the recesses of the prophet's mind. The words of Habakkuk are simply a figurative description of the way in which he prepared himself to receive a divine revelation—erecting himself above himself, rising out of the turmoil of conflicting lusts, withdrawing from the world and the influences thereof, stilling and elevating his soul by prayer and meditation; and then, watching the motions of his own soul, waiting to receive the impulse of the Divine Spirit in the spirit of his mind. So much we might infer from the prophetic *usus loquendi*. But when Habakkuk tells us that he was watching to see what God would say "*in*" him, listening for an internal voice which he could recognise as Divine, he puts the matter beyond all

doubt. We see, we feel, that it is an inward spiritual process which he is describing in terms borrowed from military art. He had been pleading with God, expostulating with Him on the apparent contradiction between the Divine providence and the Divine promise—asking, longing for, a solution to the doubts this contradiction had bred. And now he retires into himself, and rises into communion with God, to see what reply God will make to his expostulation, what words God will put into his mouth by which he can answer his own plea.

In the stillness, when the moaning voices of fear and trouble are hushed, he grows aware of a Divine Presence within his soul, he hears the Voice for which he had waited. It is a voice big with fate. It has matter of so much moment to convey that it commences by enjoining a clear and earnest proclamation of the "vision" which it is about to summon up (vs. 2, 3), of the words it is about to speak—

"Then Jehovah answered me and said:
Write the vision, and make it plain on the tablets,
That he who runs may read it;
For the vision is yet for the appointed end,
And striveth toward the goal, and doth not lie;
Though it tarry, wait for it;
For it will surely come, it will not stop short."

Now there seem to have been large tablets set up in the public market-place and in the Temple of Jerusalem, on which "notices" or "advertisements" of events in which the public were greatly concerned were inscribed in large characters, so that every one who passed by might be able to read. On such a slab or tablet, for instance, Isaiah appears to have written "in the vulgar style" the compound word, *Mahe-shalal-hash-baz*, i.e., "Speed-spoil—Hasten-booty," which afterwards became the name of his son, as a sign that before the boy should be able to speak, "the booty of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria" would be carried away by the king of Assyria.¹ And, at first, we are tempted to think that Habakkuk was commanded to write his "vision" on tablets such as these, and to write it in characters so bold, that he who ran by might read it even as he ran. But as the "vision" took the form, not of a brief and pregnant word, such as that Isaiah inscribed, but of an elaborate satirical poem, we may be sure that it was not to be written on the public tablets. The "tablets" are as figurative as the "watch-tower." And the meaning of the figurative use of the public tablets I take to be, that as the destiny of Israel was involved in the purport of the vision—as, therefore, it behoved that every member of the Hebrew commonwealth should be acquainted with its purport—the prophet was to set it forth in the boldest and most impressive form, a form in which it would come home even to the most heedless and negligent.

This vision, "this burden" of doom, is "for an appointed end;" that is, it will be fulfilled at the time ordained of God. Habakkuk is sure both that what he sees, or foresees, will come, and that when it comes

the word of God will be accomplished. That word, or vision, "punts" toward its appointed end, hastens toward its goal; it is a living creative word, and carries in itself an impulse to fulfil itself. It cannot lie or fail. It will not deceive those who trust in it; though it tarry and seem to linger, it will not stop short of the goal; it only waits its due moment, and will surely arrive.

What is the "vision" which is introduced with such pomp and circumstance, of the truth of which the prophet finds it so hard to persuade and assure himself? For the vision itself we must still wait a verse or two; but, meantime, the prophet announces its main theme. Its theme is, substantially, the contrast between the man who is puffed up with self-trust and the man who holds fast his trust in God. He that is puffed up with vain self-confidence shall know no tranquillity of heart, while the man who confides in God and cleaves to Him shall *live* by his faith. Commentators differ as to the allusion in the first line of verse 4. Some apply it to the wicked Jews whose iniquities had provoked the Divine judgment; others to the fierce, cruel Chaldeans who were to be the ministers of that judgment. It is better, I think, to take it in the abstract, as laying down in general terms the truth than any man or race of men which exalts itself against God will have a crooked, uneasy, restless soul, a soul that does not and will not lie *straight*. Whereas the man who is *firm* in his allegiance to God, who abides in an undisturbed confidence in the Divine laws and promises—who is not shaken in his trust even when those laws seem to be broken with impunity and these promises stop short of their goal—his soul will lie straight within him, he will *live* in the fullest and highest sense of the word. To know God, so to know Him as to be of one will and one heart with Him, this is eternal life; and this life, which includes rest and peace, but is "more than they," the prophet declares to be the heritage of the man who confides in God.

This, in general, is the theme and substance of that "vision" in which the prophet's doubts were answered by the words that came to him when, perplexed by the apparent injustice of Providence, he made a silence in his heart, and listened to hear what Jehovah would say in him. In the 5th verse this broad general theme is narrowed in and applied to the Chaldean race. That the Babylonians were much addicted to wine is attested by the common voice of antiquity; and we may see, in the Book of Daniel, that the "wine-banquets" of the king and his lords sometimes extended over weeks and even months. This notorious Chaldean habit probably suggested the words—

"And, moreover, the wine is treacherous;"

though, by "the wine," I suppose Habakkuk means that spirit of arrogant self-confidence with which the typical Chaldean was intoxicated and "puffed up." Proud as he is, as he sits with the wine-cup in his hand, and with the wreath of conquest on his brow, "he will not always boast;" insatiable as Hades and Death,

¹ Isa. viii. 1—4.

which swallow up every living thing, though for the present he gather the nations to himself and compel all races to serve his turn, he shall nevertheless be balked of his desire. A day is coming on which all the races and nations shall take up a parable against him, a lively song, a taunting satire, full of veiled or enigmatical terms.

(2.) Thus Habakkuk introduces the ode, or oracle, in which we are to look for the substance of the vision he was commanded to write, of the words which God spake within his heart. He forewarns us that the ode is satirical or derisive in its tone, and that its verses are of a highly figurative and oracular character, requiring some acumen and ingenuity on our part if we are to understand them. We can see for ourselves that, though overshadowed by the sublimity of the "triumphal ode" in the next chapter, this satirical song is an elaborate and highly finished poem, and consists of five strophes, each of which pronounces a separate "woe" on the Chaldeans, and assigns a reason for the woe, in the three verses allotted to it. And yet the poet is not in bondage to the laws of poetic structure; he uses them freely: in the last strophe, or stanza, for example, he gives variety to his ode by an obvious change of form: whereas every other strophe commences with the word "woe," this opens (ver. 18) with a satire on idolatry, and reserves its woe to its second verse (ver. 19). That the Chaldean is not once named throughout the ode accords with the studiously veiled or parabolic form which the prophet forewarned us he was about to take. There is no doubt that it is the typical Chaldean, the Chaldean race personified, against whom every woe of this indignant and derisive ode is launched. The Chaldean, in five aspects of his character, rises before us as we listen to this rain of "woes"—as a *plunderer*, as a *Babeler* (if we may coin such a word), as a *builder*, as a *league-breaker*, and as an *idolator*.

In the first strophe (vs. 6—8), the insatiable rapacity of the Babylonians is rebuked. In their greed for plunder they are like an unmerciful usurer who has accumulated a mass of pledges which in due time he will be compelled to disgorge.

"Woe to him who increaseth that which is not his!
How long?
And loadeth himself with many pledges!"

The "how long?" is a sigh of misery and impatience interjected by the poet as he denounces "woe" on the Chaldean usurer. His grief kindles into a burning indignation as he remembers how many nations have been impoverished and well-nigh exterminated by this enemy of the human race, and for what poor base ends the nations have been plundered and their blood shed. In his indignation he predicts that "*all that is left of the nations*"—a phrase which graphically suggests the exterminating cruelty of the Chaldeans—will rise up against them and plunder them. Here, then, we have the "woe" of the first strophe, and the reason assigned for it: because the plunderer of the nations has slain and stripped them, he himself shall be stripped and

slain; the measure he has meted out to others shall be meted out to him. But in the Hebrew there are several of those enigmas, words used in a double sense, puns and plays on words, which the poet has led us to expect, and of which the whole poem is full.¹ It is not easy to convey them from the Hebrew into English; nor shall I attempt to convey many of them. But, as a sample of this characteristic of the poem, take these two. The Hebrew word we translate "many pledges," sounds in pronunciation like two smaller words, which mean "mass of dirt;" and thus it suggests the worthlessness of the end for which the Chaldean incurred such enormous guilt. So, again, the difficult passage in verse 7—

"Shall not those who bite thee rise up suddenly,
And they that shake thee awake?"

is explained, in part, by a similar play on words. "They that *shake* thee" is to be explained by an Eastern custom to which our Lord alludes in one of his parables. A creditor would take his debtor by the throat, and shake him, as though to shake payment out of him. So the nations plundered and defrauded by the Chaldean would at last rise up against him, take him by the throat, shake him, and cry, "Pay what thou owest! Return the spoil of which you have plundered us!" But how are we to explain "those who *bite* thee?" There may be an allusion to the way in which the viper, enraged by the trampling foot, rears up and bites its assailant. But the image is so far-fetched that one wonders why it should have been employed here. The explanation is that the Hebrew word translated "bite," by its very sound would recall another word, which means "interest," and, to the Hebrew ear, would suggest that those would rise up against the Chaldean who would demand *with interest* the capital of which he had despoiled them.

The first strophe, then, sets the Chaldean plunderer before us as a monstrous usurer, loading himself with pledges, with "a mass of dirt," to accumulate which he despoils all nations, putting them to the sword; it denounces on him a woe such as he has often inflicted: the remnant of the nations will turn suddenly upon him, like a "trodden adder," take him by the throat, and compel him to disgorge his spoil.

The second strophe (vs. 9—11) contains what we may call the *Babel* woe, a woe on the Babylonians who, like the fathers of the race, are seeking to build a refuge in which they shall be secure from the judgments of God. For what end has the Chaldean plundered all nations? It is that, like the eagle, he may build himself a nest on high, which no hand can rifle; that he may raise a house, found a dynasty, establish a rule, not to be overthrown. Like the first Napoleon, the great rulers of

¹ That the touch of humour involved in the introduction of a play on words into even the most lofty and tragic verse is not wholly alien to poetry of the finest strain, is evident from many passages in Shakespeare. Thus, for example, Mark Antony, in his lament over the body of Julius Caesar, exclaims—

"O world, then wast the forest to this hart;
And this, indeed, O world, the heart of thee."

Babylon—Nebuchadnezzar to wit—were possessed by a limitless ambition. They entered on a career of conquest, in order to subdue the whole world to their authority, so that they might sit supreme, in unquestioned majesty, over all nations. But, argues the poet, houses are not to be built up by godless gain. No man, no prince, can set his nest so high as to place it beyond reach of “the hand of Adversity,” which is the minister of God. In thinking to establish himself by unrighteousness, the Chaldean will simply bring shame to himself instead of glory, and in plotting the destruction of many nations, he has simply wronged his own soul, *i.e.*, flung away his own life. How can a house be built up by godless gain? The very stone in the wall cries out against it, and every beam in the wood-work responds to the cry, since both beam and stone are the fruit of spoliation and violence. The boldness and beauty of this figure of the stones and beams of a house built with godless gains crying shame on its inmate, appealing and responding to each other in a common prediction of woe, need no words to set them forth, but may be safely left to make their own impression on our minds. But they take an added force when we remember that the marshy plains of Chaldea produce neither timber nor stone. Every block of marble, therefore, and every beam of costly timber, such as they lavished on palace and temple, were drawn from a foreign land—often drawn by robbery and violence—and would be the more likely to protest against the base and alien uses to which they were devoted.

The second stanza places the Chaldean before us as seeking to erect a house, a tower, whose top may reach to heaven, rising high above the changes of time and the rifling hand of Adversity. Stone and beam enter their protest against the injustice on which the house is founded, and respond, like choir and antichoir, in denouncing woe on its inmate, on and around whom it at last falls, crushing and burying him amidst the ruins.

There never were, I suppose, such great builders as the despots of Babylon; the land which they covered or enclosed with their vast erections is to be reckoned by hundreds of square miles; and hence, in the third strophe (vs. 11—14), the Chaldean is denounced under the figure of a builder. The great cities of Chaldea built or rebuilt under its victorious despots, with their walls, temples, hanging gardens, canals, &c., were erected with the treasures and by the forced labour of conquered races. They were therefore “built with blood” and “founded on injustice.” Whole tribes were “expended” and exhausted upon them. But while the Chaldean thought to establish his empire by erecting impregnable cities, God saw and ordained that these cities should be burned and destroyed. The nations and races compelled to labour on them were therefore “wearying themselves for the fire,” and “exhausting themselves for vanity,” since the fire would consume the stately products of their labour and bring them to nought. But why—why must this be? Why were

cities so vast and stately, why was a kingdom so vast, and populous, and rich, ordained to destruction? Had God in judgment forgotten his mercy? No: the judgment was the sign and manifestation of his mercy. For, in his mercy, He designed that “the whole earth should be filled with the knowledge of his glory”—*i.e.*, should be quickened into life eternal; and how could his kingdom come till the great kingdom founded in injustice and blood was brought to an end?

So that, in this third strophe, we have this wonderful picture or panorama suggested. The mighty Chaldean condemns the races he has robbed and captured to build great cities which are to be the defence and glory of his kingdom. The transported captives, torn from home and fatherland, exhaust themselves in toil. He who sitteth in the heavens sees that, so far from establishing the Chaldean power, they are wearying themselves for the fire by which He will cause the cities and the power which erected them to be consumed. Nay, more; his design in condemning that power to overthrow is not a mere destructive indignation, but a reconstructing, reconciling, all-embracing compassion. On the ruins of the power which exalts itself against Him, He intends to found “the kingdom that cannot be moved,” in which justice shall reign, and holiness, and charity.

The fourth strophe (vs. 15—17) is couched in figures drawn from that excessive addiction to drink which characterised the Babylonians. Just as a man might give a neighbour, against whom he had a grudge, strong drink in order to put him to shame, so the Chaldean had disguised his wrath, and enticed nations by blandishments and promises of friendship and protection into alliances which were turned to their shame and ruin. The Chaldean was a shameless league-breaker, winning his neighbours with smooth words to thoughts and hopes of peace, and then taking them at unawares and falling on them when they were disarmed. God will requite him, giving him to drink the cup with which he had intoxicated others, striking him down by the artifices of foes who come upon him when he is not aware. This seems to be the meaning, enigmatically or figuratively expressed, of vs. 15 and 16. But what are we to make of the verse which assigns a special reason for this retribution (ver. 17)?

For the wickedness of Lebanon shall cover thee,
And the destruction and terror of the beasts.

Many commentators naturally take Lebanon as a symbol of the Holy Land, and read the verse as meaning that the Chaldean shall be punished for the wickedness he has shown in devastating that land. But the Biblical way of speech hardly warrants our taking Lebanon as a symbol of Judea; nor do I see why, if it were thus used here, the prophet should specify the destruction and terror of the beasts. It is better to read the verse as another instance of that fine tender spirit of humanity which characterises the Hebrew prophets, and of which many beautiful examples are to be found in their writings. To them, the ruthless destruction of forests

was a pain, even a sin; to them, the sufferings of birds and beasts was a deeper pain, a sin still more heinous. Just as Joel was stung into an intolerable sympathy by the groans of the cattle and the mourning of the flocks which could find no food in the blackened pastures and dried-up water-courses,¹ so Habakkuk resents the wanton destruction of cedars and other stately trees which seem to be of the Lord's right hand planting, so noble are they, and of the wild beasts harassed, terrified, exposed by the loss of their accustomed coverts. Just as Joel associates the sufferings of flocks and herds with the dismay and hopeless grief of vine-dressers and husbandmen, so Habakkuk associates the wickedness done to Lebanon in stripping it of its magnificent cedars and cypresses, and in terrifying and destroying the wild beasts that haunted its forests, with the wickedness of shedding the blood of men, and of overrunning the earth and burning or oppressing its cities.²

The two last lines of ver. 17—

"Because of the blood of men and of the wickedness in the earth,
In the city, and in all that dwell therein,"

are a refrain repeated from the close of ver. 8, and form another link by which the prophet binds his poem into unity.

Unlike its predecessors, the fifth strophe (vs. 18—20) does not open with the word "woe," though it contains it. By inserting a refrain at the close of ver. 17, the poet has satisfied the claims of unity; now he may consult those of variety. Moreover, the final count in his charge against the Chaldean is by far the heaviest, and it is well that it should be emphasised by a slight change in the structure of the poem. It is also emphasised by a change of tone. As yet the satire had been veiled, hinted in words that bear a double sense. But in this final strophe the fine scorn of the Hebrew prophet for gods that are no gods breaks through all disguise, and Habakkuk speaks of the divinities of Chaldea, as Elijah spake of Baal to the Sidonian priests on Mount Carmel, with a rough broad humour which makes his scorn and indignation the more impressive. The 18th verse opens, quietly enough, with an appeal to experience. Of what use are idols, graven or molten? What have they ever done for men? Such a question is, in the Hebrew, the strongest affirmation of the utter and proved uselessness of the idols. But, as the question unfolds itself, we can see the rising indignation and scorn of the prophet. The idol, he implies, is of no use but the worst; it is a "teacher of lies;" it turns men away from the true God, to nonentities that cannot help them. Nevertheless, as he notes, with blended pity and anger, even "the maker of the image," who of all men should best know how worthless it is, trusts in it—as if what he himself has made could in some sense "make" him—could rise above its creator. And in the closing sentence of the verse, "making dumb idols," there is a kind of laugh, an outburst of scorn and derision, an accent of contemptuous wonder that any man should be so besotted as to worship a thing that cannot answer him

back again, as to mistake for a divinity that to which the divine gift of speech has been denied.

Having thus prepared us for it, the "woe" breaks from the prophet's lips:—

"Woe to him that saith to the wood, Awake!
Awake! to the dumb stone!
It teach! There it stands,
Overlaid with gold and silver,
And within it is no breath at all."

The force of words can no further go. One almost expects to hear a laugh of contempt after the exclamation "It teach!" so full is it of compressed scorn; and again after the words "and within it is no breath at all!" The thought of crying "Awake for our help" to a block of wood or a dumb stone; the contrast between the image so precious on the surface, so carefully encased in silver or gold, and within so inanimate and worthless, not moving with any even the faintest breath of life, quickens the prophet's sense of humour, and would be too much for his gravity were he not consumed with indignation that Jehovah, the living God, the true Friend and Helper of man, should be forsaken for idols that are deaf and dumb and dead. From this insult to the Majesty of Heaven, and his own scornful wondering indignation at it, he takes refuge and comfort in the conviction,

"But Jehovah is in his holy temple,"

that his "throne is in heaven," and that from thence "his eyes behold, his eyelids try, the children of men." Strong in this conviction, he bids his own heart, he bids the whole earth, be silent before the Lord, and wait patiently for the judgments by which He will prove that He loveth the righteous, but hateth the wicked and violent man.

This is the "vision which the prophet Habakkuk did see" from his watch-tower; this was what God said within him in answer to his complaint of the inequalities of Divine Providence; and thus he was led from the darkness of doubt to the light and life of faith. He saw that the man who was puffed up with self-trust would never have a straight or tranquil soul, that he would stand uneasy and foreboding, as under a suspended doom which might fall at any instant; the plunderer being plundered, he who would set his nest on high by godless gain having his nest rifled by the hand of Adversity; he who founded cities on injustice and built them with blood, wearying himself for the fire, and exhausting himself for vanity; he who deceived others being himself deceived; he who left God for dumb idols being left unanswered and unaided in the hour of his need. And, on the other hand, he saw that the righteous man, who held fast his fidelity to God, would live and thrive, since Jehovah sat in the heavenly temple, restraining and condemning the ungodly who rose up against him, saving *him* and filling *them* with the fruit of their own devices; and was thus slowly bringing in that golden age, that Divine kingdom, in which the life that springs from a true knowledge of the true God will fill the earth even as the waters fill and cover the deep.

¹ Joel i, 18—20.

² Comp. Isa. xxxvii, 24.

THE PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.—V.

BY W. CARRUTHERS, F.R.S., KEEPER OF THE BOTANICAL DEPARTMENT, BRITISH MUSEUM.

ORDER VII.—CAPPARIDÆ.

BETWEEN three and four hundred plants, scattered over the tropics, and the countries bordering on them, are known belonging to the Caper family. Their northern limit in the Old World is reached on the European shores of the Mediterranean; they are consequently absent from the

flora of Britain. The plants are herbs or shrubs, seldom trees, which agree in many essential characters with the Crucifers, and not a few of them possess the acrid or pungent qualities common in that order. The best known plant of the family is *Capparis spinosa*, Linn., the unopened flower-buds of which, pickled in vinegar, are the common caper, so largely used as a condiment, because of their agreeably pungent and slightly bitter taste. It is a trailing shrub, with numerous slender stems, armed with recurved or nearly straight spines, placed at the base of the leaves. The broadly ovate leaves are leathery and quite smooth. The flowers are white, with a loose bunch of many long purple anthers in the centre; and the fruit is pear-

shaped, and borne on a long stalk. Like our common bramble in its mode of growth, it occurs in similar localities, that is to say, in stony and barren places; it is found also springing out of the face of rocks and walls. Sicily is the principal seat of its cultivation for pickling, but it is indigenous to the whole Mediterranean region, and is a common plant in Egypt and Palestine, and in all the intervening desert. Three centuries ago Rauwolf found it around Jerusalem; and its patches of bright green, contrasting remarkably with the light-coloured rocks on the face of which it grows, have arrested the attention of all travellers. Canon Tristram thus records his acquaintance with it: "In the Holy Land, we saw the caper hanging from the walls of Jerusalem, and especially round the Haram, the old Temple area. It also clings to the steep rocks in the gorge of the Kedron, particularly in the desolate portion between Marsaba and the Dead Sea. On the face of

the Mount of Temptation overhanging Jericho, the caper was letting down its festoons of beautiful blossom in the month of January. I also found it in the gorge of the Litany or Leontes. On the sandy plain between Jericho and the Jordan, at the south-east end of the Dead Sea, and in the plains of Shittim, we found growing plentifully on the ground the variety which has been distinguished as *Capparis Aegyptiaca*, Lam., and the trailing branches were often three or four feet long" (*Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, p. 457).

Three species of a second genus (*Cleome*) of the Caper family occur in the desert to the south of Palestine, and one of these reaches north to the depressed region of the Dead Sea. These plants are small and unimportant annual herbs, somewhat resembling the long-podded cruciferous weeds of our fields.

The special interest of the Caper family here is that several authors have identified the hyssop of Scripture with *Capparis spinosa*, Linn. Sprengel first suggested this opinion, which has been exhaustively investigated by Dr. Forbes Royle, and has been adopted with more or less caution by the great



CAPPARIS SPINOSA (Linn.). Half natural size, and a complete specimen very much reduced. The "Hyssop" of the Bible, according to Royle and others.

majority of writers and travellers in recent times.

To enable us to appreciate the characters that the hyssop of the Bible possesses, we must recall the passages in which it is referred to. The expiatory sacrifices of the Old Testament economy, like the one sacrifice of the New Testament, were God's appointed means of removing sin and reconciling the sinner to himself by the "shedding of blood." In some of these sacrifices the relation between the shed blood and the transgressor was made manifest by the sprinkling on him of part of the blood. This was done with a bunch of hyssop. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews thus refers to its frequent use in the Jewish services: "When Moses had spoken every precept to all the people according to the law, he took the blood of calves and of goats, with water, and scarlet wool, and hyssop, and sprinkled both the book, and all the people, saying, This is the blood of the testament which God hath

enjoined unto you. Moreover he sprinkled with blood both the tabernacle, and all the vessels of the ministry. And almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission" (Heb. ix. 19—22).

The psalmist, having in his view this frequent use of hyssop in the ceremonial law, as the means by which the virtue of the sacrifice was transferred to the transgressor, applies it figuratively to the purification of the soul from guilt when he prays, "Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean" (Ps. li. 7).

The first recorded use of hyssop as a blood-sprinkler, and the first reference to the plant in the Bible, is on the eve of the Exodus, when the Israelites employed it to sprinkle the door-posts with the blood of the paschal lamb. "Ye shall take a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood that is in the basin, and strike the lintel and the two side-posts with the blood" (Exod. xii. 22).

Its use is specified in connection with the ceremony of purifying lepers. "Then shall the priest command to take for him that is to be cleansed two birds alive and clean, and cedar wood, and scarlet, and hyssop: and the priest shall command that one of the birds be killed in an earthen vessel over running water: as for the living bird, he shall take it, and the cedar wood, and the scarlet, and the hyssop, and shall dip them and the living bird in the blood of the bird that was killed over the running water: and he shall sprinkle upon him that is to be cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and shall pronounce him clean, and shall let the living bird loose into the open field" (Lev. xiv. 4—7). In nearly the same terms the priest is instructed to use the cedar wood, the hyssop, and the scarlet in sprinkling the purifying blood on the leprous house (Lev. xiv. 48—53).

The hyssop was also used in the peculiar ordinance appointed for the purification of ceremonial uncleanness contracted by touching a dead body. A red heifer was burnt without the camp, and into the fire was cast "cedar wood, and hyssop, and scarlet," and the ashes, when mixed with running water, formed a water of separation, which being sprinkled on the unclean person separated him from his impurities (Numb. xix.). The ashes were laid up for use without the camp in a clean place, and as every death brought ceremonial impurity on one or more individuals, and other cases besides required the application of this special water, it must have been in constant use.

The simplest form of the hyssop-sprinkler is the "bunch" which each father in Israel hastily prepared before leaving Egypt. When the order of the Old Testament economy was organised, the bunch of hyssop appears to have been tied to a rod of cedar with a scarlet thread. The symbolical meaning of everything in the Jewish service led to the different elements of the sprinkler being specified.

Reference is made to the hyssop in the Gospel narrative in connection with the crucifixion of the Saviour. "After this, Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be

fulfilled, saith, I thirst. Now there was set a vessel full of vinegar: and they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop, and put it to his mouth" (John xix. 28, 29). In the parallel passages in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark no reference is made to the hyssop, but it is said that the sponge was put upon a reed. The word used here (*κάλamos*) primarily means the straight culm or stem of a large grass; then any straight rod as a measuring or fishing rod. It may with great propriety be here understood of the straight cedar rod to which the bunch of hyssop was tied. And instead of looking for some indigenous plant growing conveniently for use at Calvary, we believe that the place of the crucifixion was beside a station for the water of purification, and in the narrative we see the unpremeditated appropriation of the necessary hyssop-sprinkler conveniently at hand, and specially fitted to convey the vinegar-filled sponge to the lips of the dying Saviour. The great Antitype suffers in the presence of one of the most obvious of the types which his death swept away. "The bodies of these beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin, are burned without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate" (Heb. xiii. 11, 12).

We complete the Bible references to hyssop when we note the allusion to it in the account of Solomon's botanical knowledge. "He spake of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall" (1 Kings iv. 33). The cedar was the glory of Lebanon, and the pride of every Jew, but it was not more familiar to him than the plant which was in such constant use in the purifying services of his religion. The tall cedar and the humble hyssop would at once suggest to him the most extensive range in the vegetable world.

In our inquiry as to the plant mentioned in these various passages we need scarcely refer to the doubts that have been thrown out as to the identity of the *ezob* (*זִיב*) of the Old, and the *ύσσωπος* of the New Testament. This identity is established by the use of the Greek word in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and its uniform employment as the equivalent of *ezob* in the Septuagint version. The interpretation we have given of the reference to the hyssop at the crucifixion confirms this view.

The passages quoted from the Bible supply very little information regarding the hyssop of any value in attempting to identify the plant. We learn that it was a comparatively small plant, growing abundantly in Egypt and Palestine, and in the desert through which the children of Israel journeyed; that it was to be found on walls; and that it was suitable, when tied into a bunch, for sprinkling liquids.

Investigators have been led astray by educing other characters from these passages. It has been thought that the parallel passages in the Gospels imply that the stem of the hyssop was long enough to be a stick to which the sponge could be attached. It is overlooked that the rod thus used was a reed (*κάλamos*), and that this

same word is employed a few verses before in both chapters in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark to designate the reed placed in the Saviour's hand when the soldiers mocked him with the emblems of royalty. It is certain that the weak, crooked, trailing stem of the caper would not have been appropriate, and could not have been called a cane or reed. Neither can it be concluded that David's use of the word in the 51st Psalm implies that healing or cleansing properties belonged intrinsically to the plant. The reference is obviously to the religious ceremonies whereby the unclean were purged from their impurities. Further, there is no ground for holding that in the Book of Kings it is classed among trees. It is obvious that two familiar plants—the cedar and the hyssop—were employed to convey readily to the reader the extremes of plant life.

The obvious contrast in the statement regarding Solomon's extensive botanical knowledge suggested to Hasselquist that a minute moss which he found growing out of the wall at Solomon's well might be the hyssop referred to (*Voyages*, p. 450). Linnæus adopted this opinion in his *Flora Palæstina*, where he enumerates the plants collected by his pupil Hasselquist. In supplying the name of the moss (*Bryum truncatulum*, Linn.), he curtly adds that it is the "Hyssopus Salomonis" (*Amonitates Academice*, vol. iv., p. 467). This moss, now called *Pottia truncatula*, Hedw., is a very small plant, generally not more than two lines in height, yet producing its cluster of leaves, and one or more stalked fruit capsules, within this limit. It occasionally attains a height of three-fourths of an inch. It is a plant widely distributed over the world, and is not uncommon in England. It has been found on Hampstead Heath; and though London smoke and the operations of the builder are gradually exterminating the native plants around London, its discovery may still reward the diligent searcher. The impossibility of using this moss, or even the larger of its kind, as a sprinkler, makes it certain that it could not be the hyssop of Scripture.

The learned Celsius devotes over forty pages to the investigation of the hyssop, and examines the claims of no less than eighteen plants, each of which had been supposed by different authors to be the plant of the Bible. Among these are the maiden's-hair and wall-rue ferns, southernwood, wormwood, and pearlwort; but the great proportion belong to the *Labiata*, a large but inconspicuous family, so named because the mouth of the tubular corolla is cut into two lips. The following Labiates have been suggested:—Thyme, mint, marjoram, germander, lavender, rosemary, and poly. The straight pliable herbaceous stems of these plants would permit their being easily made into a "bunch," while the more or less hairy leaves which clothe the stem would take up as well as freely scatter any fluid. We consequently see no reason for doubting that *Origanum*, the tradi-

tional hyssop, is the plant employed by the Jews. It is, however, probable that several of the plants of this family which we have enumerated, and which are closely allied in form and habit to the *Origanum*, and are found in similar localities, were also used.

Dr. Forbes Royle sets all the Labiatae aside, because none of them have been in the East considered to be possessed of cleansing properties, and, with the exception of the rosemary, are not capable of yielding a stick such as he supposes the Gospel narratives of the crucifixion to require. He concludes that the caper plant is the *ezob* of the Old Testament, because it has an Arabic name, *asuf*, somewhat similar to the Hebrew word; it is found in Lower Egypt, in the deserts of Sinai and near Jerusalem; it grows upon rocks and walls; was always supposed to be possessed of cleansing qualities;

is large enough to yield a stick; and its different parts used to be preserved in vinegar, as its buds are now. His opinion is adopted, as stated above, by Tristram, Stanley, and other recent travellers, who have referred to the subject. But the characters on which his determination is based are not, as we have seen, included or implied in the Bible notices of the plant; and though the habitat of the caper suits as well as some of the Labiatae the requirements thus far of the hyssop, the plant itself is quite unfitted to be made into a good sprinkler, because of its crooked, woody, and prickly stem, and its scattered and perfectly smooth leaves.

The caper plant has been supposed to be referred to in Solomon's allegorical sketch of the infirmities of old age, in the last chapter of Ecclesiastes, when he says, "The almond-tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall



POTTIA TRUNCATULA—Hedw. Three plants, natural size, and the smallest specimen enlarged six times. The "Hyssop" of Solomon, according to Hasselquist and Linnæus.

be a burden, and desire shall fail; because man goeth to his long home." The word here translated "desire" is אֲבִיּוֹנָה (*abiynah*). In the Septuagint it is rendered καππαρίς (*capparis*), and in the Vulgate and some other early versions it is obvious that the translators understood it to mean the caper plant. Throughout the whole passage Solomon employs symbolical illustrations in his picture of old age; and it has been thought that in this single phrase he was not likely to express in plain words that "desire shall fail," but would rather use a figure which would convey the meaning. The Rabbins applied the plural form of the word used in Ecclesiastes to the small fruits of trees and to berries, including among them the fruit of the caper bush. As the different parts of this bush have been from early times employed to stimulate the appetite, it is thought that the reference to the fruit here suggests that to the old man it has lost its power. Even more fanciful interpretations have been given of the supposed reference to the caper in this verse. Thus Rosenmüller, after saying that the fruit of the caper opens and falls off when ripe, writes that "in the figurative description of old age, the veteran who has reached the end of his days, and daily must expect to sink into his grave, is com-

pared to such an over-ripe caper berry, which is nearly falling off" (*Botany of the Bible*, Repp's translation, p. 107). While Dr. Forbes Royle explains the meaning in the following way: "Many of the caper tribe, being remarkable for the long stalks by which their fruit is supported, conspicuously display, what also takes place in other plants, namely, the drooping and hanging down of the fruit when it ripens. As, then, the flowering of the almond-tree, in the first part of the verse, has been supposed to refer to the whitening of the hair, so the

drooping of the ripe fruit of a plant like the caper, which is conspicuous on the walls of buildings, and on tombs, may be supposed to typify the hanging down of the head before 'man goeth to his long home'" (Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, vol. i., p. 18). And lastly, Vallesius thought that as the caper was found on tombs, the failure referred to by Solomon was the fatal injury done to the plant when the tomb on which it was growing was opened for the burial of the old man (Celsius, *Hierobot.*, vol. i., p. 210).

THE OLD TESTAMENT.—V.

THE PENTATEUCH.

NUMBERS.

BY THE VERY REV. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

THE fourth book of the Pentateuch is called Numbers, because it records, in chapters i. and xxvi., the two numberings of the people made at the beginning and the end of their wanderings. By the Jews it is generally designated Bemidbar (*in the wilderness*); and though this name is taken, as usual, from the opening words, yet it happily describes the contents; for the book is mainly occupied with the sojourn of the Israelites in the wilderness during the long period which elapsed between the breaking-up of the camp at Sinai and the grand mustering of their forces in the plains of Moab, preparatory to the conquest of the Promised Land.

As regards the wilderness, it is necessary to make two preliminary remarks. In the first place, we must not estimate its fertility at the time of the Exodus by its present desolation. Even now it supports a wandering population of some 6,000 souls; but the whole region has long been deteriorating, and extensive tracts are now bare and desert where once numerous inhabitants subsisted in comfort. Its fate is well described in Balaam's words respecting that great people who, at the time of the Exodus, were its chief inhabitants: "Amalek was the first of the nations, but his latter end shall be that he perish for ever" (Numb. xxiv. 20). A country could not be a mere barren waste, when one of its tribes held the foremost place in the list of military powers.

In hot countries vegetation depends upon the supply of rain, and this again is strongly affected by the presence of forests, whose cool surface attracts the floating clouds and aids in condensing them. Now ample proof exists that the Sinaitic peninsula was, in old time, a well-wooded region. To this day trunks of palm-trees are often washed up on the shores of the Red Sea, as silent witnesses of rushing floods sweeping down valleys, whence water and palm-trees have for centuries disappeared. Travellers constantly find remains of dwellings of stone, gardens, and enclosures, testifying to the

existence, in past ages, of a settled population; and even as late as the sixth and seventh centuries of our era numerous inhabitants existed in regions now utterly desolate. In the neighbourhood of 'Akabah, in what is now an arid and repulsive waste, Seetzen asked his guide to mention the names of as many places as he could remember, and he quickly ran up a list of sixty-three, of most of which everything had perished but the bare memory. Even now the rainfall absolutely is not inconsiderable, but nothing is done to husband it. Before the country was denuded of woods it must have been very large, lying, as the peninsula of Sinai does, just north of the great Indian Ocean, whence every southern wind would come laden with clouds. But the whole country has been so ravaged by the Arabs, both before and since the time of Mahomet, that all its fertility has disappeared, and yearly it sinks still lower in the scale. For the Bedaween ruthlessly destroy the remaining acacia-trees to make them into charcoal, which now forms, as the Dean of Westminster mentions in his *Sinai and Palestine* (p. 24), the chief—perhaps it might be said the only—traffic of the peninsula.

The second remark is that we must not suppose that the Israelites were long congregated at one spot. We may assume that they carried with them in their flight from Egypt large stores of corn; and we know that they had numerous flocks and herds. On their first march to the borders of Palestine they halted for a year at Sinai, and there received their religious and political constitution. But they would have lost the larger proportion of their cattle had they retained them with them in so confined a region, even though there were in the neighbourhood valleys of great fertility, like the Wady Feirân. We may feel sure, therefore, that a large proportion of clans like those of Reuben and Gad, who were great cattle-owners, would be dispersed far and wide in search of pasturage. Subsequently, for nearly thirty-eight years, the head-quarters of the nation were at Kadesh-barnea. Of this period scarcely anything is left on record; and this alone suggests the probability

that only a few representative people remained with Moses at the tabernacle, to administer the government and watch over the interests of the whole community, while the rest were dispersed far and wide over the peninsula. Nothing is more probable than that the more agricultural tribes may have cultivated all such spots as were suitable for irrigation, and have carried on some amount even of trade with Egypt. During this period, which was certainly one of national growth and development, Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh may have recouped themselves for the losses of cattle they had previously sustained in the march on Canaan, and all the tribes have had their share of material prosperity.

But undeniably there were parts of the wilderness where the people were exposed to great sufferings. Thus Moses speaks of the "great and terrible wilderness" (Deut. i. 19)—that, namely, of Paran, through which they passed after breaking up from Sinai, and of which one part at the present day bears the striking name of El-Tih (*the desolate*). In so extensive a region, where the natural supplies were so limited, we may well believe that a host of 600,000 men, scarcely accustomed as yet to the rough ways of the desert, and continuously on the march for Palestine, must have suffered terrible hardships. Whatever there was they would have, for in Jethro and his Kenites they had excellent guides, who would take them through the most fertile districts. But evidently the march was more than they could endure, and impoverished in wealth, and weakened, it may be, in body, their courage failed them on reaching what was afterwards the possession of the tribe of Judah, and they refused to attempt the conquest of the land. And when long afterwards they did attempt it, Moses chose an entirely different route.

To Kadesh, in the Wilderness of Sin, a tract of land south-west of the Dead Sea, Moses withdrew upon this miserable disappointment of his hopes. It was in another part of this wilderness, at an earlier period, that God had given the people manna (Exod. xvi. 1—8), which was certainly miraculous at its first giving, and in many of the circumstances connected with its gathering and its continuance, though it may, like the plagues of Egypt, have been to some extent based upon a natural phenomenon. For two trees grow in the wilderness which produce a similar substance—the tamarix and the acacia. But even with the aid of the manna this wilderness could not have accommodated so vast a host for so many years. And as the conquest of the land was positively deferred till all that generation had perished, we may conclude that each tribe would spread out into the desert in search of food and shelter, engaged, probably, in many a struggle with the Amalekites, but upon the whole maintaining the ascendancy gained at Rephidim (Exod. xvii. 13), and gradually developing into the hardy warriors who, by the decisive battle of Gibeon (Josh. x. 10) won the possession of the Promised Land.

It is one of the many internal proofs of the truth-

fulness of the record that Moses does not conceal from us the difficulties and even the disasters which they met with. Had the Pentateuch been written in long subsequent times, when the sojourn in the wilderness was surrounded by a halo of romance, while its physical difficulties were probably magnified (Jer. ii. 2, 6), the conduct of the Israelites would have been put in a better light, and certainly they would not have been represented as poor soldiers, not to say cowards and unmanly (Numb. xiv. 2). Yet this is what is recorded of them. Within the first two years they fought two battles—one, about two months after leaving Egypt, with the Amalekites, who had gathered in arms to protect their country. It was probably near Mount Serbal that Rephidim was situated, and the valleys round, especially the Wady Feiran, were very fruitful. The Amalekites, therefore, were probably numerous, and the narrowness of the defiles would enable them to post themselves to advantage. But Israel was vastly more numerous, and yet the battle was long uncertain, and was finally gained by the prayers of Moses.

But at the end of their march, probably about two years after leaving Egypt, Israel met with a disastrous defeat at the hands of the king of the Canaanite city of Arad (Numb. xxi. 1—3). Whether this is the same defeat as that recorded in chap. xiv. 45 is uncertain, though probable. For the three verses recording it in chap. xxi. are inserted parenthetically in the history just after the account of the death of Aaron at Mount Hor, and therefore at the close of the forty years' wandering. It is quite evident from the narrative that the defeat was a serious one, and that the Israelites were in no condition to avenge it till long afterwards. They took, however, a solemn vow utterly to destroy the whole region, which was finally executed by Judah and Simeon, the tribes whose inheritance, being in the south of Palestine, bordered on the wilderness, and who destroyed Zephath, the chief city, and laid the whole country waste, whence its subsequent name of Hormah, a thing banned or devoted to utter ruin (Judg. i. 17). The region south of Hormah, but forming part of the desert of Paran, was assigned by Judah to the Kenites, who were accustomed to a desert life (Numb. xxiv. 21), and who would perform there the same service of outpost duty for Palestine which Israel had performed in Goshen for the Egyptians. The insertion, however, of these three verses makes it probable that, before entering on the conquest of Palestine, Moses sent an expedition to Arad to accomplish this vow, and we may conclude that it rejoined the main host at Mount Hor, which is a sandstone rock on the very borders of Edom, east of the Dead Sea, above whose level it towers to a height of 6,000 feet, while Arad is far away in the west, upon the rolling downs south of Judea. Before the events recorded in Judg. i. 17, Arad, under the name of Zephath, may have recovered some degree of prosperity, but the sad memories of their repulse still rankled in the minds of the people, and the vow was again carried out with unswerving determination.

The fierceness, then, of this vow, and the tenacity

with which it was executed, show how deep was the distress of Israel at this defeat, and probably how great was the defeat itself. Up to this time they had been marching directly onwards towards Canaan. They had come by the way of Atharim (Numb. xxi. 1), rendered in our version, "the way of the spies," but the word only occurs here, and the sole certainty about it is that it designates the direct way from Sinai to Palestine. Up, then, to this time Moses and the people had all looked for the immediate conquest of the land. Bravely they struggled through the wilderness, enduring great hardships, consuming their last stores, losing vast numbers of their cattle, but buoyed up by hope. And now they have reached the borders of Palestine, and await eagerly the return of the spies. At length they come, bringing with them mingled tidings. The land is fertile past all belief, but is inhabited by a tall and hardy race, whose walled towns tower up to heaven. At the recital their courage utterly fails them: and not only so, but Moses himself judges them unequal to the attempt. They press forward in desperation, but meet with a severe defeat. And upon it follows a period of shame and silence for thirty-eight years. During this period Moses, as I have said, and the head-quarters of the nation, were at Kadesh, in the Wilderness of Sin. When this dreary interval is over, a complete change has been wrought in the people. Moses during this time has impressed upon them something of his own high and noble spirit. A nation of brave, hardy warriors has taken the place of the faint-hearted people whose spirit had been broken in Egypt by long servitude.

Between the battles of Rephidim and of Arad was a period of about two years. The half of this was spent near Mount Sinai, and before they left occurred the sad event of the deaths of Nadab and Abihu, the two elder sons of Aaron, for offering unhallowed fire before Jehovah. No doubt this was connected with the solemn dedication of the tabernacle, and must have greatly impressed all minds with the sanctity of the place, where irreverence had been so sternly punished. Soon afterwards, having obtained the services of Hobab, who was either the same person as Jethro or more probably his son, and the Kenites as guides (Numb. x. 29), they left Sinai, and entered upon the wilderness of Paran, where, for three days, they found no suitable place for any lengthened stay; but at Taberah, called also Kibroth-hattaavah, from the pestilence which followed upon their excess in feeding upon the quails, they rested at least a month. Of the two main roads from Sinai to Palestine, we gather from expressions in chap. xi. that they took the more southerly one, towards the Gulf of 'Akabah, and not that through the heart of the wilderness. For Moses asks, "Shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them to suffice them?" And again the wind is said to have brought the quails from the sea. Both partridges and quails are common in the wilderness, and vast flights of the latter have been seen by travellers in this very district. To this day quails migrate in immense numbers, filling the vineyards in the south of France in a night or two; and

on their first arrival, after a long flight over the sea, would be so weary as easily to be snared and netted by the eager Israelites.

Of the other stations on the march forward, and which are enumerated in Numb. xxxiii., so little is known, that they possess only a geographical interest. They were probably the stations where the Israelites made a more or less lengthened stay, and not places where they halted for a night. In selecting such places as would best serve to refresh the people, and afford pasturage for their cattle, the knowledge of the wilderness possessed by their Kenite guides would be of essential service.

But at the end of the 36th verse of chap. xxxiii. occurs a long break. The Red Sea, as is well known, divides in the north into two arms, between which Mount Sinai and the adjacent wilderness are situated. The Israelites had safely crossed this desert; and from Ezion-geber, a town at the head of the eastern branch of the Red Sea, famous afterwards as being Solomon's port for his trade with India, they had struck northwards. Their march lay up the Arabah, along which they pressed for many days continuously, till at the pass of Sufah, on the road from Petra to Hebron, west of the Dead Sea, they sustained their defeat from the Canaanites. This Arabah is one of the most remarkable depressions in the world, being a deep trench from two to fourteen miles wide, and more than three hundred miles in length, through the upper part of which the Jordan flows, till it loses itself in the Dead Sea. The depth of this depression may be judged by the fact that this salt lake is 1,312 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. The lower part, from the Dead Sea to Ezion-geber, is at the present day a comparatively burnt-up region, unlike the valley of the Jordan. But the mountains, which on each side form a natural wall to this trench, are far more grand and imposing, being on the west the long limestone ranges of the Tih, to which Stanley applies the name "bleached desolation," and which are from 1,500 to 1,800 feet in height; while the eastern wall of granite and basalt, with overlying porphyry, and tipped with sandstone in broken cliffs, and ridges of limestone, is in many places richly covered with vegetation, and abounds in places of great fertility. Here was Edom's dwelling, "of the fatness¹ of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above" (Gen. xxvii. 39). The usual height of these ridges is 2,000 feet, but Mount Hor attains to an elevation thrice that amount. The northern pass of Sufah, or Zephath (Judg.

¹ It seems worth while to state that the words of Isaac's blessing for Esau are rendered by Kalisch, Keil, Delitzsch, and other commentators, "far from the fatness of the earth and the dew of heaven," a rendering which has, at all events, the merit of being more in harmony with the general character of the country. The preposition is the same as in the blessing on Jacob, "of the fatness of the earth," but it is supposed by these interpreters to be used partitively in the one case, and, with a keen irony, privatively in the other. If, with the Bishop of Ely in the *Speaker's Commentary* and the writer of the present paper, we retain the Authorised Version, the words must be thought of as describing the more favoured regions of the eastern mountains, with "their rocky cliffs, and verdant, flower-spangled glens and terraces" (J. L. Porter, in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. "Edom").—Ed.

i. 17), was more than a hundred miles from Ezion-geber, and is situated, not in the walls of the Arabah, but higher up, where the table-lands above this wall are surmounted by still more elevated ground. This higher ground is probably "the mountain of the Amorite" of Deut. i. 20, and "the mountain" and "hill-top" of Numb. xiv. 40, 44. It was while occupying these table-lands that the spies returned to Moses with their tidings; and here all his hopes of an immediate conquest of the land were dashed to the ground.

Apparently the Horites, a race of cavern-dwellers, who before the conquests of the Edomites had occupied both sides of the Arabah, and dug their dwellings in its rocks, still occupied the western side. From the account of them in Job xxx. 3—7, we gather that they were a feeble and uncivilised race, who could make no resistance to Israel, and for thirty-eight years the head-quarters of the nation remained among them undisturbed. A city on the borders of Edom, called Kadesh, captured probably from the Horites, on the march up the Arabah, became the temporary resting-place of the ark, while the people, not without murmurings—for the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram belongs to this disastrous period—at length dispersed themselves over the wilderness of Sin, and waited for better times. Thirty-eight years, therefore, elapsed between the 36th and 37th verses of Numb. xxxiii.

In what way Moses maintained his ascendancy, how he trained the people for war, and prevented the tribes from settling permanently in the more fertile valleys, we know not. He has drawn a dark veil over these long years, but the state of Israel at the end of them bears the highest tribute to his powers. We find them deeply impressed with those high qualities which stamp Moses himself as one of the greatest heroes of history, bold, resolute, patient, and deeply religious. Though apparently poorly armed, and still unable to cope with the Canaanites on the level plains of Esdraelon, yet in the mountains nothing could withstand them. Slowly converging, then, upon the Arabah from the whole western region, they gathered round Mount Hor, some thirty miles or more south of Kadesh, whither Moses had removed the tabernacle to meet them. Even now they do not again attempt the defiles of Sufah, but strike boldly to the east, so as to make a circuit round the lands of Edom and Moab, with which they were forbidden to interfere; and when at length they had passed the mountains of Abarim, and reached the Arnon, instead of their former dependency, they were filled with joy, such as that which found its vent in the song recorded in Numb. xxi. 17, 18.

And soon their first conquest was made. Sihon, king of the Amorites, a great warrior, who had lately dispossessed the Moabites of much of their dominions, boldly gathered every Amorite capable of bearing arms, and withstood the invading hosts. Of the battle Josephus has preserved many details not recorded in Scripture. Galled, he says, by the arrows and slings of the Israelites, who had become experts in these weapons when gaining their hardy livelihood in the

wilderness, the Amorites fled for shelter to the ravine through which the Arnon flows, and were followed thither by the Israelites, and slaughtered in vast numbers in its recesses. By this victory Israel won all the country between the Arnon and the Jabbok.

But a stouter foe was at hand. Og, a descendant of the giant people called Rephaim, was king of Bashan, with sixty cities beneath his sway. Of these, Edrei was a place of vast strength, approachable only through defiles, and occupying a rocky promontory two miles and a half in length and a mile and a half in width. But apparently Og boldly attacked the Israelites in front of his stronghold, and was utterly defeated, and his sixty cities became the possession of the tribes of Reuben and Gad. Some place this battle, however, at a border town, on the Jarmuk, now called Dera. The ruins of this city disclose to us the curious fact that originally it was entirely subterraneous, with streets running in all directions under the present town. While aware of the existence of races which lived in caves, like the Horites in Edom, it was not known till these ruins had been examined on how large a scale their excavations were made: and we gather from it that the people were not always such outcasts as they are described in the Book of Job.

And now but one station more remains. After these conquests they once again entered the Arabah, but it was now north of the Dead Sea, opposite Jericho. Up to this time their march had lain at the back of the settlements of Edom and Moab, skirting the vast Syrian desert, along the route by which the Mohammedan pilgrims now travel towards Mecca. But in the plains of Jericho they had reached one of the most fertile spots in the world, and as they luxuriated in the splendid oasis on the east bank of the Jordan, eleven miles in length by five in breadth, well may Balaam have burst forth into the exclamation, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel!"

He had been summoned from Pethor, a city on the Euphrates, in Mesopotamia, the country of Nahor and other relatives of Abraham, to curse Israel. Probably the messengers had made their successive journeys while the war was going on with Sihon and Og. The former, we have seen, was an enemy of the Moabites, while Israel had carefully respected their territories; but Balak dreaded their growing power, and too cowardly for open attack, he sought the aid of enchantments. But whether Balaam were a true prophet, who fell from covetousness, or a false prophet, compelled to bless where he would gladly have spoken the people's doom, his words, full of striking beauty, and quickly, no doubt, hymned throughout all the tents of Israel, served as a trumpet blast to urge them onwards to the struggle against the seven mighty nations which then occupied Palestine, and gave them a sure presage of victory. In this Arabah, too, rendered "plain" in Deut. i. 1, Moses spake his last words, but the consideration of them will properly belong to the introduction of the Book of Deuteronomy.

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.—IV.

THE FLOOD:—ARARAT.

BY THE REV. H. W. PHILLOTT, M.A., RECTOR OF STAUNTON-ON-WYE, AND PRELECTOR OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.



ALTHOUGH the traditions respecting a universal Deluge are so widely spread throughout the world as to reach literally "from China to Peru," yet, as many of our readers are probably aware, there are difficulties in the way of accepting the word "universal" in its full and literal sense, which lead us to believe that the Scripture narrative is to be understood in one less extensive than at first sight it conveys.

Let us not suppose that in adopting this view we are guilty of any unfaithfulness or disrespect towards the sacred narrative. On the contrary, we are only dealing with it in the same sort of way as that in which God deals with ourselves. In so doing, he has been pleased to use an instrument, viz., language, contrived originally by himself for the use of man, and therefore suited to our capacity. For this reason, it is not an inflexible law, like a principle of arithmetic, admitting of one interpretation only, but one which, in passing through our hands, must needs be subject to some of the imperfections arising from our mode of using it. This is not the place to discuss the question what the condition of human language might be if man were perfect; but inasmuch as God, in conveying to us his message, has thought fit to use language as a vehicle of communication; as, moreover, the language of man is not one, but diverse; and as, consequently, the ideas conveyed by the words of one of the various languages of the world are not always exactly expressed by those of another, it is clearly our business to use our best endeavours to understand and interpret this His vehicle of communication with us according to the principles on which, so far as we understand them, it is constructed; in other words, according to the principles of language in general as they are understood by us. In so doing, we shall feel that we are dealing with a living instrument and not a dead one, one which proceeds not from a lifeless principle, a mere "law of nature" in which we have no interest, but from One who framed it for our intelligent, though imperfect use—One who is the living God and Father of us all.

After this preamble our readers will understand what we mean when we say that in reading the account of the Deluge we are at liberty to understand some of the words in which it is expressed, in a sense not the first and most obvious, but one common to all languages and to all human thought, and particularly characteristic of Oriental thought and language. We all know that when we use the very common phrases, "every one," "no one," "all the world," and the like, we often mean to speak, not absolutely of every individual in the world, but of a large number of persons concerning whom we take upon ourselves to express an opinion. In

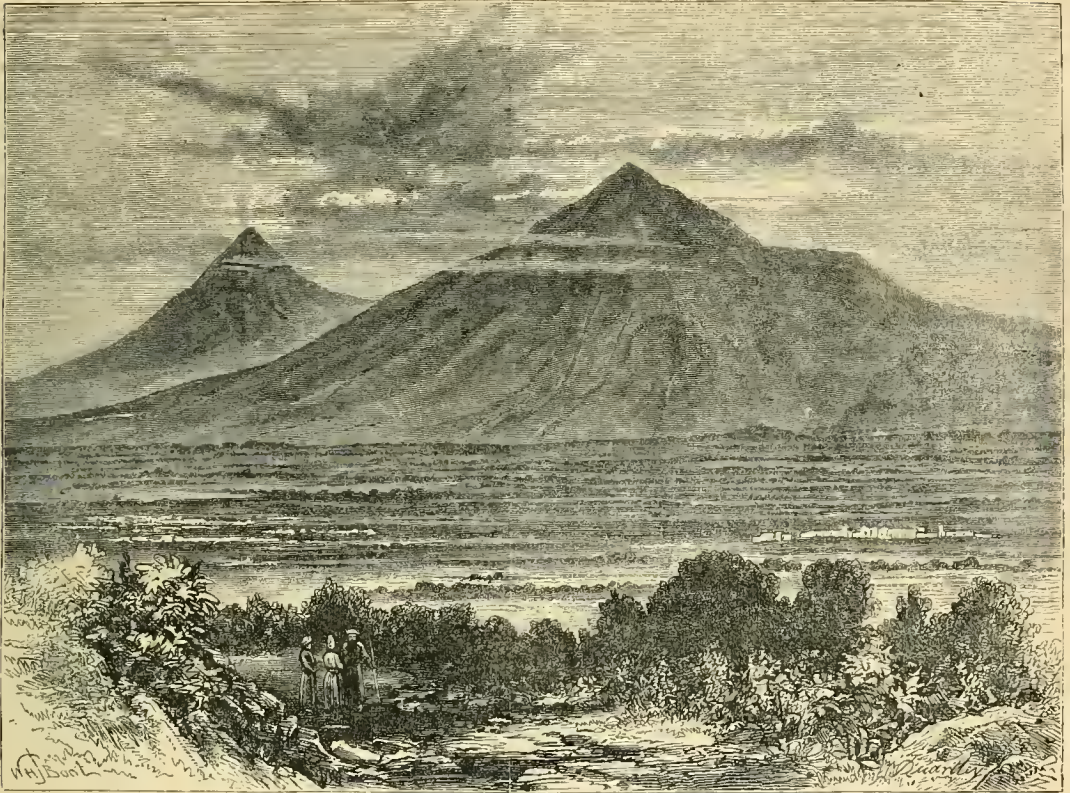
a similar way, but in a much greater degree, Oriental language is apt to use the same expression. Thus "the whole world" is used in a sense which is very extensive, no doubt, but not necessarily universal—*e.g.*, the taxation of the "whole world" by Augustus Cæsar, the view of the "whole world" from the high mountain exhibited by the Tempter, are phrases of this kind, to be understood in this way. So also, in all probability, so far as our present knowledge extends, is the history of the Deluge to be understood—viz., as of an inundation of vast extent and destructiveness, affecting not absolutely the whole globe, but a large part of it, especially in its eastern portion. While, then, we do not presume to fix any limit to that extent, we may remind our readers that the Chaldean inscriptions lately deciphered by Mr. G. Smith reveal to us a history of a wide-spread Deluge from a perfectly independent source, which goes far to confirm the Biblical account of the Flood.

In the Assyrian Department of the British Museum is a series of terra-cotta tablets bearing inscriptions in the cuneiform (*i.e.*, wedge-shaped) character, in which the ancient Assyrian writings are engraved, on one set of which this account is found. Their age is thought by the decipherer to be as old as the seventeenth century B.C., but to represent the traditions of a still earlier age. They record, though imperfectly, the dimensions of the ship of refuge; its bituminous varnish; its inmates, both human and animal; the descent of the rain; the tempest and destruction of life; the duration of the flood, which it places at six days and nights; the cessation of the rain and drying of the earth; and the resting of the ship at a mountain called Nizir. They describe further the sending forth of a dove, a swallow, and a raven; the going forth of the king from the ship, and his erection of an altar at the foot of the mountain; a sacrifice offered by him, and its acceptance by the gods; and lastly, a sort of promise combined with warning, as to the recurrence of Divine visitation in this form by way of punishment for transgression.

No one can help seeing how remarkably these inscriptions confirm the Scripture narrative in most respects, and how unaccountable the agreement between them would be except in the supposition that both are founded on a common origin.¹

Turning now to the Bible history, we find that the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat (Gen. viii. 4). What is meant by Ararat? The word occurs four times in the Hebrew of the Old Testament—viz., Gen. viii. 4; Jer. li. 27; and in the two identical passages, 2 Kings xix. 37 and Isa. xxxvii. 38. In one of these, 2 Kings

¹ These inscriptions will be examined at greater length in a future number of the BIBLE EDUCATOR.



MOUNT ARARAT, FROM KANAKIR, ON THE NORTH SIDE.

xix. 37, it is rendered by the Septuagint translators "Armenia," as it is also in our English version, both there, and in Isa. xxxvii. 38. Does Ararat, then, denote the country called Armenia; and if so, what mountains are those which are called "the mountains of Ararat?" In Jer. li. 27 Ararat is mentioned in connection with Minni and Ashkenaz. Of these two names Ashkenaz appears in this place to be the name of a country, but in the other place where it occurs to be that of a nation (Gen. x. 3); Minni is found only in Jer. li. 27, and is plainly the name of a country. Have we any clue to its position? Let us see what history other than that of the Bible has to say of the flood. Josephus, the Jewish historian, has preserved a passage from Berosus, a priest of Babylon, who wrote during the third century B.C., in which he speaks of the Deluge, and of the remains of the vessel in which the refugees had been preserved, as existing in Armenia, in the Gordyæan mountains, and says that people used to carry away and use as charms pieces of the bitumen with which it had been covered. Josephus names other writers who had spoken of the flood, and quotes a passage from one called Nicolaus of Damascus, who wrote about the time of the Christian era, and therefore not long before his own time, who said that there is "beyond Minyas, in Armenia (*i.e.*, more to the north), a high mountain called Baris, in

which many persons took refuge from the flood, and that a person came ashore there in a chest or ark, of which the remains existed for a long time afterwards, and that this was, perhaps, the man of whom Moses, the Jewish lawgiver, had written." Lastly, Josephus himself says that the Armenians call the place where Noah landed from the ark by a name which means "descent," and that remains of the ark itself were shown by inhabitants of that country. The story about the pieces of the ark used as charms is repeated also by Abydenus, a Greek writer of uncertain date, but certainly later than Berosus. He calls the person saved Sisidrus, a name which seems to agree with one named in the tablets Sisit, and tells us that the ship rested in Armenia. Another fragment of Berosus calls the builder of the ship Xisuthrus, king of the Chaldeans, mentions his wife, his daughter, a pilot, and the sending forth of the birds, and says that after their landing these persons disappeared, being translated to the abode of the gods; but that the other survivors who had been saved in the ship became the founders of Babylon. It is easy to see how much resemblance to the Bible history there is in these accounts.

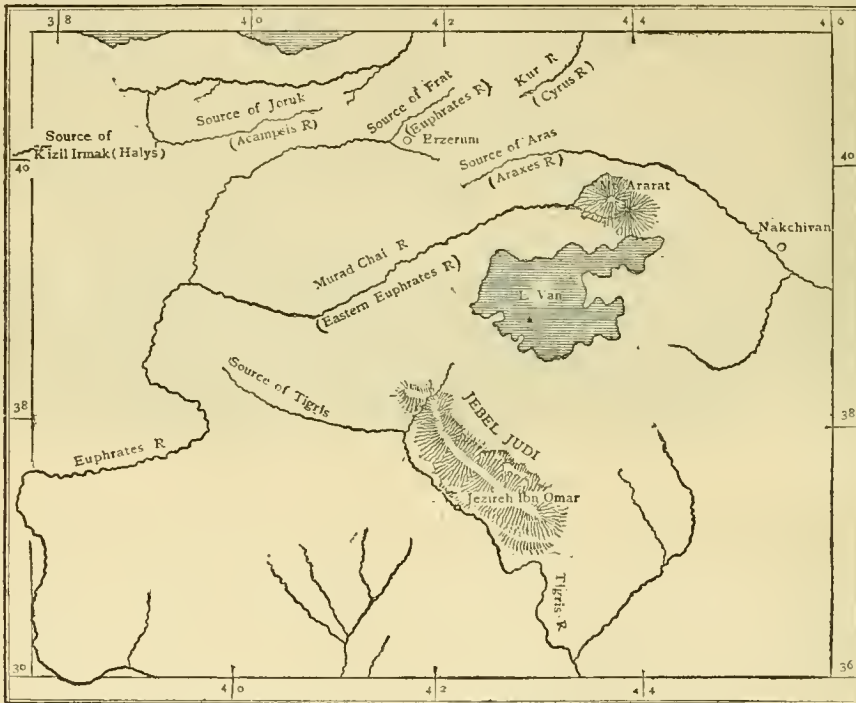
We may add that two of the Chaldean versions of the Old Testament, called Targums, in the passage Gen. viii. 4 use the word *Kardu* or *Kadrum* instead of

Ararat. (Joseph., *Antiq.*, i. 3, 6; Enseb., *Præp. Evang.*, ix. 12; Berosus, pp. 55—58, ed. Richter; St. Jerome, *De Situ et Nom.*, vol. iii., p. 859 (126); Calmet, *Dict. de la Bible*; Rich., *Trav.*, ii., 123; Ainsworth, *Trav.*, ii. 342; G. Smith, *Chaldean Account of the Deluge*.)

What do these writers directly or indirectly tell us ? 1. That after the flood the ark rested in Armenia, for which country, or at least a part of it, the word Ararat was in use at the time of the Septuagint translation, about 280 B.C. 2. That the name Minni, of Jer. li. 27, probably indicates the same region as Minyas, viz., some part of Armenia.

But as to the precise locality of the ark's resting-

were said to exist in his day. Moses of Chorene, an Armenian archbishop of the fifth century A.D., who wrote a history of his native country, says that in ancient times the whole of Armenia bore the name of Ararat, but that up to 1750 B.C. it was called Amasia, and he gives the name of Massis to its principal mountain, the only name by which Mount Ararat, as it is called by Europeans, is now known to the natives of Armenia. The Turks call it Aghri-Dagh, the "painful mountain," and the Persians Koh-i-Nuh, the "mountain of Noah." The Armenians believe that the ark is still somewhere on Mount Ararat. Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller in the thirteenth century, speaks of



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE GEOGRAPHY OF PARADISE AND THE DELUGE.

place they leave us in doubt. The word *Kardu* or *Kadrum* of the Targums appears to agree in sound with that of the Gordyaean or Kurdish mountains, a range answering wholly or in part to that now called Jebel Judi, lying between lat. 37° and 38° on the east side of the Tigris. The mountain Nizir of the tablets appears from other inscriptions to be in the east of Assyria (Smith, p. 6). With respect to the situation of the mountain Baris, if that be its true name, we have no trustworthy clue.

Turning to writers and information of a later date, we find St. Jerome, in the fourth century A.D., saying that Ararat is a plain country of Armenia, of incredible fertility, watered by the Araxes, but that the ark was carried to the highest mountains of Taurus, which overhang the plains of Ararat and further, that its remains

the ark as said to exist on the top of a high mountain in Armenia. Our old countryman, Sir John Mandeville, who wrote in the fourteenth century, says that "men may see it a farr in cleer wedre," but to this statement we shall probably give only a qualified belief. Adam Olearius, a German traveller of the seventeenth century, says that the Armenians and Persians are of opinion that there are still some remains of the ark on Mount Ararat (in Northern Armenia), but that they are petrified by long exposure. These opinions, whatever may be their value, clearly assign the situation of the ark's resting-place to Northern Armenia. The traditions of the inhabitants give it to Mount Massis, or, as we call it, Ararat. We may add that about seventy miles east of Mount Ararat, not far from the river Araxes, on its left bank, is a town called Nakchivan, in Russian

Armenia, which is said to have been founded by Noah after his descent from the ark, a tradition which, whatever may be its value, seems to represent the statement of Josephus mentioned above. (St. Jerome, *Com. in Esai.* xxxvii., vol. iv., p. 389; Philostorgius, iii. 8; Marco Polo, *Trav.* (ed. by Col. Yule), i. 45, 49; Mandeville, *Trav.*, p. 148 (ed. Halliwell); Olearius, *Trav.*, p. 187; Parrot, *Journey to Ararat*, pp. 132, 150; Curzon, *Armenia*, p. 124.)

On the other hand, the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, in the twelfth century, says that Jezireh, the island city on the Tigris, mentioned above, is at the foot of Mount Ararat, and is four miles distant from the spot where Noah's ark rested; and further, that the remains of the ark had been removed and converted into a Mohammedan mosque; and there is a prevailing Mohammedan tradition to a similar effect, viz., that the site of the ark's resting-place was in the Jebel Judi, the same range, wholly or in part, as the Gordyæan mountains mentioned above. (*Early Travellers*, p. 93 (ed. Bohn); Rich, *Trav.*, ii. 123; Ainsworth, *Trav.*, ii. 342.)

It is, of course, impossible to decide which of these two sites is to be preferred. We will only add that Ararat consists of two mountains, the Greater and the Lesser Ararat, whose summits are distant about seven miles from each other. The Greater Ararat is 17,210 feet in height, the Lesser 13,000, a little to the south-east of the Greater; both of them rising, in towering magni-

ficence and splendid isolation, from a plain about 8,000 feet in height above the sea. They were both ascended for the first time in 1829, by Dr. F. Parrot, a Russian traveller, who has described them with great care, and given us minute information about them, which is the more valuable because in 1840 a violent earthquake took place which caused great destruction throughout its area, and a great change to take place in the surface of the mountain. Among other desolations was reckoned that of the vineyards which had been cultivated, and from which wine (Noah's wine, as it was called) used to be made, near the monastery of St. James, on the north-east side. We may also remark that Dr. Parrot was of opinion that the whole of the plain of the river Araxes had at one time been under water, a proof, to his mind, of its having been the scene of the Deluge. (Parrot, pp. 130, 178, 231, 239, 245, and App., p. 374.)

Before quitting the subject of Ararat, we may mention that the Scriptural name for the people of Armenia is Togarmah, a name which appears in Gen. x. 3 as that of a son of Gomer, son of Japheth; in Ezek. xxvii. 14 as that of a people trading with Tyre in horses and mules; and in Ezek. xxxviii. 6 as that of a northern nation. The Greek geographer Strabo tells us that Armenia was famous for its horses; and we know that until lately, if it be not the case still, Erzeroum was famous for its mules. (Strabo, xi. 524; Rich, *Trav.*, i. 305, 318.)

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—XIV.

THE PATRIARCHS.

JACOB (*continued*).

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.

IT was a long journey from Bethel to Haran. It took Laban, well mounted as in all likelihood he would be, and all eager in the pursuit, seven days to go from Haran to Mount Gilead. Jacob must have been at least double that time upon the road, travelling as he did on foot, when he found himself beside a well,¹ close to which three separate flocks of sheep, with their shepherds, were resting. To his surprise and delight he learns that Haran is in the immediate neighbourhood; that the shepherds whom he addresses know Laban well, and can tell him that his daughter Rachel is bringing her sheep to this very well this afternoon. Here was an opportunity of meeting his cousin; but how much better would it be if he could meet her in quiet than among a crowd. He knows well the usages of pastoral life; he sees that the day is not so far advanced but that the flocks might be watered and turned out

again to pasture. He urges the shepherds to do so, that the opportunity he so coveted might be gained; but they tell him that it was the rule of the place not to roll away the stone from the well's mouth till all the flocks entitled to the use of it had assembled. Meanwhile Rachel arrives. He sees in her the daughter of his mother's brother, the first female relative he had ever met. He loves her at first sight. He will let no other help her. He rolls away the stone.² He waters her sheep, tells her who he is, kisses her; and gratitude, love, and joy overcoming him, breaks into a flood of tears. Rachel ran to tell her father, and old as he was, Laban ran to meet his sister's son. Here are no camels, no gold, no presents such as had told upon him so powerfully at Eliezer's coming. His nephew appears before him alone and unprovided. He hears, however, his story, gets some messages from Rebekah, and gives to him on the whole a kind and cordial reception. In

¹ This well was unlike that at which Eliezer had met Rebekah, from whose open mouth the water was poured into adjacent troughs. It was rather a cistern than a well, whose mouth was covered by a large stone. For a description of such cisterns, see *The Land and the Book*, p. 589.

² "This hole (i.e., of the cisterns) we found in many cases covered with a stone which it would require two or three men to roll away." (Robinson.) Jacob's feat in rolling away the stone alone is one of the grounds upon which he earned the traditional repute of being the Hebrew Hercules. (See Ewald, p. 348.)

those times, and among a people of such habits, it would have been a reproach to any man upon a visit not to make himself as useful as he could. Jacob had a double inducement to do so. Rachel has won his heart, and he will show himself how worthy he is of her love; and in doing so he shows Laban how valuable to him such a perfect master of all shepherd craft would be. A month goes past; no word from Hebron, or if there be, it is either of Rebekah's death or of Esau's wrath being unabated; no thought, therefore, in the meantime of a return home. Laban comes forward with a proposal in which selfishness assumes the garb of generosity. He sees what a claim upon his gratitude such services as those of Jacob will create, a kind of debt he is unwilling to incur. Better make a bargain with his nephew. He asks him to name his own wages, with a shrewd suspicion, we suspect, that whatever it may be, the result will be one advantageous to himself. Jacob at once meets the proposal by offering to serve seven years for Rachel. His relationship gave him a right to claim her as his wife on giving a sufficient dowry, to her parents, and as he had nothing else than his personal services to give, he offered them. His offer is accepted. The seven years go past. Such his love to Rachel, these seem to Jacob but as "a few days." At their close a piece of trickery is practised on him, easy enough from the manners of the time to be executed, but humiliating in the last degree to Jacob. The day after the marriage he finds himself the husband of Leah and not of Rachel. Is it possible that the discovery of the false personification of which he had been made the dupe did not remind him of the like deception that he himself had practised upon his father? One thing he learned from it—if indeed he had not seen it from the beginning—what kind of man his uncle was. When in the full chagrin of his great disappointment he reproached Laban for beguiling him in such cruel fashion, he got the cool reply, "It must not be so done in our country, to give the younger before the elder." But why had he not told Jacob of this when the agreement was first made? Why by a mean stratagem had he forced upon him one whom he did not wish to marry in place of her to whom he was so tenderly attached? Because he saw a way of providing thus first for his least attractive daughter, and then of binding, by new ties, the lover of Rachel to himself. He makes, therefore, at once the fresh proposal that, if Jacob would but engage to serve other seven years for Rachel, he might have her also, not at the end of those seven years, but at their beginning, within a week from his marriage with Leah—a strange enough proposal for a father even in those days to make, but one that he had rightly calculated Jacob would not refuse, so ardent was his attachment to Rachel.¹

The second seven years of Jacob's sojourn at Haran bring with them no small amount of vexation. In order to gain Rachel he had to take two wives instead of one. The one he cared not for has children; the one he loves is barren. He cannot resist the petulant passionate importunities of Rachel, and so, as his grandfather took Hagar, he takes Bilhah. Then in justice he cannot refuse to do the same for Leah, and so he takes Zilpah. Had it not been that the sons born of these four wives became the heads of the twelve tribes of Israel, so large a space might not have been given to a recital of these marriages and births. The latter are not given in the order of time, but simply ranged under their respective mothers—Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, the children of Leah; Dan and Naphtali of Bilhah; Gad and Asher of Zilpah; Joseph of Rachel. To give room for all these births within the seven years they must on more occasions than one have been contemporaneous. All that the record actually fixes is that Reuben was the first-born; that the children of the same mother succeeded in the order given; that Dan, the first-born of Bilhah, was older than Gad, the first-born of Zilpah; and that Joseph was the youngest of the eleven: but as to the relative ages of Simeon, Levi, and Judah as compared with those of Dan and Naphtali, or that of Zebulun as compared with that of Asher, no certain information is supplied.

At Joseph's birth the full term of Jacob's servitude was completed. Laban had no further claim on him. Hitherto the gain by the contract had all been on his side. The fourteen years had been with him years of great and growing prosperity. Jacob could say to him, "It was little which thou hadst before I came, and it is now increased unto a multitude." All, on the other hand, that Jacob had got were his four wives and eleven sons, for whom as yet no separate provision had been made. He would rather try to make that provision in the land of his birth than here among relatives, of whose selfishness he already had such abundant proof. He would venture to meet Esau. Fourteen years had surely done something to quench his hate. He would bring his numerous household before the eye of his aged father, who would no doubt be delighted to have so many grandchildren gathered around him. "Send me away," he says to Laban, "that I may go unto mine own place and to my country. Give me my wives and my children, for whom I have served thee, and let me go." The covetous father-in-law intreats him to remain. It is not the parting with his daughters and their children that he cares so much about. It is the loss of services which he has learned by a large experience to value, and which he is quite ready to acknowledge. There had been no generosity hitherto in his treatment of Jacob. Besides the mere supply of

¹ "I once met with a young man who had served eight years for his food only; at the expiration of that period he obtained in marriage the daughter of his master, for whom he would otherwise have had to pay seven or eight hundred piasters. When I saw him he had been married three years, but he complained

bitterly of his father-in-law, who continued to require of him the performance of the most servile offices without paying him anything, and thus prevented him from setting up for himself and his family." (Burckhardt's *Travels in the Hauran*, quoted in *Pictorial Bible*, p. 79.)

personal and family wants, Jacob should have had some share in the stock he had helped so much to multiply. But it was not in the bond, and to that bond this Shylock sticks. But now, when the instrument to him of so much gain seems about to slip out of his hands, selfishness prompts him to offer what generosity had not inclined him to give. But he will play his old trick over again. He asks Jacob to name what would be a sufficient consideration to induce him to remain. Jacob had foreseen this, and was prepared at once to name his terms.

And now begins a deep game of craft between two well-matched players. Jacob's first move in this game was grounded upon a discovery he had made, watchful observer as he had been for well nigh a hundred years of the instincts and habits of his flocks. In those countries goats, as a rule, are black or a dark brown, very rarely white or parti-coloured; sheep again are generally white, and as rarely brown or speckled. But Jacob had hit upon a device whereby the number of the spotted or parti-coloured both among the sheep and goats might be indefinitely multiplied.¹ He proposed, therefore, that from and after that time all the sheep born other coloured than white, and all the goats born other coloured than black or brown, should be counted as his. Laban grasped at once an offer

securing to him apparently such valuable help for so slender a recompense, the slight relenting (if any) that the thought of the pitiful return for his labour there would be to Jacob quenched by his saying to himself that it was Jacob who had named the terms. It is difficult to say whether what Laban did on the very day the contract was made (chap. xxx. 35, 36), or what Jacob did afterwards (ver. 40), was in accordance or in violation of the terms of that contract. It is obvious that so soon as the results began to develop themselves Laban questioned Jacob's interpretation of these terms, and shifted and changed his own, in the hope of things turning out more favourable to him (chap. xxxi. 7, 8). It would also appear that on the first successful employment of the rods, Jacob got an intimation that he would be seconded in his contest with Laban by other than human help, and that it was this which encouraged him to accept each change proposed; the lesson being thus taught him, that it was this heavenly aid, and not his own cunning contrivance, which brought it about that if Laban said, "The speckled shall be thy wages, then all the cattle bare speckled: and if he said thus, The ring-straked shall be thy hire; then bare all the cattle ring-straked" (chap. xxxi. 8). It is not possible to follow exactly and in order the separate moves of the two practised gamblers. All we see is that Laban is foiled by the use of his own weapons; the biter bitten; the overreacher overreached. So grotesque are some of the incidents in this great trial of strength between two experts in the art of trickery that it has been called the Hebrew Comedy of Errors. Rather, but for the painful element making it rather tragic than comic, we should have called it the Hebrew Comedy of Crafts.

¹ That strong impressions made upon the eye of the mother at the moment of conception or in the first stages of pregnancy affects the fœtus, the authorities quoted by Kurz (vol. i., p. 318) sufficiently establish. Acting upon this, Jacob took rods of trees in which there would be the strongest contrasts between the dark colour of the bark and the white of the wood within, and having cut stakes in them, stuck them round the troughs which were the natural meeting-place of the rams and ewes.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.—V.

II.—DEEDS OF CHARITY AND BENEVOLENCE.

BY THE REV. DR. GINSBURG.

THE second of the decade of duties which devolved upon the Hebrew youth, who has now become a responsible member of the community, and which, as we have seen, is recited by every Jew in his daily morning prayers to this day, consisted in deeds of charity and benevolence. With the proverbial unchangeableness of the East, any one who has travelled in Palestine and been beset by the beggars on the road and before the reputed sacred shrines, might naturally come to the conclusion that these importunate mendicants are the veritable descendants in craft of those who lay by the wayside, and sat before the gates of the Temple soliciting alms, in the time of Christ (Mark x. 46; Luke xvi. 20, 21; Acts iii. 2), and that they depict a continuance of a state of things which the great lawgiver designed to alleviate by the benign statutes enacted for the benefit of the poor. Nothing, however, could be more misleading than such a conclusion. Without going the

length of the learned Michaelis, who asserts that the term "beggar" does not occur in the whole Old Testament, and that he "would not so much as know how to express it in Hebrew,"¹ we may safely aver that such a person as a beggar, whose regular business it was to solicit alms publicly, or to go promiscuously from door to door, as we have him in England and in other parts of the world, was unknown to the Pentateuchal legislation. To relieve such mendicancy was not contemplated by the Mosaic enactments. Neither is it to be understood that the ruling spirit which animated those humane regulations that obtained before and at the time of Christ, setting forth the duty of performing "deeds of charity and benevolence," and which deserve the attention of the legislator and the philanthropist of the nineteenth century, was in the slightest degree favourable to beggary in our sense of the word. For the sake of

¹ Comp. Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, Art. 142, vol. ii., p. 249. English edition, London, 1814.

convenience we shall first consider the Mosaic statutes, as well as the sentiments of the other Old Testament books, on the relief of the poor, and then describe those enactments which were developed among the Jews respecting deeds of charity and benevolence in the time of Christ.

1. *The Mosaic enactments respecting charity and benevolence.* Though there are no less than three different expressions in the Pentateuch alone which describe the poor man—namely, (1) *ebyon*, (2) *dāl*, and (3) *ani*—besides two distinct verbs denoting “to be impoverished,” which have no etymological connection with these appellations;¹ and though relieving the poor is again and again urged upon the Israelites as a sacred duty, yet it would be misunderstanding the spirit of the Mosaic legislation to suppose that it in the slightest degree suggested the idea of begging as a sacred profession which obtained in the beginning of the Christian era. The declaration “There shall always be poor in the land; therefore I command thee to open thine hand to thy brother, and to the poor and needy in thy land” (Deut. xv. 11), does not encourage begging or even counsel to relieve the individual who solicits alms, but exhorts to anticipate and to supply the wants of the needy. The idea of anticipating and preventing, as we shall see hereafter, forms the basis of the whole system of the poor laws enacted in the Pentateuch.

To prevent the rise of pauperism, the great lawgiver had to provide against two contingencies. As the Israelites were an agricultural people, and the Promised Land of very limited area, the law had in the first place to guard against the soil getting into the hands of the few who love to join field to field. Hence it not only distributed the land in equal allotments among the people, but enacted that the lot thus apportioned is to be inalienable. The head of the family, moreover, with whom the plantation remained in perpetuity, had around him the nearest of kin, he cultivated the ground with him, and to whom he was obliged to render every help (Lev. xxv. 13, 23–27). If the regular operation of the elements could have been secured, and the health and industry of every member of the respective families guaranteed, cases of destitution under such circumstances could not have arisen. The great lawgiver, however, saw that these conditions were impossible. Hail-storms, droughts, armies of locusts, incursions of hostile and marauding tribes, and epidemics, all of which pay their periodical visits in Palestine, would lay waste some districts, oblige the owner to sell his plot of land, drive some members of the family into service, and cause the feeble to suffer want. Besides the distress occasioned by the inclemency of the elements and the hostility of men, there were the Levites, for whom the law designedly made no territorial provision; and there was also a constant influx of poor strangers, who necessarily were homeless. These causes gave rise to the five classes of poor so frequently referred to—namely,

the widow, the orphan, the stranger, the Levite, and the poor. The lawgiver had, therefore, in the second place, to devise such statutes as should give these persons a kind of legal claim on the produce of the soil, and thus prevent their becoming the hot-bed of pauperism. Accordingly, to anticipate the wants of those who should become impoverished, and to obviate the necessity of their soliciting alms from door to door, the following statutes were enacted.

On behalf of the head of the family, or landed proprietor, it was ordained that, if through stress of circumstances he should be driven to sell his plot of land, it could only be bought of him up to the time of the next jubilee, when it reverted to the original owner, or, in case of his death, to his descendants (Lev. xxv. 13–24). Moreover, if the circumstances of the original proprietor improved, or if his next of kin was able to redeem it for him before the year of jubilee, the purchaser was bound to restore it according to the same price which regulated the purchase (Lev. xxv. 26, 27).

On behalf of the impoverished owners of houses, the statute for their benefit is contained in Lev. xxv. 29–31. As the text of this law exhibits an apparent contradiction which is not noticed in the Authorised Version, nor is there any allusion made to it in *The Speaker's Commentary*, we shall give a literal translation of it. According to the textual reading, it is as follows:—“And if a man sell a dwelling-house in a walled city, then its redemption shall be up to the end of the year of its sale: for a full year shall he have the right of its redemption. But if it be not redeemed up to the completion of a full year, then the house which is in the city that is NOT walled shall be established in perpetuity to him that bought it, through his generations; it shall not revert in the jubilee.” We have marked the negative which the present text has in larger type, to show that the reading of the original Hebrew says the very reverse of that which the Authorised Version gives. The sages in the time of Christ, who had this reading of the text before them, maintained that this law refers to cities which had no walls prior to Joshua's conquering the land, but which were walled round afterwards. Accordingly, ver. 29 describes the cities in the form which they assumed afterwards, whilst ver. 30 names them in their original state (comp. *Megilla*, 3b; *Erechin*, 32a). The Massorites, however, found that certain codices had *lo* with *vau* (ו), the relative pronoun, instead of *lo* with *aleph* (א), the negative particle. But as these ancient conservators of the Hebrew verity did not deem this reading of sufficient authority to supplant the one in the text, they placed it in the margin. In the *corpus* of the Massorah itself they give a list of no less than fifteen passages² where these two

¹ The two words are יָרַשׁ (*yarash*) and מָכַר (*mach*).

² These fifteen passages which have the negative particle in the text and the pronoun in the margin, are as follow:—Exod. xxi. 8; Lev. xi. 21; xxv. 30; 1 Sam. ii. 3; 2 Sam. xvi. 18; 2 Kings viii. 10; Ezra iv. 2; Job xiii. 15; xli. 4; Ps. c. 3; cxxxix. 16; Prov. xix. 7; xxvi. 2; Isa. ix. 2; lxiii. 9. The Authorised Version follows arbitrarily either the one reading or the other, without noticing the fact in the margin.

homonyms should be exchanged. It will thus be seen that in all these passages the senses which are given in the text and in the margin are diametrically opposite, the one being the positive and the other the negative.

If we follow the marginal reading of the Hebrew, as is done by the Septuagint, the Chaldee, the Authorised Version, and others, the import of the statute is that a dwelling-house of a walled city, having been built by men, could easily be procured again. Hence, if the owner became impoverished, the law gave him a full year to recover himself and redeem it. If at the end of this period he was unable to re-purchase it, the house remained for ever with the buyer, since the seller, if he recruited his fortunes afterwards, could easily build or procure himself another house. The houses of villages, however, or farm-buildings, which were not surrounded by walls, belonged to landed property, and, like the cultivated land on which they stand, could be redeemed at any time, and if not redeemed reverted to the original owner in the year of jubilee (Lev. xxv. 31).

On behalf of the impoverished Levite, it was enacted that in case he sold his house, though located in a walled city, he should never forfeit the right of re-purchase. As the houses of the Levites in the forty-eight cities given to them (Numb. xxxv. 1—8) had the same value to them which landed property had to the other tribes, it was only justice that they should be subject to the jubilee law of fields. Great difficulty has been experienced in the interpretation of that part of the statute which is contained in Lev. xxv. 33. The Vulgate, which is followed by several eminent modern interpreters, inserts here the negative particle, which they maintain has dropped out of the text, and translate the verse in question as follows: "And if one of the Levites does not redeem it, then the house that was sold and the city of his possession shall go out in the jubilee."

Accordingly, the sense of this law is, that if one of the Levites does not effect the redemption, that which he sold, either of his house or of anything else in the city of his possession, must, without compensation, be restored at the jubilee. This, however, though yielding excellent sense, involves an emendation of the Hebrew text which is not justified by manuscript authority. Nor can the rendering, "And if a man purchase of the Levites, then the house," &c., which the Authorised Version has in the text, be sustained. The verb *gaal*, both throughout this legislation (comp. Lev. xxv. 25, 48, 49) and elsewhere, denotes "to redeem," and not "to purchase," and we are under no necessity to violate its usual sense in this passage. The import of the enactment is as follows:—If a Levite redeemed the house which his brother Levite was driven to sell through poverty, the general law of house property is not to obtain even among the Levites themselves. They are obliged to treat each other according to the law of landed property. Thus, for instance, the house of the Levite A, which he, out of poverty, was obliged to sell to the non-Levite B, and, in accordance with the statute contained in ver. 25, was redeemed from B by a

Levite C, reverted in the jubilee year from C to the original Levitical proprietor A. The verse is, therefore, to be translated literally: "If one of the Levites redeems it, then the house that was sold and the city of his possession shall go out in the jubilee."

On behalf of the poor man who had nothing to sell but his own person, and hence was driven by stress of circumstances to become a slave, the law enacted that he should be set free in the jubilee (Lev. xxv. 39—54). Hence the impoverished servant, apart from the fact that he could not be retained more than six years in servitude (Exod. xxi. 2), could reclaim his liberty and that of his family at the time of jubilee. The law moreover enacted that the poor should have a claim to a certain portion of the produce of the ground. Hence, when a man was hungry he had a right to go to any field or vineyard, and eat as much corn or grapes as would satisfy his hunger (Deut. xxiii. 24, 25). Acting upon this right, the disciples who, with Jesus, went on the Sabbath-day through the corn, when they "were an hungered began to pluck the ears of corn, and to eat" (Matt. xii. 1; Mark ii. 23; Luke vi. 1). At the time of harvest the landed proprietor was not allowed to return to the field to fetch any forgotten sheaf, or reap the corners of the field, or gather all the grapes of the vineyard, or beat the olive-trees a second time. These were the heritage of the poor (Lev. xix. 9, 10; Deut. xxiv. 19—21). To the poor, moreover, belonged the spontaneous produce of the soil in the sabbatical year (Exod. xxiii. 11; Lev. xxv. 6), as well as the tithe every third year (Deut. xiv. 28, 29; xxvi. 12, 13). Loans to them without a pledge were set forth as charity in the sight of God (Deut. xxiv. 13). No usury was taken from them, and when a pledge was sometimes demanded, it had to be returned at a certain time (Exod. xxii. 25—27; Lev. xxv. 35—37; Deut. xv. 7, 8); and the Israelites were enjoined periodically to entertain at their festive repasts, the Levite, the stranger, the orphan, the widow, and the poor (Deut. xvi. 11—14). These were the deeds of charity and benevolence urged upon the Hebrews in the Mosaic legislation. It is, therefore, perfectly natural that no vagrants or beggars are mentioned in the Pentateuchal statutes. These laws precluded soliciting alms from door to door. A beggar presenting himself at the door would simply be told by the landed proprietor that if he had nothing to live upon he would be glad to buy him as a servant; and if he were disabled, any of the numerous charitable provisions would more than anticipate his absolute wants. It is only when we bear in mind the laws enacted in favour of the poor that we can understand the expression *tzedakah* (צדקה) which the Old Testament uses to express the idea of charity (Deut. xxiv. 13; Prov. x. 2; xi. 4, &c.). This expression, which literally denotes *right, acts of right or justice*, came to mean "charity," because, as we have seen, according to the Mosaic law, the poor had an inalienable right to certain produce of the soil. Hence it does not exactly correspond to our term "alms," but occupies the midway position between deeds of right and of love.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE GOSPELS.—IV.

ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS.

"And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judaea: for thus it is written by the prophet, And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel."—Matt. ii. 5, 6.

IT may, at first sight, admit of question whether this passage can fairly be regarded as one presenting any real difficulty to the Bible reader, inasmuch as it is obvious that whether the quotation does or does not correspond with the original passage in Micah from which it is taken, it forms a part of the answer of the chief priests and scribes to Herod's inquiry, and does not proceed originally from the pen of the Evangelist. Inasmuch, however, as it may be fairly inferred that the exposition here given of Micah's prophecy is adopted, and consequently endorsed, by the Evangelist; and, further, inasmuch as many similar instances may be adduced in which the inspired writers adopt the sense rather than the words of ancient prophecy; and, once more, inasmuch as this quotation may be regarded as a fair illustration of the manner in which the Old Testament was expounded by the authorised Jewish interpreters in the days of our Lord, it seems desirable, on all these grounds, to compare the quotation with the original, and to endeavour to ascertain how far the one may be regarded as expressing the true import of the other.

The original passage (as it occurs in Micah v. 2) may be translated as follows: "And thou (or, as for thee) Bethlehem Ephratah—too small to be (*i.e.*, to be reckoned) amongst the thousands of Judah—out of thee shall (one) come forth to me, to be (or, who shall be) ruler in (or, over) Israel."

The general import of the prophecy, sufficiently obvious in itself, is further elucidated by chap. iv. 8: "And thou (or, as for thee), O tower of the flock, hill of the daughter of Zion, to thee shall it come, even the former dominion shall come, the kingdom to the daughter of Jerusalem." This previous announcement of the glory which Zion was destined to attain, is confirmed and completed by the further announcement that, in accordance with the prophecy contained in Isa. xi. 1, at the time of her deepest degradation, and out of a village (*κώμη*, St. John vii. 42) too small to be reckoned amongst the thousands (*i.e.*, the tribal subdivisions) of Judah, there should arise a ruler who should restore Israel to a pre-eminence higher than that of any nation upon the earth. The meaning of the word which is rendered "thousands" is apparent from a comparison of this passage with Numb. i. 16, where we read of "heads of *thousands* in Israel," and with Judg. vi. 15, where Gideon speaks of his own "family," or "thousand," as being "poor in Manassch." The meaning of the prophet is, obviously, that Bethlehem was too small to form an independent "thousand"

—*i.e.*, to become the residence of a leader in Israel, and hence a chief town;¹ the idea conveyed by the Hebrew word rendered "thousands" being precisely equivalent to that which is expressed by the LXX. in the words *ἐν χιλιάσιν*, "amongst the thousands," and by St. Matthew, who personifies the place, in the words *ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν*, *i.e.*, "amongst the leaders (or chiefs)" of Judah.

The most remarkable discrepancy between the prophecy, as it stands in Micah, and as it is quoted in St. Matthew, remains to be noticed. Whereas Micah represents Bethlehem as being too little to be reckoned among the "thousands," or chief cities of Judah, the chief priests and scribes, and St. Matthew, as endorsing the quotation, represent the same city as "*not* the least among the princes of Judah."

Various methods have been resorted to with the view of removing this apparent incongruity between the two statements. Some have alleged that the Hebrew word, which is correctly rendered "little" in the prophecy of Micah, may also be rendered "great;" an explanation which needs only to be stated in order to carry with it its own refutation. Some think that a negative particle has disappeared from the Hebrew text, Origen giving *οὐκ ἀλγιστὸς*, and some copies of the LXX. reading *μὴ*, "not." Others again, unmindful, apparently, of the fact that an interrogation is as clearly marked in the Hebrew as in other languages, propose to translate the first clause of the verse: "And *art* thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, little for being among the thousands of Judah?" To those, however, who scrutinise the sense rather than the syllables of Holy Scripture, these attempts to harmonise the quotation in St. Matthew with its original in Micah will appear as needless as they are, for the most part, untenable. It is obvious that the chief priests (and the Evangelist, as accepting and endorsing their interpretation) give the true meaning, though it be rather a paraphrase than a translation, of the ancient prophecy.

The prophet evidently contrasts the meanness and obscurity of Bethlehem, when compared with the nobler cities of Judah, with the loftiness of the destiny reserved for it as the appointed birthplace of the Messiah. When thus regarded, it might be represented with equal truth both as small and as great. Though mean in itself, its original obscurity was lost in its future glory. Though of small repute amongst the more populous cities by which it was surrounded, its name was destined to be transmitted to all after ages with imperishable lustre and renown, as the birthplace of that promised Deliverer, who was to be "a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of his people Israel."

¹ The smallness of Bethlehem may be inferred from the fact that it is omitted in the catalogue of the cities in the tribe of Judah in the Book of Joshua. Josephus, who sometimes speaks of Bethlehem as a city, elsewhere designates it by the word *χωρίον* (*Antiq.* v. 2, 8).

THE PERFUMES OF THE BIBLE.—I.

BY GEORGE C. M. BIRDWOOD, M.D. EDIN., INDIA MUSEUM.



HE Bible, in its descriptions of the services of the Jews' tabernacle and temple, and allusions—for the most part poetical—to the manners and customs of the chosen people, bears superabundant and most striking

very names have been kept from the first in an unbroken tradition—that the identification of the precious perfumes named in the Bible can be studied with the greatest interest and the best chances of success.

“Ointment and perfume rejoice the heart” (Prov.



LIEN ALOES (*Aquilaria Agallocha*, Roxb.), about half natural size. 1. Flower; and same laid open (2), enlarged. 3. Fruit, real size.

evidence of the immemorial use and love of perfumes in the East. The whole air of Southern Asia is filled with the smoke and sweet odours of these perfumes, the most precious products of Arabia, the Eastern Archipelago, and China; and it is in the bazaars of these countries—where their use and, in many instances,

xxvii. 9). “Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all powders of the merchant?” (Song of Songs iii. 6). “All thy garments smell of myrrh, aloes, and cassia, out of the ivory palaces, whereby they have made thee glad” (Ps. xlv. 8).

"And the smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon" (Song of Songs iv. 11). "Thou wentest to the king with ointment, thou didst increase thy perfumes, and didst send thy messengers far off, and didst debase thyself even unto hell" (Isa. lvii. 9). "Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and wor-

mallovs, and sandal-wood, spikenard, costus, and saffron, ladanum (very rare), balm, and fragrant oils—known from afar by the throng of buyers before them. They are in hourly use in private life—to perfume clothes and furniture, to offer to guests and on domestic altars; and are still more profusely used in the public



I. BALM (*Balsamodendron Gilcadense*, Kunth.), natural size. Branch in fruit. 1. Branch in flower. 2. Flower enlarged. 3. Fruit, natural size. II. BALM (*Balsamodendron Opobalsamum*, Kunth.), natural size. 1. Fruit, natural size.

shipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odours unto him" (Dan. ii. 46). "I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes, and cinnamon" (Prov. vii. 17). "In that day the Lord will take away . . . thy tablets . . . and it shall come to pass, that instead of sweet smell there shall be stink" (Isa. iii. 18, 20, 24).

In such a town as Bombay half the bazaar is taken up with perfume (*atar*) shops—with myrrh, aloes, and cassia, frankincense and cinnamon, benzoin, rose-

services of the innumerable idol temples, and in the burning of the dead. Their smoke goes up for ever from the "burning ground" of Bombay—"Where their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched" (Mark ix. 43 *et seq.*)—a pillar of cloud by day, and of fire by night.

In hot climates, indeed, the use of perfumes is a sanitary necessity. They do not merely mask bad smells, but correct them, and are wonderfully reviving to the spirits from the depression which they fall

into in crowded places like churches. A pot of "holy basil" is placed before every Hindoo home; and the mother of the house may be seen every morning, after having ground the corn for the day, and performed her simple toilet, walking round and round the four-horned altar on which the pot of basil is set, invoking the blessings of heaven on the father of her children and on them—a prayer in action for less carbonic acid and ever more and more of oxygen. And there can be no doubt, from what may be observed in the East, that the use of sweet odours in religious rites generally has originated in sanitary precautions. The ancients, moreover, had no soap, or, at least, were not familiar with its use, except as a sort of pomade, and were driven, therefore, to the use of substitutes for it, such as the plant called *borith* by the Jews, and translated "soap" in the English version of the Bible. The less legitimate, but chief substitutes for it, however, were ointments and other preparations of all kinds of odoriferous gums, resins, roots, woods, and plants, and these were, as to this day in India, frequently carried about the person in little caskets called *alabastra*, from their being often made of alabaster. In the passage from the Bible above quoted—"All thy garments smell of myrrh, aloes, and cassia, out of the ivory palaces, whereby they have made thee glad;" and "The Lord will take away thy tablets, and it shall come to pass, that instead of sweet smell there shall be stink"—the words "tablets" and "ivory palaces" refer to these "scent-bottles." The latter passage alludes to the omission, still observed in the East, of the use of perfume in times of mourning by the Jews.

The following, in alphabetical order, are the galenical perfumes named in the Bible:—

ALGUM (2 Chron. ii. 8, and ix. 10, 11), or ALMUG (1 Kings x. 11, 12). This is the wood of a tree that has not yet been satisfactorily identified, and is only included in this list because Professor Max Müller has identified it with sandal-wood. In his popular account of the identification of Malabar with the Ophir of the ancients, he observes that the names for *apes*, *peacocks*, *ivory*, and *algum* trees are in Hebrew foreign words, as *tobacco* and *gutta-percha* are in English; and that *algum* is the Sanscrit *valguka*, one of the numerous names of sandal-wood in Malabar, where only, he states, it is found indigenous. But sandal-wood is indigenous to the Eastern Archipelago, and that from Malaya is held in the best esteem throughout India. Sandal-wood of other *Santalum* species is produced also in the Sandwich and Fiji Islands. And considering the use to which *almug* was put by Solomon (1 Kings x. 11, 12), it was probably not a perfumed wood like sandal-wood, but a valuable timber-tree like the *sissoo* (*Dalbergia* sps.) of India, known as "blackwood" in Bombay; and it has been tentatively identified with the "red sanders" (*Pterocarpus santalinus*) of the Coromandel, Paulghat, and Ceylon, of which most of the musical instruments shown in the India Museum, and the Indian Court of the Exhibition, are made.

ALOES, LIGN ALOES, in Hebrew *ahâlâm*, *ahdloth*

(Numb. xxiv. 6; Ps. xlv. 8; Prov. vii. 17; Song of Songs iv. 14; John xix. 39). There can be little doubt of this identification. The better kind of aloes-wood is produced by the leguminous plant *Alaxylon Agallochum*, Lour., a native of Cochin-China, and the inferior kind by *Aquilaria Agallocha*, W. (*Aquilariaceæ*), a native of India beyond the Ganges, the Malayan name of which, *Agila*, is the origin of most of the synonyms of this most precious perfume, as *agaru*, Sanscrit, *aggar*, Hindi, *pao d'agila*, Portuguese, and the English and commercial names Eagle-wood, Aloes-wood, Lignum-aquile, Agalloclum, Agallnge, &c. It is also called *calambac* from *kolambok*, the Malayan name for the wood of *Alaxylon Agallochum*. The designation should be properly restricted, therefore, to the wood of this tree. It is remarkable that two trees belonging to widely-separated orders should produce a wood apparently identical in regard to its aromatic properties. There is a notable large fragment of this wood in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Bombay, and its fragrance seems to be the product of disease. It was taken from a Chinese temple during the last war. *Excoecaria Agallocha*, a spurge-wood, was long erroneously supposed to be the source of lign aloes.

BALM, in Hebrew *tzôri*, *tzêri*, (Gen. xxxvii. 25; xliii. 11; Jer. vii. 22; xlv. 11; li. 8; Ezek. xxvii. 17). The "balm of Gilead" cannot with certainty be identified. It has been thought to be the resin of *Pistachia Lentiscus*, or mastic, the oil of *Balanites Ægyptiaca*, and the oleo resin of *Balsamodendron Opobalsamum*, and *B. Gileadense*, Kunth. But I have no doubt that it is the oleo resin of the latter trees which is the balm (*tzôri*) of the Bible. The *Balanites Ægyptiaca* has been planted by the Mohammedans all over India, and mastic is to be found in every Indian bazaar; but neither are held in any reputation, although the *Balanites* is the object of a sort of religious veneration. But balm, *ood-i-balsam*, is extravagantly prized throughout the East as a universal panacea, and even in large bazaars, like those of Bombay, is found only in the smallest quantities; and this oleo-resin has been traced as the product of *B. Opobalsamum* and *B. Gileadense*. The wood *xylobalsamon*, and fruit *carpobalsamum* (a term sometimes applied, in error, in old books to cloves), are sold with the balm, *opobalsamum*, in Bombay. There can be, then, little reasonable doubt of its being the balm of Scripture, and the *Βαλσαμον* of Theophrastus and Dioscorides. Pliny, Diodorus, and ancient authors generally, considered Judæa the native country solely of the balm trees; but we now know that they are natives of Arabia. They would appear to have been confined to gardens in Judæa, and the vineyards of En-gedi have been supposed to have been balsam groves. Diodorus gives En-gedi and the Dead Sea shore as the habitat of the trees. Calmet states that the Arabians have a tradition that the Queen of Sheba introduced them there on her visit to Solomon. They were an offering which must have been prized, for centuries later Pliny informs us that the Emperors Vespasian and Titus had the shrubs

exhibited in Rome, and that the Romans were in the habit of carrying them in their triumphal processions; and also that Alexander the Great, when in Judæa, thought it a fair midsummer day's work to fill a concha (0412 to 1238 of a pint) with opobalsamum. In the British Museum is a stamp of Herophilus, the founder

bdellium is an odoriferous resin produced by several trees, and the *bdellium* of India (*Googul Mukul*) is obtained from *Balsamodendron Roxburghii*, *B. Mukul*, and *B. pubescens*. It is most probable that the *bdellium* of the Bible was the Indian gum-resin.

CALAMUS, in Hebrew *kanêh* (Song of Songs iv.



CINNAMON (*Cinnamomum Zeylanicum*, Nees), half natural size. 1. Fruit, natural size. 2. Flower, natural size.

of the Alexandrian school, for his opobalsamum salve. It represents a figure of Roma, seated, with a head in the left hand, all on sard.

BDELLIUM, in Hebrew *bedôlach* (Gen. ii. 12; Numb. xi. 7). It is quite impossible to say to what the *bdellium* of our Bible refers. Lassen has suggested that it is musk; Bochart asserts that it is the pearl. It is associated in the Bible with gold and the onyx stone, and the river Kishon, and the colour of manna is said to be "as the colour of bdellium." In modern commerce

14; Ezek. xxvii. 19). **SWEET CALAMUS**, in Hebrew *kênêh bôsem* (Exod. xxx. 23). **SWEET CANE**, in Hebrew *kanêh hottôb* (Jer. vi. 20), and *kanêh* alone (Isa. xliii. 24). In short, *calamus*, *sweet calamus*, and *sweet cane* are the same thing in the signification of the Hebrew words. There are many sweet grasses in India and the East, as *Andropogon Calamus aromaticus*, Royle, and other species of *Andropogon*, and Royle identifies this plant with the "reed of fragrance" of Exodus, and Jeremiah's "good reed from a far country."

But no sweet grass is exported from India, except the roots of *A. muricatus*, in the shape of *cuscus* fans. It is the essential oils of the other species, known as Lemon grass oil and *roosa* oil (a common substitute for the *atar* of roses), that are solely exported, and Royle's identification cannot therefore be implicitly accepted.

CASSIA, in Hebrew *kiddîh* (Exod. xxx. 24), and *ketziôth* (Ps. xlv. 8). CINNAMON, in Hebrew *kinnamôn* (Exod. xxx. 23; Prov. vii. 17; Song of Songs iv. 14; and Rev. xviii. 13). The Cassia-lignea of modern commerce is the bark of the laurel, *Cinnamomum Cassia*, Blume, of China; and cinnamon is the bark of *Cinnamomum Zeylanicum*, Nees, a native of the Troglodyte country, but cultivated in Ceylon and Java; and nearly all the so-called Cinnamon

of modern commerce is nothing more than Cassia-lignea. It cannot be reasonably questioned that the cinnamon of the Bible is other than cinnamon; but it is almost certain that Cassia-lignea must have been included under the same term; and we do not know what the cassia—*kiddîh* or *ketziôth*—of the Bible was. The word in the English version transparently refers to two plants. It is also impossible to identify the *κασσία* of any of the Greeks—Hippocrates, Theophrastus, and Dioscorides. The Hebrew word *kiddîh* in Exodus is translated by *ῥις* in the Septuagint, although St. Jerome and Sprengel translate it as *cassia*. The Hebrew word *ketziôth* the Septuagint translates *καρία*, but modern authorities identify it with Indian orris, or *Costus*, the root of *Aucklandia Costus*, Falconer, a composite flower of Casuarina.

THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—III.

HABAKKUK.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

SECOND PART.

THE ODE OR PRAYER (CHAP. III.).

WHEN God speaks to man, shall not man reply? The simplicity and freedom with which the prophets uttered the thoughts and wishes quickened within them by the Divine revelations that were vouchsafed them, is one of the most striking and beautiful features of the Old Testament Scriptures. So far from being mere organs, mere voices and pens, of the Holy Ghost, they seem to have regarded every new revelation as a new invitation to "commerce with the skies;" they understood that God was saying to them, "Come, now, and let us reason together." They expostulate with Him with the most entire freedom, pleading with a childlike simplicity for some mitigation of his demands, entreating a more merciful consideration of the iniquities of man.

In this respect, as in all others, Habakkuk proves himself worthy of "the goodly fellowship." He has heard the Divine Voice uttering doom. He has ventured, even as he listened, to interject brief remonstrances and supplications, to speak with the Almighty as with a friend, and to tell Him how his mind was clouded and chilled with doubt. And now he gathers up all his energies for a prolonged and impassioned appeal.

Than this prayer, which is also a poem, there is nothing finer in conception, or more sublime in tone, in the whole range of Hebrew song; nor, alas! is there aught that has been more variously interpreted, or that is more difficult to interpret. Its very perfection has had "an effect defective." The wild, fervent, and ever-changing impulses which throb in it are all, indeed, brought under poetic law; but we know so little, whether

of the metres or the music of Hebrew psalmody, and of the manifold effects these would produce on the expression of thought, that, while all the commentators agree in admiring the "ode," no two of them wholly agree in the construction they put upon it. It would not be wise, even if it were possible, to discuss the different interpretations put on phrase after phrase. All that will be attempted here will be to give that interpretation which seems, on the whole, to be the best.

Happily, in so far as the general outline of thought is concerned, there is little difference of opinion. The "prayer" or "ode" of Habakkuk is the human echo to the Divine Voice which, through the two previous chapters, we have heard denouncing judgment. That Voice had pronounced a doom to be executed, first on Judah by the fierce and cruel Chaldean for the iniquity of the land, and then on the Chaldean himself, for his cruelty, and because he deified his own power, making his sword his god. To this Voice the prophet has listened with deep and growing agitation. And now he prays both that, if the doom must come, it may come speedily and not tarry; and that mercy may come as well as wrath (ver. 2). That his prayer may have the strength and fervour of hope, he recalls the most signal manifestations of the Divine glory made to Israel in past ages, comforting himself with the thought that, whenever God has appeared to "stamp down nations," it has been that He might save those who trusted in Him, "and rescue his anointed" (vs. 3—15). This magnificent "theophany" occupies the place of honour in the ode, which indeed is mainly taken up with it. All that the poet has to add is a description of the emotions with which it has inspired him. He still trembles as he "awaits the day of tribulation;" but his faith has been so invigorated by his review of the merciful and glorious "end" of past judgments, that, even as he

trembles, he rejoices in God as his salvation and his strength (vs. 16--19).

This, in general, is the course and sequence of thought in the ode of Habakkuk. And, before we proceed to consider it more in detail, we must, first of all, gather up the hints he himself drops as to its character, and form, and use. In the superscription he calls it "a prayer," and ordains that it be sung '*al shiggyônôth*, that is, "in dithyrambic measures." Thrice, in vs. 3, 9, and 13, he appends the musical "note" or mark, *Selah!* And in the subscription, he addresses it "To the conductors of the Temple music," and intimates in the words, "With my stringed instruments," the kind of orchestral accompaniment to which it is to be set. Of course, all these hints or signs conclusively mark out the ode as intended for the public worship of the Temple, as a "hymn" or "psalm" to be sung in or by "the great congregation." But, besides this general meaning, each of the words or phrases has a significance peculiar to itself, which we must try to recover. Even the fact that Habakkuk calls his poem "a prayer," has in it a valuable suggestion, especially when we remember that the Psalms of David are also called "*the prayers of the son of Jesse*."¹ It suggests that the current conception of prayer is too colourless and too limited. According to Habakkuk and David, prayer is not the mere utterance of desire in the simplest forms of speech; nor is it always even a direct address to the Almighty. It includes much more. It is often and mainly a devout meditation on God, on his works and providence, and on our relations to him; it is a meditation on spiritual facts and verities, conducted under a reverent and stimulating sense of the Divine Presence. It is thinking *with God in all our thoughts*. And, often, it utters itself in words full of colour, glow, and passion, depicting the scenes of nature or the events of history in phrases steeped in the kindling hues of imagination, or in poetic cadences that chime like sweet bells in tune. As used by the prophet, then, the word "prayer" prefixed to his ode meant, that it was to be adopted into the Temple liturgy; but its main value to us lies in its suggestion of the wide scope of thought and utterance permitted to man in his intercourse with the Majesty of Heaven.

All the other hints attached to the ode by the prophet relate to its public performance rather than to its theme, and compel us to glance at a subject of which but little is known. Of the Hebrew modes of music we know nothing, or hardly anything, beyond the fact that they had many distinct and clearly marked modes and forms of musical composition. In the titles of the Psalms we find them denoted by such phrases as '*al haggittith*, '*al neginôth*, '*al shiggyônôth*; but what these styles were we can only infer from the roots from which these words are derived, and even on this point there is a wide diversity of opinion. Very possibly '*al haggittith* means "in the Gittite manner," and denotes a style of music borrowed by the Hebrews from the

Philistine clan of Gath.² Very possibly, '*al neginôth* means "on the strings," and denotes a purely instrumental form of music, a form in which only stringed instruments, as viols, harps, citherns, were employed. Very probably, '*al shiggyônôth* means "in wandering measures," and denotes music of "a stormy, martial, and triumphal" mode. This is the term Habakkuk uses in his superscription; and the most probable meaning of the term is, that his ode was to be sung to music of the most impulsive and passionate kind, full of abrupt changes and transitions, such as the words of the ode demand. In short, it seems to have been the Hebrew analogue of the Greek dithyramb, or hymn to Bacchus (Dithyrambus), which Plutarch describes thus:³ "And verily to Bacchus they do chant in their songs certain *dithyrambiek* ditties and tunes, full of passion and change, with motions and agitations to and fro."

The orchestra of the Temple was much larger, more various, and well organised than is commonly supposed. It included stringed instruments, wind instruments, and instruments of percussion: viols and harps, for instance, flutes and horns, timbrels and cymbals; the conductor himself, strangely enough as it seems to us, playing the cymbals—probably that he might the better mark time.⁴ The ordinary band of the Temple consisted of 166 musicians, presided over by a body of twelve skilled players, with one of the sons of Asaph, Heman, or Jeduthan as conductor. Now we know that the service of the Temple was divided into twenty-four "courses," in one of which every priest and Levite took their turn of duty. And, as even the musicians of the Temple were chosen from the Levitical tribe, we might perhaps have inferred that there were twenty-four such bands, each serving in its turn; so that, on grand festal occasions, it must have been possible to bring together close upon four thousand ($166 \times 24 = 3984$) competent musicians, *i.e.*, instrumentalists, besides the vast choirs of singing men and singing women.⁵ But this doubtful inference is put beyond doubt by the express declaration of 1 Chron.

² In the *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, there is a hint which seems to confirm this conclusion, and which it would probably repay some Oriental scholar to pursue. In vol. i., pp. 474--6, Sir Henry gives us two odes composed by a Nepalese minstrel, in honour of the chief minister of her native court. These odes are superscribed thus:—"Translation of songs composed by Hiera, one of the minstrels, in eulogy of General Matabur Sing, her patron; in the measure of Bhoopal." It is at least curious that this custom of prefixing to a song or ode the "measure" in which it is to be sung—this measure, moreover, being borrowed from an alien yet neighbouring race—should be still preserved in the "unchanging East." And there may be something more than coincidence in the fact that just as a Hebrew Psalm was to be sung in the measure of Gath, so a Nepalese song may still be sung in the measure of Bhoopal.

³ See Holland's *Plutarch*, p. 1, 134.

⁴ 1 Chron. xvi. 5; and xv. 19.

⁵ That women took part in the musical service of the Temple is evident from the fact that (1 Chron. xxv. 5, 6) the *three daughters*, as well as the fourteen sons of Heman were "under the hands of their father for song in the house of the Lord, with cymbals, psalteries, and harps, for the service of the house of God." It is also implied in the fact that (Ezra ii. 65), singing women as well as singing men are mentioned among the captives who returned from Babylon. The *trumpeters* do not seem to have been included even in this vast array of instrumentalists. According to 1 Chron. xv. 24,

xxiii. 5, that "*four thousand*" Levites were set apart to "praise the Lord *with the instruments.*" So large a number of skilled instrumentalists, devoted to the study and practice of music age after age, implies a degree of musical culture which could not but issue in the formation of many expressive styles of composition, and an indefinite variety in the form and mode of accompanying the singers, whether in solo or in chorus. Every great composer would orchestrate differently, choosing such instruments, and in such numbers and combinations, as would best express his conceptions. The Hebrew rabbis assure us that such changes were made, and lay down the limits within which they were lawful. "Of psalteries (a kind of guitar) not less than two were to be used, and not more than six; of flutes not less than two nor more than twelve; of trumpets not less than two, but as many as were wished; of harps or etherns not less than nine, but as many as were wished." It is to this custom of suitably selecting and grouping the instruments of the orchestra, that Habakkuk seems to allude in the "direction" subjoined to his ode, "With my stringed instruments;" that is, "Let the ode be sung to the sound of the harps, viols, psalteries which I commonly employ, or which I have specified." Like most of the Hebrew prophets, Habakkuk seems to have been a trained and accomplished musician; and no doubt he was on good terms with "the conductors of the Temple music;" of whom there were twenty-four, chosen from the sons of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, so that they would at once understand which instruments he would have them employ, and what was the style of music to which he wished his ode to be sung.

The word "*Selah*," which is thrice inserted as on the margin of the ode, appears to have had a double meaning. I am disposed to think that it is one of those puns, or plays on words in a double sense, which so often occur in Hebrew literature, and especially in Hebrew poetry. It may be derived either from the verb *sālāl*, "to raise," or from the verb *sālāh*, "to suspend." And it seems to have been used in both meanings. To the singers, it was probably a direction—answering to the modern "rest"—to pause, to "suspend" their voices; while to the instrumentalists it was a command to "raise" or elevate their tones, and answered very much to our modern *forte*. Some critics go so far as to say that it marks the point at which, the voices ceasing, the wind instruments were added to the strings, the silver trumpets pealing high over all, and the cymbals marking time with a clang. But all we have probable warrant for—and we have only probabilities even for this—is that the word *Selah* marked the points at which a brief symphony came in, the singers pausing, while the instrumentalists played with added power.

The conclusion in which all these hints combine to

land us is this, that Habakkuk intended his ode to be introduced into the liturgical service of the Temple; to be set in the freest, and boldest, and most various style of the Hebrew music; to be sung by the cultivated Levitical choirs, accompanied, in subdued tones, by the stringed instruments of the Temple orchestra, and broken by symphonies in which the full strength of the orchestra would be employed to set forth the sublimity or the tenderness either of the passage that had just been sung, or of that which was about to be sung, or in effecting an artistic transition from the one to the other. We may also infer from them, perhaps—as many of the best critics have inferred—that Habakkuk was himself an accomplished musician, as well as a poet of the first rank. The inference that he was also a Levitic instrumentalist, accustomed to take part in, if not to conduct, the musical service of the Temple, appears to be a more doubtful one, though some of our ablest commentators have no doubt about it.

From the performance we may pass to the main theme, or prayer, of the ode (ver. 2):—

"O Jehovah! I have heard thy tidings. I am afraid.
O Jehovah! revive thy work in the midst of the years;
In the midst of the years make it known:
In wrath remember mercy."

The "tidings" which had filled Habakkuk with alarm were the revelations recorded in the previous chapters. In the first chapter he introduces himself to us; *he breaks upon us* shouting, "Violence! Violence!" so evil is the time on which he has fallen, so unjust, rapacious, and aggressive are the men among whom he has to dwell. He wonders that God can bear with their "iniquity," and see his "misery" unmoved. To this passionate appeal God replies by announcing a terrible judgment on that evil generation. The fierce cruel Chaldeans are to march through the land, "sweeping up captives like sand." But is not this to cast out devils by the prince of the devils? to punish violence by a violence still more arrogant and lawless? The prophet is perplexed anew. He expostulates with God. Is the sacred race to be exterminated by the heathen? If judgment is to begin at the house of God, is it to end there? Will the Chaldeans escape unscathed, untouched? Habakkuk asks and perplexes himself with these questions; he finds no rest because he cannot answer them. At last, weary of wandering in an endless maze of thought, he turns to God for a clue. He makes a silence in his heart; he watches and listens for the Divine Voice. God speaks. He predicts on the violent Chaldeans a still more terrible and exterminating doom than that which they would inflict on the Jews. They are to become the booty and the song of all whom they had plundered and oppressed. But mark how this doom is introduced (chap. ii. 3) with an exhortation to faith and patience. It has its appointed time, or "end." Toward that "end" it pants and strives. Though it tarry it will come; it will not stop short of its goal. And therefore the prophet is to "*wait for it*," to wait for that "end" of days on which, according to the Divine ordinance, it will arrive.

and xvi. 6, the priests as distinguished from the Levites were appointed to sound the trumpets; and in the dedication of the Temple under Solomon, with the Levites who sang and played on "cymbals, psalteries, and harps," were associated "a hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets" (2 Chron. v. 12, 13; vii. 6).

These are the "tidings" which he has heard. As he listens to them—as he foresees the miseries which are to come on his race and on the great heathen empire—he is troubled and alarmed. The threatened suspense and delay are even more terrible to him than the very judgment itself. His thought is, "Oh, if the doom must fall, let it fall soon; not at some far-off 'end' which I cannot see, but 'in the midst of the years;' let it come at least half way to meet us." He conceives of a period one limit of which was the moment at which he spoke, and the other "the end" of which God had spoken; and between these two lay a middle point, which he calls "the midst of the years." What he asks is that God would hasten his coming, not tarry till the "end" of which He had spoken, but advance along the line till He reached the middle point, and there execute his judgments on the earth.

But, again, he would have God antedate his appearance, not only for the display of his "wrath," but also for the display of his "mercy." He cries, "*Revive thy work in the midst of the years—call it to life.*" And what this Divine work is he puts beyond doubt in the verses that follow, in which he recalls the most splendid manifestations of the glory of God that had been vouchsafed to his fathers in past generations. At the giving of the Law on Sinai, through the perils of the Exodus, under the rule of the Judges, there had been "theophanies," which, however grand and terrible in form, were nevertheless full of grace; robed in light and majesty, God had appeared to give a law unto Israel and to save them out of the hand of all their enemies. This is the work¹ which Habakkuk entreats God to call to life again, to renew, to supplement, and to complete. Let Him appear in the midst of the years, between the threatening and the infliction of doom, as of old He appeared to the fathers, to republish his law, to deliver his people from their foes; to make himself known to the faithless sons of faithless sires, in the glory of his goodness and compassion, that, when the doom falls, they may take refuge in Him. The heavens are now dark with menace; they will hereafter be yet darker with judgment; but, in the middle space, let

there be some little light, that men's hearts may not wholly fail them for fear.

How much the prophet has this prayer at heart is indicated by the beseeching earnestness of his tone, an earnestness which finds expression in the iteration and reiteration of one and the same petition. First, he repeats it in the same or synonymous words. "*Revive thy work in the midst of the years!*" he cries imploringly, and adds, "*In the midst of the years make it known.*" But he is not content with urging and re-urging the same prayer in the same or similar words. "*In wrath remember mercy*" is, in effect, the same prayer in other words. For the "work" which he implores God to revive is that manifestation of mercy and long-suffering patience by which all past revelations of his wrath have been tempered. There is "wrath" now in the threatening; there will be "wrath" hereafter in the infliction of judgment: meantime, let there be such a disclosure of Divine "mercy" that as men "await the day of tribulation," and "when he that shall attack them cometh up," if "trembling seize their breast," they may yet be "joyful in the God of their salvation," though "the corn-fields bear no food," and "the fold be empty of the flock, and there be no ox in the stall."

This is the "*prayer*" of Habakkuk the prophet," a prayer which the ode simply unfolds in the most sublime and various forms. The whole chapter is but a development of this thought, a grand fugue of which this is the theme. And the prayer conclusively proves that Habakkuk had seized on these intimations of the merciful end of Divine judgment, which we are so apt to overlook, in the revelations with which he had already been inspired. It was because he had learned that judgment was "determined for correction," not for destruction (i. 12), that, in echoing back the Divine Voice, he could ask for mercy. He had been taught that the righteous man would live by his fidelity to God (ii. 4). He had been taught that Jehovah sitteth in the heavenly temple, ruling all the affairs of men, sweeping away whatever exalted itself against Him, in order that the life of the knowledge of his glory might fill the earth as the waters cover the deep (ii. 20, 14). And therefore he could confidently entreat, "*Revive thy work in the midst of the years, O Jehovah.*" . . . In wrath remember mercy," knowing that he did but ask what God had resolved to bestow.

¹ For a similar use of the word, see Ps. xc. 16:—
"Let thy work appear unto thy servants,
And thy glory unto their children,
And let the beauty of our God be upon us,"

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.—VIII.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

MULE.

THIS well-known and useful animal, the cross between the ass and mare, is not mentioned as being used by the Hebrews before the time of David. The three following Hebrew words, *pered* (or *pardah* fem.), *rekesh*, and *yémim* are rendered "mule" in our version, but the first name only denotes this animal. The

meaning of the Hebrew word *rekesh* will be considered when we come to notice camels and dromedaries. The *yémim* of Gen. xxxvi. 24, "This was that Anah that found the mules (*yémim*) in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father," denotes, there can scarcely be a doubt, "warm springs," as the Vulgate version renders the passage, "Iste est Ana qui invenit aquas calidas in solitudine." The wilderness may be a

part of Edom south of Moab, and here the warm springs rise in a tract south-east of the Dead Sea, and flow in Wady el-Achsa (see Burckhardt's *Syria*). The word is probably derived from *yim*, "to shine, "to

with their employment of horses; the first mention of this animal occurs in the history of Absalom, "Then all the king's sons arose, and every man gat him up upon his mule, and fled" (2 Sam. xiii. 29). It was when



MULE CARRYING NETS FOR THE CHASE. (ASSYRIAN.)

glow," "to be hot;" it does not occur elsewhere. Hot springs have long been celebrated for their real or supposed medicinal properties, and the accidental discovery of them in the wilderness by Anah as he tended his father's asses would have been thought worthy of record by the sacred historian.

The mule became known to the Jews simultaneously

with Absalom was riding upon a mule that he met with his death: "And Absalom rode upon a mule, and the mule went under the thick boughs of a great oak, and his head caught hold of the oak, and he was taken up between the heaven and the earth; and the mule that was under him went away" (2 Sam. xviii. 9). David appears to have been the first to introduce horses into the

Israelitish army; after his victory over Hadadezer, king of Zobah, he reserved for his own use horses enough for 100 chariots (2 Sam. viii. 3, 4); and soon after we hear of mules. David himself rode on one; it was on one of his father's mules that Solomon rode from Jerusalem to Gihon when he was anointed king (1 Kings i. 33), and subsequently much attention appears to have been bestowed upon the breed and importation of mules. Solomon is said to have received, together with horses, vessels of silver and gold, armour, spices, &c., mules also from many nations as presents (1 Kings x. 25). From Armenia, a country famous for its excellent horses, both mules and horses were exported to Tyre: "They of the house of Togarmah traded in thy fairs with chariot horses, cavalry horses, and mules" (Ezek. xxvii. 14). Mules were not only used for riding, they were also employed as beasts of burden: "Naaman said, Shall there not then, I pray thee, be given to thy servant two mules' burden of earth?" (2 Kings v. 17.) Provisions were also carried on the backs of mules (1 Chron. xii. 40), and probably baggage in time of war. The woodcut on page 249 represents a mule carrying nets for one of Assurbanipal's hunting expeditions; the same king did not forget to exact tribute from his conquered enemies in the shape of mules, as well as horses and other useful animals. "At present mules are exclusively employed both by men of peace in riding, and for bearing burdens throughout Palestine. Though inferior to the horse in speed, their sure-footedness renders them more useful in riding over the hilly country, and their power of endurance is much greater. The Arabs never use them, but among the settled population, and in the cities, they are ridden by the mercantile and middle classes, horses being confined, for the most part, to the military and the Bedouin. For burdens mules are invaluable, as they carry a much heavier load than the camel, and on uneven ground can make a longer day's journey. They are much longer lived and harder than horses, and consequently well-bred mules fetch in Syria a higher price than ordinary horses." (*Nat. Hist. of Bible*, p. 125.)

BEHEMOTH.

The only two animals belonging to the *Suina*, the non-ruminating division of the *Artiodactyla*, or even-toed ungulates, which we shall have to notice, are the hippopotamus and the pig, or wild boar.

Almost all authorities are now convinced that the animal denoted by the Hebrew word "behemoth" is none other than the hippopotamus, and there is no occasion to do more than just mention some of the various conjectures that have from time to time been formed as to the animal signified. Behemoth has now been "the elephant," now "the mammoth," or "some extinct pachyderm," or "cattle" generally, as "the horse, or wild ass, or wild bull," it being supposed that the account of behemoth in the Book of Job (xl. 15-24) does not all belong to one and the same animal; that one part of the passage—vs. 15-20, for instance—describes "the elephant," the remaining verses having reference to the

"hippopotamus" (see Bernard's *Book of Job*, p. 503); others, as Rodwell (*Book of Job*), regard both the behemoth and leviathan as partly imaginary animals.

In no other book in the Bible do we meet with so many and such grand pictures of animal life as in the Book of Job. How sublime is the Hebrew poet in his representation of the war-horse on the field of battle! How graphic are those few words which portray the shyness and retired habits of the wild ass, swifter, almost, than horse or greyhound, and free as the very wind of heaven that sweeps the plains! Nor is the sacred poet less sublime in the picture which he draws of behemoth, the subject of our present notice.

First, as to the signification of the Hebrew word. Is its etymology purely Semitic, or is the word a Hebraistic form of the Egyptian or Coptic? Authorities there are in support of each of these opinions, but the majority seem to be in favour of the latter hypothesis, which seeks for the origin of behemoth in the Coptic *p-ehe-mou* (or *mout*), i.e., "the water-ox," *p* being the article, *ehe*, "ox," and *mou*, "water." Gesenius, Fürst, Jablonski, and Heiligstedt are amongst those who hold this view. In either case, whether the name of behemoth is to be referred to the Coptic, or whether it is the plural number of the Hebrew *behemah*, "an animal," "a beast," and thus used as the plural *majestatis* to denote "a mighty creature," the description exactly answers to the hippopotamus; nor do we agree with Mr. Rodwell that it is in any way descriptive of a creature partly imaginary, though undoubtedly the word did subsequently become in legendary lore a fabulous gigantic animal, as in the Talmud, where behemoth is called the "bull of the high mountains," with appetite so enormous as to consume every day the grass off a thousand hills!

The following is the description of the hippopotamus as given in Job xl. We translate the passage thus:—

"Behold now the river-horse, whom I made as well as thee; he eateth grass like cattle. Behold now, his strength is in his loins, and his power in the muscles of his belly. He bendeth his tail like a cedar; the sinews of his thighs interweave one with another. His bones (leg-bones) are as tubes of copper, his solid bones (ribs) each one as a bar of forged iron. He is the chief of the works of God; his Maker hath furnished him with his scythe (tooth). For the hills bring him forth abundant food, and all the beasts of the field have their pasture there. Beneath the shady trees he lieth down, in the covert of the reeds and fens. The shady trees cover him with their shadow, the willows of the stream surround him. Lo! the river swelleth proudly against him, yet he is not alarmed; he is securely confident, though a descending torrent burst forth against his mouth. Will any one capture him when in his sight? Will any one bore his nostril in the snare?"

"He eateth grass like cattle." Here, no doubt, a contrast is intended. Though an amphibious creature, spending much of his time in the water, like his neighbour, the crocodile, yet his food is grass, which he seeks on the mountains; these, in some narrow parts of the

Nile valley, approach within a few hundred yards of the river's bank. "He bendeth his tail like a cedar;" his strong stiff tail is as unbending as the trunk of a cedar-tree. "His Maker hath furnished him with his seythe" (tooth). This description exactly suits the hippopotamus. Both ancient and modern writers have been struck with the resemblance of the large teeth of this animal to sickles or seythes. Nicanderspeaks of the "horse which the Nile beyond fire-coloured Sais nourishes, and which plies his destructive sickle against the corn-fields."

ἢ Ἰππου, τὸν Νεῖλος ὑπὲρ Σάιν αἰθαλδεσσαν
βόσκει, ἀρούρησιν δὲ κακὴν ἐπιβάλλεται ἄρπην.
(*Theriac*, 336, 367.)

A modern author says, "With these apparently combined teeth, the hippopotamus can cut the grass as neatly as if it were mown with the seythe." The sword-shaped form of the teeth of this animal is familiar to every visitor to the Regent's Park Zoological Gardens.

The chase of the hippopotamus was a favourite amusement of ancient Egyptian sportsmen in those parts of the upper country where it was generally found. "Though not so hostile to man as the voracious crocodile, it was looked upon as an enemy, which they willingly destroyed, since the ravages committed at night in the fields occasioned heavy losses to the farmer; and an additional inducement to kill it was the value attached to its hide, of which they made shields, whips, javelins, and helmets. To the two former purposes it is still applied, and, as Pliny observes, 'it retains its hardness perfectly if preserved from moisture.'" (*Wilkinson's Anc. Egypt*, iii. 68, 69.)

The Dutch colonists of South Africa at the present time use whips cut from the skin of the hippopotamus; the modern Egyptians use these whips, which they call "corbág," for riding the camel or chastising delinquent peasants. Diodorus thus speaks of the mode of attacking the hippopotamus: "It is chased by many persons, each armed with iron javelins. As soon as it makes its appearance at the surface of the water they surround it with boats, and closing in on all sides, they wound it with blades furnished with iron barbs and having hempen ropes fastened to them, in order that, when wounded, it may be let out until its strength fails it from loss of blood."

The hippopotamus—*faras el bahr* ("horse of the water") of the Arabs, *H. amphibius* of zoologists—is found in the Lower Nile, and most of the rivers of South Africa. Its range in past times was more extended than at present. "No trace of it, however,

either living or fossil, has been found in America. Fossil remains of several species have been found in the Sevalik miocene beds, and in pliocene and post-pliocene deposits over the greatest part of Mid and South Europe. It appears to have been plentiful in France, and not scarce in Belgium and the south of England. Great numbers of remains have been found in Algeria, in Sardinia, Corsica, Italy (more especially in the Val d'Arro), but the quantity found in Sicily vastly surpasses that found anywhere else; in fact, such enormous quantities of the bones and teeth occur there that for a time they were exported in shiploads to France and England for making lamp-black and manure, until it was discovered that they were so far fossilised as to have lost their gelatine. 'In 1829,' says Dr. Falconer, 'there was a great demand for the manufacture of lamp-black for sugar refining. The superficial bones of the San Ciro cavern, about two miles from Palermo, were collected in large quantities and exported to England and Marseilles. . . . The great majority belonged to two species of hippopotamus.' Dr. Falconer believed these immense quantities to be the accumulations of a series of generations. An interesting circumstance connected with the remains of the hippopotamus in Sicily is that Dr. Falconer and Baron Anca found some of them in company with flints, in forms evidently worked by the hand of man, and with the remains of the existing African elephant; and it is an almost inevitable inference that the hippopotamus and other extinct animals found there were contemporaries of man. The presence of the bones of these animals in Sicily seems to imply the existence of dry land between Sicily and Africa at a period when man was already an inhabitant of Europe. There is a sub-aqueous bank between Sicily, Malta, and Cape Bon, which is doubtless the remains of such a former connection" (*Murray's Geograph. Distrib. of Animals*, p. 165). Numerous remains of these animals have been found in Kirkdale Cave, in Kent's Hole, near Torquay, and other places. A smaller species of hippopotamus from West Africa has been described first under the name of *H. minor*, and afterwards as *H. liberiensis*. Amongst other osteological peculiarities, there are only two incisors in the lower jaw. The *Hippopotamus amphibius* is not now found northward of Abyssinia, though it was formerly known to the Egyptians on the Lower Nile; its bones have been found in the debris of the rivers of Algeria, and the animal may have once ranged easterly as far as Palestine and Syria.

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.—VI.

II.—DEEDS OF CHARITY AND BENEVOLENCE (*continued*).

BY THE REV. DR. GINSBURG.

THAT the statutes relative to almsgiving were deeply engraven on the hearts of the Jews, and that the violation of any of them was considered a heinous sin, may be seen from the solemn utterances of the prophets when they

commended the deeds of the righteous and condemned the conduct of the wicked. "Is not this the fast which I approve . . .," saith the Lord, "to break thy bread to the hungry, to bring the outcast poor into thy house, when thou seest the naked to clothe him" (Isa. lviii. 6,

7). The just man is thus described by another prophet, a man who "hath restored to the debtor his pledge, hath spoiled none by violence, hath given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment" (Ezek. xviii. 7); and among the many virtues of an excellent housewife are mentioned her works of charity—"She stretched out her hand to the poor; yea, she reached forth her hand to the needy" (Prov. xxxi. 20). Nothing can be more impressive than the motive set forth in the Bible for deeds of benevolence—"Charity delivereth from death" (Prov. x. 2; xi. 4); and "He who giveth charity to the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and his benevolence will be requited again" (Prov. xix. 17). It was owing to these excellent poor-laws, solemn warnings, and encouraging promises, that no other deeds of charity are known in the Bible than those which anticipated the wants of the needy, and that the phrase "to put out one's hand in order to solicit alms," or "to beg," is of such rare occurrence in the Hebrew Scriptures. It only occurs twice (Ps. xxxvii. 25; cix. 10), and on these two occasions it is described as a striking Divine punishment. 1 Sam. ii. 8, where the Authorised Version has "He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar from the dung-hill," forms no exception, since King James's translators most inconsistently render the word *ebyon* in this solitary instance by "beggar," whereas they rightly translate it in all the other sixty passages, "poor" or "needy."

As long as the Jews were the masters of their own country, the Pentateuchal poor-laws which gave the needy a right to a certain portion of the produce of the soil could be carried out strictly. These, together with the triennial tithal statute, and the family and festival arrangements, sufficed to supply all the wants of those whom the abnormal operation of the elements and the incursions of hostile tribes had temporarily impoverished. During the whole period of the second Temple, however, and especially just before and at the time of Christ, the Jews were more or less subject to the grinding power of foreign dominion. The original allotments of land, in many instances, no longer belonged to the respective families. Repeated wars had crippled many of the able-bodied labourers on the soil, and the heavy taxes imposed upon industry seriously diminished the means of sustenance of those who had to earn their daily bread. Under these circumstances, the spiritual guides of the nation and the administrators of the law had to amplify and regulate the Mosaic statutes relating to the poor in such a manner as to meet the increasing claims upon the deeds of charity and benevolence of the community; and we have no hesitation in saying that the poor laws which the doctors developed from the Old Testament enactments in the time of Christ would do honour to any Christian nation in the present day.

One of the first things which the doctors of the law did was to appoint official almoners and alms-collectors in every town. No one could hold this honorary office unless he was distinguished for honesty, justice, and

wisdom, and for the confidence which the people reposed in him. These almoners made two collections: (1) a daily collection of different articles of food, which was called *lamchu* (למכור), "alms for the dish," and was distributed every morning; and (2) a weekly collection of money, which was called *kuppa* (קופה), "alms for the box," and was distributed once a week. To these collections every Jew was bound to contribute. If he abode thirty days in a city, he was obliged to contribute to the alms for the dish; and if he resided three months in the same place, he had to contribute to the alms for the box. At the collection of the daily contributions to the alms for the dish, three persons had always to be present; and at the collection of the contributions to the alms for the box, two were required. Every appearance which might suggest the slightest suspicion had to be avoided when these contributions were made. The almoners were not allowed to separate one from the other; none of the money which they received or which they happened to find were they permitted, under any circumstances, to put into their pockets, but had to put it in the alms-box (*Baba Bathra*, 10).

Besides these two contributions there was a chamber in the Temple (לשכת השערים) where alms were secretly deposited for the poor of good families who were ashamed openly to accept any charity: there were also thirteen trumpet-boxes in the Temple, in which were deposited the contributions towards the sanctuary. On seven of these were written respectively—(1) "New Shekels," (2) "Old Shekels," (3) "Winged Sacrifices," (4) "Doves for Whole Burnt-offerings," (5) "Wood," (6) "Incense," (7) "Gold for the Dish of Sprinkling;" whilst the remaining six were for free-will offerings (*Mishna, Shekalim*, vii. 1—5). These boxes were called "trumpets" because they were made narrow at the top and wide at bottom, and, being crooked, were in appearance exactly like the *shophar* or horn. They were made in that form to prevent the dishonest putting in their hands and abstracting the money. The *shophar*, or the horn, incorrectly translated "trumpet" in the Authorised Version, was also sounded to indicate that the alms were being collected. There were some people in the time of Christ who, when giving their Temple contributions, put them into these boxes in such a manner as designedly to make these trumpets to sound; and others again actually sounded the trumpet to announce when they were ready to give their alms, just as there are people in the present day who subscribe to charitable objects because the act advertises them in reports. Hence the remark of Christ, "When thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men" (Matt. vi. 2).

It must not, however, be supposed from this rebuke that the alms in the time of Christ were generally given in such an ostentatious manner. The Saviour is here reproving the hypocritical, which was the exceptional mode of dispensing charity. Thus it is declared that "he who doeth his alms in secret is greater than Moses, for of Moses it is said, 'For I was afraid of the

anger and hot displeasure' (Dent. ix. 19); whilst of him who doeth his alms in secret the Scripture saith (Prov. xxi. 14), 'A gift in secret pacifieth anger' (*Baba Bathra*, 9 b). It is related that Mar-Ukba used daily to insert four small coins in the door-hole of a poor man in his neighbourhood. At length the recipient of the charity determined to find out who his benefactor was. It so happened that this doctor of the law remained later at night than usual in the house of study, whereupon his wife fetched him and accompanied him home. It was very dark when he, with his wife, went to the door of the poor man. The doctor stooped down and inserted the money in the usual place. They had scarcely gone away when the poor man caught sight of them, and ran after them, in order that he might get to know to whom he was indebted for so much kindness. The doctor, however, observed that the man was after him, and fearing lest he should be discovered, jumped into a hot pit which served as a bake-oven, and severely burnt himself. When he was blamed for it, this interpreter of the law, concealing his pain, answered calmly, "It is better to throw oneself into a lime-oven than to cause humiliation to one's neighbours" (*Kethuboth*, 67). One of the doctors saw a man give alms publicly, whereupon he exclaimed, "Save thyself this trouble, for it is better not to give the poor man anything at all than to cause him to blush with thy gift" (*Chagiga*, 5). Many more anecdotes and rules might easily be quoted to show that to give alms secretly was considered more essential than to administer charity at all, and that the mode of giving exposed by our Saviour was quite as exceptionable in those days as it is nowadays. Indeed, the secret manner in which the synagogue distributed its charity favourably contrasts with the custom which obtained in the primitive Church of relieving the poor believers, and which Chrysostom describes as follows: "Our forefathers appointed the poor to stand before the door of our churches that the sight of them might melt the most obdurate heart into pity. And as, by law and custom, we have fountains before our oratories, that they who go in in order to worship may wash their hands before they lift them up in prayer; so our ancestors, instead of fountains and cisterns, placed the poor before the doors of the churches, that as we wash our hands in water, so we should first cleanse our souls by beneficence and charity, and then go in and offer up our prayers."

The Hebrew Scriptures, as has already been remarked, state that deeds of charity deliver from death, and that he who giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord. There is, however, another virtue ascribed to alms-giving, which explains a very difficult passage in the New Testament. In Prov. xvi. 6, we are told that "by mercy (i.e., on the poor) and truth sin is expiated." Daniel counsels Nebuchadnezzar, "Redeem, or expiate, thy sins by alms, and thine iniquities by acts of mercy to the poor" (iv. 27, in the Chaldee iv. 24); and in the Book of Tobit we are told "Water will quench a flaming fire, and alms maketh an atonement for sins" (xii. 9). A striking illustration, showing how far the doctrine that

alms-giving has the power of expiating sin, and even to save from hell, developed itself in the time of Christ, is afforded in the following anecdote related in the Talmud. One of the Roman governors of Palestine asked R. Akiba, "If your God loves the poor, why does he not give them sustenance?" "Because," answered this ancient doctor, "he wants us to do deeds of charity, to be saved by them from the condemnation of Gehenna." To this he exclaimed, with astonishment, "But this is the very thing which will bring you into Gehenna! Let me give you a parable wherennto the thing is like. It is like when a king who was angry with his slave, and consigned him to prison, and commanded that no food nor drink should be given him, and another man went and gave him food and drink. If the king hears of it, would he not be angry? Now ye are the slaves, for it is written, 'Unto me the children of Israel are servants' (Lev. xxv. 55). To this R. Akiba replied, 'Let me give you a parable wherennto the thing is like. It is like when a king was angry with his son, and put him in prison, and deprived him of meat and drink. If another man supplies him with the necessities of life, will he hate the benefactor? Now the poor is a child of God, as it is written (Dent. xiv. 1), 'Ye are the children of the Lord your God' (*Baba Bathra*, 10 a). It is this atoning power ascribed to deeds of charity which explains the remark of Christ, "Give alms of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are clean unto you" (Luke xi. 41); that is, your temporal enjoyments which are stained with uncleanness will be cleansed by the efficacious power of your alms. It will be seen from the above quotation from Chrysostom, that this early father propounds the same view of the efficacy of alms.

The fact that to be reduced to solicit alms was regarded as a curse from God, and that the recipients of charity were most anxious to conceal their condition, would of itself be sufficient to show that Judaism gave no encouragement to begging as a sacred calling. Nothing can be more explicit than the declarations of the ancient doctors on this subject. "Convert the Sabbath into a week-day rather than become a burden to men;" "Submit to work ever so low, and shun the gifts of men" (*Pessachim*, 112; *Baba Bathra*, 110), are some of the sentiments which were instilled into the minds of the Hebrew youths. The ancient law lays down the following rules with regard to charity: "If one has food for two meals, he must not accept from the *tamchui*, or the daily contributions to the alms for the dish; if he has food which will suffice for fourteen meals, he must not take from the *kuppa*, or the weekly contributions to the alms for the boxes" (*Mishna*, *Pea*, viii. 7). Indeed, there was hardly any necessity to enforce this rule, since many would rather starve than solicit alms, and the administrators of the law in the time of Christ were, in consequence of this, actually obliged to make the following declaration, "He who is in want of alms and refuses to accept is guilty of murder, and does not deserve our love. He does not respect his own life; how, then, can he regard the life of others?"

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—XV.

THE PATRIARCHS.

JACOB (*continued*).

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.

AT the end of six years, Jacob's triumph was complete. He had "increased exceedingly, and had much cattle, and maid-servants, and men-servants, and camels, and asses;" such an increase as no six years in the life of any of the patriarchs could show. So small did Laban's property as compared with Jacob's now appear, that Laban's sons complained that Jacob had taken away all that was their father's. And so bitter was Laban's feeling that the very countenance which had always before worn the smiling, assumed appearance of good-will, dropped the mask, as unable to carry it any longer. At this very time, "the Lord said unto Jacob, Return unto the land of thy fathers, and to thy kindred, and I will be with thee." During the twenty years that had now expired, Bethel and its vow, we fear, had been forgotten; nor, if things had gone well with him in Haran, is there any reason to think that Jacob would have remembered it.

But this summons comes at a time when Jacob is quite prepared, and most willing to obey it. Fully alive to the critical state of his relationship with Laban, his first care is to see that he will have no difficulties in his own household. He finds none with Leah and Rachel. It tells ill for Laban that he had so alienated from him his own children. But Jacob has not courage to depart openly. His fear may have been but too well founded, that had he tried to do so, force would have been employed to hinder him. He takes the opportunity of Laban and his sons being at some distance away at the sheep-shearing, to make a sudden and stealthy flight. On the third day afterwards it was told Laban that he had gone.¹ In hot haste, and with a company sufficient to have Jacob at command, he pursued and overtook the fugitive among the mountains of Gilead. It had been a fierce encounter, in which the fruit of his twenty years' labour might have been wrested from Jacob, had not Laban the night before had a check imposed upon him which altered the whole spirit of the interview.

In Laban's first address to Jacob when they met, suppressed passion and disappointed revenge assume

the cloak of wounded affection, which hangs but awkwardly over them. Why had Jacob thus stolen away secretly, and not given him the opportunity of embracing his daughters, sending him off (since he so sorely longed for his father's house, and would be gone) "with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp" (Gen. xxxi. 27). Before he started in pursuit, he had looked around and within in order to discover whether Jacob and his company had taken with them anything that was not their own, and had found only some of his own teraphim (or small household gods) missing. This he keeps as the last reproach to fling upon his son-in-law. "And now, though thou wouldst needs be gone, wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?" In ignorance, and under the strong impulse of indignation at such a charge, Jacob bids Laban search through all the camp for anything that he could claim as his; and as to the gods alleged to be stolen, "with whomsoever thou findest them, let him not live." Had Rachel not shared her father's and husband's skill in deceit, it had fared ill with her and Jacob; but she succeeded in concealing the images, and stopping the search.

Laban having thus openly failed to substantiate the charge, Jacob's lips are angrily opened, and in the language almost of poetry and rhythm, he upbraids his father-in-law for all his conduct towards him during the past twenty years (vs. 36—42). We go so fully along with him in the eloquence of his wrath, that our only regret is in the remembrance that it is founded on the fiction of Rachel's innocence. Under these bitter chidings Laban gives way, has nothing in the way of defence to offer, but the platitude that in a sense all that Jacob had was his (ver. 43). As one tired of the strife of words, in which he had come off so badly, he proposed that they should make a covenant of friendship, and part in peace.

Jacob at once complies. A single pillar of stone is erected, and a heap of stones also raised, to which Laban gave the Syrian or Chaldaic name of Jegar-sahadutha, and Jacob the Hebrew name of Galeed, both words meaning the same—"heap of witness." "This heap," said Laban, "be witness, and this pillar be witness, that I will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, for harm." All that Laban craved was, that his daughters should not be afflicted, and that Jacob should not take other wives besides them; a touch of fatherly regard for which, as this transaction is the last we see of him, and as he has not hitherto won much of our regard, we are the

¹ It has been taken for granted that, at the sheep-shearing, Laban was three days' journey off in a direction opposite to that which Jacob took on his departure. If so, Jacob must have had a six days' start before him, and been thirteen days upon the road when Laban overtook him. But it is not said in the narrative that the place of the sheep-shearing was three days' journey away from that of Jacob's residence. It is only said that it was upon the third day after the departure that Laban heard of it. And the place in which he heard of it, even if it had been three days' journey from where Jacob was living, may not have been the same distance further off from Mount Gilcad.

more disposed to give him all the credit that we can. The oaths were mutually taken, Jacob offered his sacrifice upon the mount; thereafter the feast was spread upon it, of which they all partook; tarrying there all night, till morning broke, and "Laban rose up and kissed his sons and daughters, and blessed them, and departed, and returned unto his place" (ver. 55).

The dreaded interview is over. Laban and his company are gone. All fear from that quarter is taken out of Jacob's heart. He need think no more of the treacherous relations he has left behind at Padan-aram. But now a new terror rises and oppresses him. The morning sun, which had lighted Laban on his way to the north-east, as Jacob turns his back upon him, shines bright and clear down into the valley of the Jordan, westward across upon the hills of Judah, and southward along upon the range which terminates in Seir. A few days' travel will carry him to the scenes of his youth and early manhood. But it is not of his aged father, still living over at Hebron, that he thinks, but of Esau, the brother he had so deeply wronged. Twenty years had passed since they had met. The bustling, keen, competitive life that he had led—its anxieties, its vicissitudes, its successes had done much to keep Esau out of his thoughts—with a shallower nature might have blunted even the edge of conscience, and made him insensible to the sin he had committed. Not so with Jacob. Fresh as when it first was done, the deed springs up in memory, the one fear of his spirit being how Esau will treat him when they meet. Even the vision of Mahanaim, presented on his way down from the heights of Gilead to the valley of the Jabbok, is not able to quench it. As when setting out on his solitary journey a vision of angels had been given, and a voice from the Eternal came to tell him that he went not unwatched over or unbefriended; so now, on his first march from the frontier back to the Land of Promise, he sees again a company of the heavenly host encamped close by, or all around, by the very form of their marshalled order assuring him of protection. He knows that they are God's host, and he can name the place Mahanaim, "the double camp." But neither the sight itself, nor the assurance of protection it conveys, can banish the great absorbing apprehension, the terror of Esau begotten of the awakened conscience. Neither can it, however, overpowering as it is, hinder the active exercise of his faculty of foresight and fertility of adroit adjustments. Esau, he hears, is dwelling in the land of Seir, two or three days' journey off. He instantly dispatches messengers to apprise him of his return to Canaan; takes the greatest pains in instructing them; makes them con over and repeat the very words they are to use when brought into Esau's presence. It had been said of the two brothers from their birth, and doubtless Esau had been told of it, that the elder was to serve the younger. To take the sting out of any grudge that Esau might cherish on that account, Jacob tells his messengers that it was to *his lord* they were to go; and the very first words they were to utter

when brought into his presence were to be, "*Thy servant Jacob saith, &c.*" (xxxii. 4). Another worm may gnaw Esau's heart. He may dread the claim that Jacob will make on the family property; all the more if he returns in anything like the condition in which he first left his home. To alleviate, if not eradicate, this dread, Jacob bids his servants say to him in their master's name, "I have oxen, and asses, flocks, and men-servants and women-servants: and I have sent to tell my lord that I may find grace in thy sight" (ver. 5).

The servants go with the well-framed message. Jacob waits in uncertainty and alarm. They return, but with nothing to abate the alarm; much rather to increase it. They have seen Esau, have delivered the message; but he had given them no answer to carry back, had revealed nothing of his feelings or purposes towards his brother. All that they had to tell about him was that he was coming, was not far off, attended by 400 men. It looked as if it were in wrath that he was coming; for if in peace, why such attendance? and if in wrath, how easy it would be for him to rid him of his rival, and by a single stroke avenge the wrong of twenty years ago. Then, when first he fled from him, it was his own single life that Jacob feared for; but now there are the mothers and the children, whose lives are dearer to him than his own, which are at stake. "Then Jacob was greatly afraid and distressed" (ver. 7). Again his ingenuity and prudence come into play. Preparing for the worst, he divides the whole of his company into two bands, sending the one forward in advance to test Esau's temper, and, if that were hostile, to give the other the better opportunity of escape. Besides, he separates from his flocks no fewer than 580 of the camels, goats, asses, &c., a very princely present to send forward. These also he divides into different droves, to meet Esau one after the other, if by any means, by renewed and repeated impressions, his dreaded anger might be appeased. Still further, he betakes himself to prayer, he turns to God, more softened, more humbled, than he had ever been before, the one great burden of his petitions being, "Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau" (ver. 11).

All these precautions taken, and his earnest petition being offered up, Jacob passes with his wives and sons, whom he had kept in the rear of all, over the Jabbok at night-fall. As the night advances, he recrosses the river, and in the silence and the darkness is alone. Why this separation from his family, this craving for such utter solitude, at such a time? It seems mistimed, looks almost selfish, leaving mothers and children exposed. What his motive and object may have been it is difficult to say. The impulse may have been on him, too strong for him to resist, which those have felt toward whom some terrible catastrophe has appeared as if drawing nearer and nearer; who have exhausted all means of self-protection, and left with nothing to do but look at the dark object as it approached, and face it as best they could, have fled

instinctively from all human fellowship, as unable to bear it that human eyes should be upon them while in such a state. Or was it to meet with God, to renew the intercourse he already had begun, that Jacob sought the solitude? If so, the meeting came in a form for which he was unprepared. In the silence, the darkness, the loneliness, he is conscious of a Presence, comes into contact with a form. It is that of a man, of an antagonist, who closes with him, wrestles with him, would overthrow him and fling him vanquished on the ground. In the first stage of this mysterious encounter he knows not who this invisible wrestler is, nor wherefore it is that he contends with him. Roused to effort, Jacob exerts all his strength. That strength is apparently sufficient to keep his adversary for a time from prevailing over him.

The struggle is painful and prolonged. At length, as day-break draws on, the unknown and the invisible one touches the hollow of Jacob's thigh; and at the simple touch of his finger, that joint, in which the main pillar of a man's strength in wrestling lies, is dislocated. Jacob is disabled, can wrestle no more, is scarce able to stand, much less to struggle. All that remains for him is to grasp his antagonist, throw his arms around him, and cling to him. And he does this with a new eagerness, and with a new motive; for now, if not before, the truth flashes upon him that it has been with a Divine and not a human being that the struggle has been maintained, the very touch of whose finger could turn all human strength into weakness—the forthgoing in all its fulness of whose power what might it not effect? Awakening to such a recognition of his antagonist, Jacob clasps him, cleaves to him, hangs upon him, “weeps and makes supplication” (Hos. xii. 4), as resolved that nothing shall separate him from one who has it in his power to protect and bless as no other being in the universe can. The stranger does not fling him off, as he could so easily have done; does not, by another touch of his finger, still further disable and free himself from the close embrace. “Let me go,” he saith, “for the day breaketh.” He could have gone without asking leave of Jacob; but he suffers the firm embrace, and he asks the relief from it only to draw out from Jacob the declaration, “I will not let thee go until thou bless me.” Thus at last it is—when utterly stripped of the power by which he had previously maintained the struggle—when ceasing from wrestling, he simply clasps, and cleaves, and clings, and weeps, and prays, that Jacob prevails, and becomes in turn the conqueror. “What is thy name?” the mysterious stranger says. The old name, representing the old character, must be confessed before the new name, representing the new character, is bestowed. “Thy name shall no more be called Jacob”—a supplanter, an overreacher, a success-

ful wrestler with Esau or Laban—“but Israel”—a prince of God: “for as a prince hast thou power with God, and hast prevailed.”

Hitherto all Jacob's struggles had been with men like himself, over whom, by expert handling of his own chosen instruments of skill and craft, he had been victorious. But now a new lesson must be taught him. He must be made to know that there was another, a higher Being, with whom he had to do; against whom, by use of such implements in such a spirit and for such ends, he had been planting himself. It was the agitation of a guilty conscience, the terror of Esau, that had kept him sleepless, and driven him into solitude. But in sinning against his brother on earth, he had been sinning in a far higher degree against God. And even He it was who now and thus had met him by the way, and by that physical encounter had sought to bring this lesson home to his heart. But how is He, the Omnipotent, to be struggled with? how can such an adversary be overcome? Not by the forth-putting of a mere human and inherent strength. Not till that is shrivelled up, and for felt power there comes felt impotence; not till, emptied of all self-confidence, he casts himself absolutely, utterly, helplessly upon this heavenly antagonist's mercy, grace, and power, cometh there any success in such a strife. But once that the touch of the Divine finger, once that the consciousness of the close and antagonistic presence of the Unseen, the Omnipotent, is felt—what an instant change in Jacob's feelings and Jacob's conduct! The new nature symbolised by the new name begins already to reveal itself. All his old self-confidence is gone. His only trust is in the love and pity and great power of the Being upon whom he hangs. Where is the fear of Esau now? Is it for deliverance from him that he now supplicates? No thought of Esau is in the mind, no fear of Esau in the heart. Other and far deeper thoughts and feelings fill mind and heart. To know Him—the Eternal, the Almighty, the All Holy One; to stand right with Him, be blessed by Him, is the one thing that engrosses and absorbs. “And Jacob asked him, saying, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there.” With much that was sincere and earnest in Jacob's new petition, there may have mingled something that partook more of curiosity than of true spiritual desire. For this there is the gentle rebuke. But the petition is not rejected, nor the answer withheld. In blessing, forgiving, accepting, throwing around him the protecting arms of Divine love and power, the great name is made known, and that, too, in the best manner of its manifestation. Jacob at least thought so, for he called the name of the place “Peniel, for I have seen God face to face.”

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.—V.

BY THE REV. W. F. MOULTON, M.A., PROFESSOR OF CLASSICS, WESLEYAN COLLEGE, RICHMOND.

THE interval between the death of Wycliffe and the birth of Tyndale is nearly a hundred years. Amongst the events of this century are the revival of learning in Europe, the invention of printing, the discovery of

appear. The active persecutors of the Lollard party succeeded in obtaining from Henry IV. a statute which proscribed all books teaching the new doctrines, and threatened heretics with the stake. A few years later (1408) Wycliffe's translations were expressly condemned



JOHN HUSS.

a new world. It is impossible to pass suddenly from one period to the other. If we would understand and appreciate the work of Tyndale, his coadjutors, and his successors, we must give attention to the age of preparation and to the influences amidst which they lived and laboured. The field that opens before us is as extensive as it is inviting. We must confine ourselves as far as possible to a notice of those persons, books, or events which clearly stand connected with the history of the English Bible.

The fruit of Wycliffe's labours did not immediately

as unauthorised and incorrect. As a party the Lollards could not make head against their foes, but the leaven of their teaching silently spread through all classes of society, and when an age of greater freedom dawned, men saw that the toil and suffering of the persecuted had not been endured in vain. But it was in Bohemia that the work of the English reformer exerted the most immediate effect. John Huss avowed his ardent sympathy with Wycliffe, and boldly preached many of his doctrines. The Council of Constance (A.D. 1414), assembled for the reformation of the Church and the removal

of abuses, condemned all Lollard writings, decreed that Wycliffe's bones should be disinterred and burnt, and sentenced Huss to the stake. The death of Huss drove Bohemia into revolt, and kindled a furious war. The minds of men were stirred with unwonted excitement: if outward inquiry was checked by force, the spirit of eager questioning remained.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the language of Greece was almost an unknown tongue in Western Europe. A few scholars, such as Petrarch, had sought to inspire a taste for Grecian literature, but with little success. At this time, however, various causes concurred to bring about increased intercourse between the Christians of the East and the West. The sudden collapse of the Eastern Empire in 1453, when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks under Mohammed II., is the epoch from which the revival of Greek learning in Europe must be dated. Exiled from their country, the scholars of Greece, carrying with them the treasures of their literature, sought a home in the West, especially in Italy, where Pope Nicolas V. in Rome and Cosmo del' Medici in Florence rivalled each other in the patronage of learning. From this time the study of Greek spread rapidly. In 1458 a public teacher of the language was appointed in the University of Paris.

Meanwhile a revolution yet more wonderful was preparing in Germany by the invention of printing. The history of this invention is involved in obscurity, but it seems certain that before 1440 the use of movable types had been discovered by Gutenberg of Mayence (or Mentz). About 1455 the first printed work (of any magnitude) was issued from the press of Gutenberg and Fust in the same city. This work was a magnificent edition of the Latin Bible, commonly known as the Mazarin Bible,¹ because a copy was found in the library of Cardinal Mazarin. Within twenty years of this date the invention had found a home in more than a hundred European cities, and by the end of the century more than a thousand presses were at work. The first book which is explicitly stated to have been printed in England is dated 1477. In the same year was first printed (probably at Bologna) a portion of the Hebrew Bible, the Psalter. In 1488 the entire Hebrew Bible was printed at Soncino, near Cremona. This edition was followed within a brief period by many others, some of which leave little to be desired as editions of the ordinary text. The Greek Testament was not printed until 1514. The earliest Greek Grammar (by Constantine Lascaris) appeared in 1476; the earliest Lexicon in 1480. The first Hebrew Grammar that appeared in print (1503) was written by Pellican, at the age of twenty-five; three years later a Grammar and Lexicon by the celebrated Reuchlin were given to the world. It has been calculated that more than ten thousand editions of books or pamphlets were

published between 1470 and 1500; of the Latin Bible alone as many as ninety-one editions had been issued before the close of the fifteenth century.

England was slow in welcoming the new learning. Greek was first taught in the University of Oxford in 1491, by William Grocyn, who had studied in Italy. Besides Grocyn, Oxford possessed a noble band of scholars, Thomas Linacre, William Latimer, Thomas More (afterwards Lord Chancellor), also John Colet and William Lily, the founder and the first head master of St. Paul's School; a few years later Cambridge could boast of Thomas Smith, John Cheke, and Roger Ascham. In 1497 Erasmus of Rotterdam, then thirty years of age, came to Oxford, attracted by the fame of its teachers of Greek. Twelve years later, after studying in various cities of Italy, he returned to England, and accepted a professorship of Divinity at Cambridge. Here he remained till 1514, teaching theology and Greek, preparing an edition of the works of Jerome, and engaged in diligent study of the Greek Testament. In 1516, at the instance of the printer Froben of Basle, he undertook an edition of the Greek Testament, which was published the same year, with a dedication to Pope Leo X. Unfortunately this work, the first edition of the Greek Testament given to the world, was executed with great haste, and in the absence of the best manuscripts of the text. From the second edition (published in 1519), in which many errors were corrected, Luther made his translation of the New Testament; the third (1522) was used by Tyndale. The Greek Testaments in ordinary use at this day agree in the main with that of Erasmus. In 1518 appeared the first portion of Erasmus's Latin paraphrases of the Books of the New Testament, which Milman does not hesitate to call the most important book even of that day, and which thirty years later "was almost legally adopted by the Church of England,"² Edward VI. enjoining that the paraphrases upon the Gospels in English should be set up in some convenient place in all churches.

In 1500 a university was founded at Alcala, near Madrid, by Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo. Here was prepared and published, through the exertions and at the expense of the Cardinal, the famous Complutensian Polyglott, in six folio volumes. This Polyglott contains the original texts of Scripture, together with the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Chaldeo paraphrase of the Pentateuch (with a Latin translation), Greek and Hebrew Grammars, and a Hebrew vocabulary. It derives its name from Complutum, the ancient name of Alcala. The volume containing the Greek Testament was printed in 1514, but the publication of the work was not authorised until 1520. An edition of the Septuagint, known as the Aldine edition, was printed about the same time at Venice.

The study of the original languages of Scripture had commenced in earnest, but still it was through Latin translations that the sacred books were mainly acces-

¹ At the sale of the "Perkins Library" at Hanworth Park (June 6th, 1873) a copy of the Mazarin Bible, on vellum, was sold for £3,400; another, on paper, for £2,690. [A copy is to be seen in the Library of the Palace at Lambeth.—Ed.]

² Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vi., p. 624.

sible even to men of education and learning. The wide circulation of the Vulgate in this age has been already noticed. Next in importance stand the Latin versions executed during the first half of the sixteenth century. Sanctes Pagninus, a Dominican, published in 1528 a Latin translation of the whole Bible, much used and highly prized on account of the literalness with which the Hebrew text is rendered; this is the first translation of the Old Testament in which the division into verses is given. In 1535 appeared a valuable translation of the Old Testament by Sebastian Münster, a Hebraist of considerable reputation. Leo Juda, the friend and coadjutor of the Swiss Reformer Zwingli, was at the time of his death engaged on a Latin version of the Old Testament. The work was taken up by the other Biblical scholars whom Zwingli had drawn to Zurich, Pellican (author of the earliest Hebrew Grammar, and of Commentaries both on the Old and on the New Testament), Bibliander, and others. It was printed by Froschover at Zurich in 1543. This translation is less literal than those of Pagninus and Münster: the authors are more intent on the preservation of the sense, than on verbal accuracy in the rendering. For the New Testament, Erasmus's elegant Latin version, which accompanied his Greek text, was very extensively used. The whole Bible was rendered into Latin with care and elegance by Castalio in 1551; the New Testament by Beza in 1557.

But the study of the Sacred Word was no longer to be confined to men of learning. On every hand we observe tokens of an importunate desire on the part of the common people to possess the Scriptures in the languages of ordinary life. The history of vernacular translations of the Bible in other countries of Europe resembles that which we have traced in our own. As a rule, poetical paraphrases of the historical books (such as the *Heliand*, a Gospel history of the ninth century in the old Saxon language) or of the Psalms, interlinear glosses (see pages 43, 44), translations of those portions of Scripture which were most frequently read in the services of the Church, prepared the way for more systematic and complete undertakings. As early as the fourth century, however, the Goths on the lower Danube received the Bible in their own language from the hands of Ulfilas their bishop, who translated it from the Greek. In the ninth century Cyril and Methodius, sent by the Byzantine emperor into Moravia as missionaries, translated the Scriptures into the Slavonic language. Three hundred years later, the Gospels and several other books of Scripture were rendered into one of the dialects spoken in the south of France, through the zeal of Peter Waldo, of Lyons. The first *French Bible* (1294) was a version of Comestor's *Scholastic History*, a free paraphrase of the historical books made about 1170. At the commencement of the fifteenth century, we find the Scriptures translated (from the Latin) into the languages of Poland, Bohemia, and Germany, as well as England. But whilst in England "the first attempt at giving forth any portion of the Scriptures in print is to be found in

the *Exposition of the Seven Penitential Psalms*, by John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, which was published in the year 1505,"¹ the Continental presses, almost in the earliest years of their existence, teem with editions of the Bible in different languages. Before 1477 four editions of the German Bible had been given to the world: ten more were issued during the forty years which followed. The Italian Bible of Malermi (or Malherbi) was printed at Venice in 1471: before the end of the century nine editions had been issued. A French New Testament appeared in 1478: the whole Bible followed in 1487. In 1522 there were in circulation printed versions of Scripture, in whole or in part, in six languages (besides German, Italian, and French), viz., Danish, Dutch, Bohemian, Slavonic, Russian, and the dialect of Spanish spoken in Valencia. The appearance of Luther's version constitutes an epoch in the history of this subject. The influence which this version exerted directly was very considerable, forming as it did the basis on which many other translations were executed; but the impulse which it gave to the study of the original texts of Scripture (the early versions having been derived from the Vulgate) was perhaps of even greater importance. The Swedish New Testament and Bible (1526, 1541) were avowedly taken from Luther's: translations into the languages of Holland, Denmark, and Iceland were made on a similar principle. Roman Catholic versions appeared in rapid succession in Germany, most of them betraying very distinctly the influence of the translation they were intended to supplant. In France a complete Bible was published in 1530, translated (mainly from the Vulgate) by Le Fèvre (or Faber), the first of the French reformers; on this all subsequent versions have been more or less dependent. Five years later appeared another translation, by Olivetan, a cousin of John Calvin. After receiving many corrections at various times from Calvin and others, this translation was subjected to thorough revision by the College of Pastors and Professors at Geneva in 1588: the Bibles which now stand highest in the esteem of French Protestants are further revisions of the same work, by Martin (1707) and Osterwald (1744). The Italian version of Bruceioli was published at Venice in 1532, and was shortly followed by other translations, executed by Roman Catholics. The Spanish New Testament, translated from the Greek by Ezuias, was published at Antwerp in 1543; the entire Bible, by De Reyna, appeared in 1569. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, therefore, the Scriptures were circulated throughout almost the whole of Europe, in the language of each nation.

These facts, most interesting in themselves, would require remark in any history of the English Bible, in consequence of the influence, general and special, which the labours of Continental translators exercised on our own country. One version, however, cannot be dismissed with a passing notice. In 1521 Luther, return-

¹ *Historical Account*, prefixed to Bagster's *English Hexapla*, p. 37. The Penitential Psalms are Psalms vi., xxxii., xxxviii., li., cii., cxxx., cxliii.

ing from the Diet of Worms, by which he had been denounced as a heretic, was arrested by friendly hands, and carried off to the castle of the Wartburg, near Eisenach, in Saxe-Weimar. Here he remained in retirement for ten months. The fruit of this enforced withdrawal from active life was the German New Testament, which was published at Wittenberg, in September, 1522, in a thin folio volume. The title-page contains the name neither of translator nor of printer. The Pentateuch and the poetical books of the Old Testament speedily followed, the Prophets at longer intervals: it was not until 1534 that the whole Bible (including the Apocrypha) was issued from the press. In this its earliest form the work seems to have been executed by Luther himself, with but slight and occasional assistance from friends. His stock of books to aid in so arduous an undertaking was scanty. His Hebrew Bible (of the edition printed at Breseia, in 1494) is still preserved in the Royal Library, Berlin: his Greek Testament was Erasmus's second edition. The Septuagint, the Vulgate, the Latin translations of Pagninus and (afterwards) of Münster, a few Latin Fathers, the Glossa Ordinaria, and the Commentaries of Lyra,¹ were all the aids at his command. Many editions of the separate parts of the German Bible were called for before the completion of the work: the numerous alterations introduced show Luther's zeal for the improvement of the translation. With the help of

¹ See page 82.

his friends, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, Creuziger, and others, he travelled over the whole ground afresh, and a new edition, thoroughly revised, was completed in 1541. Before 1580 thirty-eight editions had been issued from the press.

The translations of Luther's Bible into other European languages have been already noticed. Two revisions or modifications, however, require attention, as having exerted an independent influence on one or more of our English versions. These are the Bibles of Zurich and Worms. Soon after Luther's Testament appeared, a translation (if so it can be called) into the German-Swiss dialect was published at Zurich. Impatient at the slowness with which Luther's work progressed, Zwingli and his associates resolved that they would themselves supply the remaining portions. The translation of the Prophets, issued in 1524, is the work of "the preachers of Zurich;" that of the Apocrypha is from the hand of Leo Juda. The whole Bible appeared in 1530. The second edition, dated 1531, contains an excellent introduction, probably from the pen of Zwingli himself. The Worms Bible (1529) is a work of the same kind, known in Germany as a "combined Bible."

Having thus hastily noticed the work of other labourers in the same field, we are now at liberty to follow without interruption the course of our English translators. Of these the first, both in time and in importance, is William Tyndale.

THE INSPIRATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.—III.

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CANDID and unbiassed examination of the facts and peculiarities of Scripture as they lie open to every attentive reader on the sacred page will help us still further in arriving at a conclusion.

7. As a general rule, the authors of the historical books of Holy Scripture keep themselves entirely in the background. In the Old Testament there is scarcely a single historical book of which the author is certainly known, and the exact date at which these books were written is also, to a great extent, a matter of uncertain conjecture. While some of the writers were contemporary, or nearly so, with the events which they narrate, others lived many centuries after those events; and it is clear from their own distinct and repeated statements that, in the composition of their histories, they adopted the ordinary human means of assistance, that they searched in genealogies and public records, and authenticated their statements by reference to previous authorities. No less than ten such documents—by Nathan, Samuel, Shemaiah, Gad, Iddo, Ahijah, Hosai,¹ Jehu son of Hanani, Isaiah, and others who are unnamed—besides historical papers and collections of

songs, are quoted or alluded to in the Books of Chronicles alone. Further, it is clear that many of the books of the Old Testament have undergone a careful and long subsequent revision by other hands. They have, in fact, been edited with explanatory glosses and other additions and interpolations by later writers,² and especially, if we may accept the very probable Jewish tradition, by Ezra and the members of the Great Synagogue.³ The same remarks do not, indeed, apply to the books of the New Testament, and yet it must be admitted by every honest inquirer that the language used even by St. Luke with reference to the method and motives of his Gospel, accords more accurately with the conception of reverent narrative and truthful testimony than with that of indefeasible accuracy and miraculous guidance.⁴

8. There are, again, in almost every one of the sacred writers the clearest possible traces of an intense individuality, and these are the most distinctly marked in those

² See, for instance, Gen. xiv. 14; xxiii. 2; xxv. 27; xxxvi. 31; Josh. xix. 47; Judg. xviii. 29, &c.

³ "Sive Moſen dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi, ſive Ezram ejusdem inſtauratore operis, non recuſo." (Jer. ad Helvid. ii. 212.)

⁴ Or, as ſome Romiſh theologians expreſs it, the hiſtorical books of Scripture were written not by revelation, but by directio divina.

¹ This name is given in the margin of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19, where the text of the English version gives "the ſayings of the ſeers."

whom we regard as the greatest of them all—in a David and an Isaiah, in a St. Paul and a St. John. Their style rises and falls as the great gusts of passionate emotion sweep over their mortal spirits, even as the melodies of the wind-harp rise into a scream or die away into a murmur with the rising and falling of the wind. In the Psalms of David we see the reflection of every mood and passion of his soul—the prostration of its grief, the fire of its indignation, the agony of its repentance, the dawning of its hope, the intensity of its despair. The portraiture of the living, breathing, sinning, suffering, hoping, repenting, triumphing man is impressed on every line and page. Nor is it otherwise with St. Paul. His words are “a perpetual battle,” and so instinct are they with the whole being of the man, that they have been compared to living things with hands and feet.¹ And as he goes off at a word, or suffers his metaphors and arguments to get inextricably entangled, or breaks into some passionate self-vindication, and then suddenly cuts it short with the sorrowful apology that his converts have compelled him to become a fool in glorying, or with the sudden overpowering conviction that at the foot of the cross of Christ all human glorying becomes ridiculous and base, it is impossible not to feel that we are reading the words of one enriched with all utterance and all knowledge, but not so enriched as to leave him other than a man whose personal identity has been indeed transfigured, but not annihilated—as a man inspired by the Holy Spirit of God, but still liable to all human passions, and confessedly subject to the same weaknesses as those whom he addressed.

9. Again, the *style and language* in which the Holy Scriptures are written are evidently human. They deliver to us inestimable messages, but often “with stammering lips, and an uncertain tongue.” The separate books differ from each other, according to all human judgment, in eloquence, in insight, in grandeur, nay, even in originality. Some of the sacred writers closely reflect the influence of the thoughts and expression of others. The later and minor Prophets show unmistakable indications of the extent to which their minds and thoughts had been influenced by their greater predecessors: St. Jude echoes not only the thoughts, but even the very words and illustrations of St. Peter. Again, their form of expression is often highly artificial; as, for instance, in the alphabetical Psalms, or in the elaborate series of plays upon names in the last verses of the first chapter of Micah. Once more, the style of the writers differs most materially with their circumstances and age. The Greek of the Apocalypse is the Greek of a writer very imperfectly acquainted with the language; it is in many particulars

even barbarous and solecistic; whereas the Greek of St. John's Gospel, written after a long residence in a city where Greek was universally spoken, is comparatively polished and correct.

10. Nor can it be overlooked that not only are the narratives of the sacred historians often fragmentary and incomplete, which might well be due to that Divine purpose for which all Scripture was designed; but further, that the writers frequently yet decisively *vary* from each other, generally in minute and unimportant particulars, but sometimes in grave and serious ones. In some cases a clue is given us which enables us to understand both the causes of the variation, and the true method of reconciling it; and this is the case in some instances to so remarkable a degree that we entirely believe such reconciliations to be always possible even when we have no datum which could enable us to discover them; but in some cases—as between passages in the Books of Kings and Chronicles—there are apparent discrepancies, and even contradictions, which may, indeed, be complementary or supplementary to each other, but the existence of which makes it unnatural to suppose that the events were recorded with miraculous and infallible certainty. Even in the Gospel narratives there are variations which require violent and unwarranted hypotheses to reconcile them with any theory of Divine dictation.² The order of the three temptations in St. Luke is different from that in St. Matthew, and it is therefore impossible that *both* should be correct, and not natural to believe that the one which accords less exactly with reality should have been altered with any Divine purpose. The title upon the cross is given differently by each of the three Evangelists: two, therefore, of the three must in this minute and unimportant particular vary from literal accuracy; and the same remark applies to the *exact words* used by our Saviour in instituting the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It must not be supposed that we desire to lay any stress on these incompletenesses, minute inexactitudes, or trivial variations; on the contrary, we may well regard them as an argument of the independence of our authorities from each other, and therefore as a quadruple confirmation of the facts which they narrate, possibly even, in some instances, as a needful trial of our faith, or stimulus to our research. No impartial judge would hold that they affect in the slightest degree the veracity of the testimony delivered. No fair critic would dispute the truth of the simple remark of St. Chrysostom, “It is one thing to give different, another to give contradictory accounts.”³ There are, in fact, in the Gospels only such incidental differences as result from the individual characteristics of the observers and recorders, and as occur in all histories, even those which are most majestically accurate: they are perfectly consistent with “substantial truth under circumstantial variety.” But must it not be unhesitatingly admitted that they do

¹ What a picture, for instance, of a noble mind smarting under unjust attack, and filled alternately with transports of overpowering indignation, and bursts of yearning tenderness, and victories of reviving joy, do we find in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians! All human emotions seem to be intermingled in it, until, as we read the boasts wrung from a tortured humility, the egotism extorted from an absolute self-abnegation, we seem to be laying our hand upon a human heart which throbs with indescribable emotion.

² “Per hujusmodi evangelistarum locutiones varias sed non contrarias, discimus nihil in cujusque verbis nos inspicere debere, nisi voluntatem, &c.” (Aug. *De Consens. Evang.*, ii. 28.)

³ S. Chrys. *Proem.*, Hom. i. in St. Matt.

militate against all theories which involve immediate supernatural guidance or an absolute exemption from even the most trivial errors? It is certain that small divergences could not have been obviated without a direct miracle; but is not the existence of such divergences a clear proof that it was not in accordance with God's will that any such miracle should be performed?

11. An important inference as regards this subject may be derived from the quotations made from the Old Testament by our Lord and the Apostles. The general fact about these quotations is the extreme diversity of the method adopted. Sometimes they appear to be direct translations from the original Hebrew; sometimes they are taken unaltered from the LXX.; sometimes they differ so widely from both as to leave us no obvious escape from the conclusion, either that they are quoted from memory, or that they were only intended as allusions and applications of the most general kind. The well-known verses, "He shall be called a Nazarene;"¹ "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him;"² "He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord;"³ "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light;"⁴ together with many others, are either mere adaptations of general prophetic language, altered to a considerable extent, or are a fusion of the spirit of several independent passages into one. Out of 275 passages quoted from the Old Testament in the New, there are but fifty-three in which the New Testament and the LXX. agree accurately with the original Hebrew; there are no less than seventy-six in which the New Testament, by differing from the LXX., differs yet more widely from the Hebrew; and ninety-nine in which the Old Testament, the LXX., and the New Testament vary from each other.⁵ To charge these quotations with inaccuracy and error—as has frequently been done—is entirely to misunderstand their scope and character; but are they not decisive as to this point—that what the inspired writers of the New Testament would teach us to prize and reverence in the Old, is the message delivered far rather than the mere words in which it is onshrined—the main thought conveyed to us, and not the minutiae of the verbal expression?

12. And without entering more closely into this part of the subject, is not the use made of the LXX. itself decisive as to the truth of this view? To speak disparagingly or contemptuously of that famous version, to which we owe so vast a debt as the source whence much of the religious phraseology of the New Covenant was drawn, would be indeed ungrateful; yet there remains the palpable and undeniable fact that, as a ver-

sion, it is often most inaccurate, sometimes extremely erroneous, sometimes apparently untrustworthy. That some of the translators were distinctly biased by Alexandrian philosophical tenets;⁶ that they were not superior to the temptations to slight literary dishonesty when they thought that an improvement could be introduced; that their version shows traces sometimes of a reference to the Halachah, sometimes to the Hagadah;⁷ that some of them were very imperfectly familiar with Hebrew, some of them with Greek, and some of them with both Greek and Hebrew;—in short, that in many places they have not understood, and in others have tampered with, the sacred text, is a fact easily demonstrable⁸ and well known to all who have ever noticed the phenomena which this version displays. And yet this is the version to which the Apostles and Evangelists most frequently refer. Is not this fact alone decisive against what may be termed a materialistic view of inspiration? Any one who holds such a view ought, unless all logic and common sense are set at defiance, to maintain that the LXX. translation is also, even in its divergences from the Hebrew, infallibly inspired.⁹ This has actually been maintained by some writers, but it is a proposition so diametrically opposed to the most indisputable facts, that it can only be regarded as the result of a determined but eccentric consistency.

13. Again, any doctrine of a continuous supernatural inspiration—of an influence directly and immediately Divine over the entire extent of the sacred volume—seems to involve a conclusion antagonistic to all our natural feelings when we read its different parts. Unless the door be opened to a spirit of boundless allegory and recondite mysticism, it is impossible to us, by any natural process, to avoid attaching a wholly different kind of value to different portions of Holy Writ. The ultimate test of the value of Scripture, the ultimate ground of our faithful acceptance of it as a Divine revelation, must, in the nature of the case, lie in its inherent grandeur, in the conviction produced upon our reason by the internal and external evidence of its inspiration, in its correspondence with the noblest aspirations of our whole being, in its satisfaction of the deepest wants of our nature, in its harmony with the deepest revelations which come to us from the starry heavens above

⁶ See Frankel, *Über den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die Alexandr. Hermeneutik.*, § 7, 17, 25.

⁷ A few instances from a single book may suffice. See LXX. Avoidance of Anthropomorphism, Exod. xxiv. 10; v. 3; iv. 20, 16; xxxiv. 10, 11; xv. 13. *Halacha*, Exod. xii. 15; v. 18; xii. 16. *Hagadah*, Exod. x. 23. Glosses, Exod. i. 11, &c. Alterations, Exod. iv. 6; xxii. 63; xxxiii. 22, &c. Frankel, *ubi supra*, *passim*. Hody, *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus*, *passim*.

⁸ The peculiarities of the LXX. in many passages which exhibit the tendencies here alluded to, greatly resemble those which we find in Josephus, when he is particularly anxious to make Jewish history palatable to pagan readers.

⁹ As even St. Augustine was driven to do. "*Spiritus enim qui in prophetis erat, quando illa dixerunt, idem ipse erat in LXX. viris quando illa interpretati sunt. Quicquid est in Hebr. cod. et non est apud interpretes LXX. nolit ista per istos sed per illos Prophetas Dei spiritus dicere.*" &c. &c. (*De Civ. Dei*, xv. 43). See Frankel, *Forstudien*, I. i. 258, 267. After Hody's great work such an opinion ceases to be possible, but it was maintained by Mr. Grinfield in his *Apology for the Septuagint*.

¹ Matt. ii. 23.

² 1 Cor. ii. 9.

³ 1 Cor. i. 31.

⁴ Eph. v. 14. It is not improbable that this is a quotation from an early Christian hymn.

⁵ See the very valuable and careful analysis and examination of quotations in Mr. Turpin's *The Old Testament in the New*. Mill (on Heb. xiii. 25) remarks that the Apostles sometimes quote the LXX. even where "*si reponebantur Hebraea, non modo periret vis argumentationis Apostolicae, sed ne ullus quidem foret argumentationis locus.*"

and the moral law within. But different portions of Scripture affect our minds in very different degrees; there is much that seems to possess only an historical, or moral, or prudential value, as well as much that stirs our being to its very inmost depths. There are writers of it who seem to walk with us familiarly on earth, as well as others who open to us the very heaven of heavens. To hold that all parts were alike, and to the same degree inspired, would be to rob them of their value—to remove them altogether from the region of calm and truthful criticism—to change them from what seems to be their legitimate aspect into an unintelligible burden and a useless mystery. Some, indeed, of the later Jews, who treated the Bible with an extravagant superstition hardly removed from Fetish worship, did not hesitate to say that the whole law was written by Moses from the lips of Jehovah, from “In the beginning” down to “in the sight of all Israel;” that there was no difference between “I am the Lord thy God” (Exod. xx. 2) and “Timna was concubine to Eliphaz, Esau’s son” (Gen. xxxvi. 12); that every sound, and every word, and every verse, were the words of Jehovah.¹ This was as illogical as it was unnatural, and it is hardly too severe to apply

to it the language used by St. Gregory of Nyssa with reference to other vagaries of Jewish exegesis, that it is simply “a delusion and a vanity.”² To embrace such a view as this—to attach an equal degree of inspiration to the list of the dukes of Edom, or to the genealogies of Chronicles, as to the last discourses in the Gospel of St. John—to accept with equal reverence St. Paul’s description of charity and the strong imprecations which David invokes upon his enemies—to value Canticles and Esther, which do not once mention the name of God, no less highly than the Epistle to the Romans or the Revelation of St. John—to attach equal certainty to the miracle produced by Elisha’s bones and the vision of St. Paul on the road to Damascus—to reverence with equal devotion the list of clean and unclean beasts, or any other chapter of minute and abrogated Levitical observances, as no less the result of inspiration than the 15th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians—is surely to treat the Holy Scriptures with a spirit of *plus-quam-Judaic* superstition; it is to attribute to them an authority which they never claim; it is to deny for them a relativity which they implicitly assert.

¹ *Lehach Thobh* (quoted in Ersch and Gruber, s. v. “Inspiration”).

² Greg. Nyss. c. Eunom., Or. xii.

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.—V.

BY THE REV. H. W. PHILLOTT, M.A., RECTOR OF STAUNTON-ON-WYE, AND PRÆLECTOR OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

MESOPOTAMIA.

THE distribution of the population of the world subsequently to the Flood is a question belonging to ethnology rather than to geography. Our present concern is with the countries occupied by a few of the nations which then overspread the earth, and particularly with those which occupied Mesopotamia and its neighbourhood.

Looking at the list of names which appears in Gen. x., we can have no hesitation in selecting Babel, Asshur, Nimrod, Nineveh, as the most prominent, and as such giving the clue, as it were, to the rest. Of these Asshur and Nimrod appear as names of persons, Nimrod as the son (*i.e.*, descendant) of Cush, and grandson of Ham (ver. 8), Asshur as the second son of Shem (ver. 22). The same account seems to tell us that Nimrod built Babel and Asshur built Nineveh, a statement on which we shall have occasion to remark presently. We notice, also, that Nimrod was “a mighty one in the earth,” and that Babel, in the land of Shinar, “was the beginning of his kingdom” (ver. 10). The account of the tower of Babel in Gen. xi. seems to tell us that as men journeyed from the east they found a plain in the land of Shinar, that they made bricks there, and used slime (*i.e.*, bitumen) for mortar (Gen. xi. 2, 3). It goes on to describe the building of the city and tower whose name was called Babel, the Divine visitation which befell it, and its consequences (vs. 5—9).

Where, then, was the land of Shinar? We find mention made of Anraphel, a king of Shinar, in Gen. xiv. 1, and the name Shinar applied to the Assyrian country in Isa. xi. 11; Dan. i. 2; Zech. v. 11; and also in the original of Josh. vii. 21, where our version renders the words “a robe of Shinar” by “a Babylonish garment,” a term which proves the manufacturing celebrity of the district, and its commercial intercourse with the land of Canaan at the time spoken of. Now, to the north-west of the town of Mosul, on the Tigris, is a range of hills, and also a district bearing the name of Sinjar, in whose neighbourhood was once a fortified town of importance, called Singara. There was also, perhaps, another town of the same name on the Tigris. This similarity of name has led many persons to identify the Sinjar district with the plain of Shinar, 300 miles distant in the south. But the character of the two districts is quite different. Sinjar is hilly and rocky, whereas the plain of Shinar is a low alluvial soil, utterly destitute of stones, but abounding in clay for bricks, and in “slime” for mortar. Unless, then, the name Shinar acquired in later times a more extensive signification, and travelled upwards to the mountains, we must suppose that the two names Shinar and Sinjar do not denote one and the same region.

It has been suggested that Shinar was the Hebrew name for the plain of Mesopotamia, as this name has not been found on the native monuments, and we read, as mentioned above (Gen. xiv.), of a king of Shinar in

the time of Abraham, a date certainly later than that of the foundation of Babylon. Either the influence of Babylon must have been confined to a portion only of the region, or the name Shinar was used by the Hebrew writer to denote the whole. (Ptol. v. 18. 2. 9; Amm. Marc. xx. 6; Dion. Cass. lxxiii. 22; Niebuhr, *Voy.*, ii. 314.)

But about the general situation of Babel or Babylon, notwithstanding the present ruin of the whole, and the doubts concerning the city's extent, there has never been any doubt; and the name Babel is still given by the Arabs to a portion of the vast remains. (Loftus, *Chald.*, pp. 17, 18.)

In calling Nimrod "son of Cush," the writer of the Book of Genesis no doubt means that he belonged to the Cushite or Ethiopian race, which, occupying the whole or part of the regions now called Nubia and Abyssinia, spread themselves in very early times to the eastern shores of the Red Sea, and dispossessing the earlier inhabitants of Semitic race, formed settlements for themselves in Southern Mesopotamia. (Loftus, p. 96.)

The word Bel or Baal means "lord," a title rather than a personal name; and thus Nimrod, the founder of Babylon, may perhaps be the same person as the Belus, the hero of divine race, who led the colony from Egypt.

On the words "Asshur went out of that land, and built Nineveh" (Gen. x. 11), we may remark that they might be rendered, "He (Nimrod) went forth to Asshur, i.e., the land of Assyria, and built Nineveh." The usual account is that Nineveh was founded by Ninus, son of Belus, which may mean that the founder of Babylon was the founder also, either in his own person or in that of his descendants, of Nineveh. Or, taken as they stand, the words may mean that the Assyrians built Nineveh after they had been driven out by the Cushite invaders from their original seats in Southern Mesopotamia. The main point which seems certain is that Babylon was older in its foundation than Nineveh. (Herod. i. 7; Diod. Sic. ii. 3.)

But Gen. xi. 2 seems to say that Babel was built by men who had come into the land of Shinar, "from the east," as if the line of migration taken by this race of men had proceeded from its primeval seat in Armenia first southwards and then westwards, a view which disagrees both with the history mentioned above and with the native inscriptions which have been lately deciphered. Accordingly, the phrase "from the east" has been interpreted to mean "towards the east," as is the case in Gen. xiii. 11, and is thus made to agree with the view that the men who built Babel entered the country from the south and west. But if the race of Cush came, as we have supposed, by sea, it is evident that their line of advance from the Persian Gulf was in a direction from south-east to north-west, i.e., one which, with no great violence of language, may be described as moving "from the east."

But though Babylon became the greatest city of Southern Mesopotamia, there is good reason for thinking that there were other towns in that country older

than Babylon. The account given in Gen. x. 10 says that the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. The word Nimrod is said by some scholars to mean "settlers," and thus the names associated with this word may denote sites occupied by the Cushite intruders, on which towns were either then or afterwards built. (Loftus, p. 99.)

Beginning with ACCAD, we find more than one opinion concerning its position. (1.) St. Jerome records a Hebrew tradition which identified it with that of Nisibis, now Nisibin, a city now much decayed, but of great antiquity, and famous in history; situated nearly in lat. 37°, long. 41°, about 120 miles N.W. of Mosul, beyond the Sinjara range of hills. But if the notion concerning the entrance of the Cushite race from the south be correct, the situation of Nisibis can hardly represent that of Accad. (2.) Ptolemy, the Egyptian geographer, who wrote about 140 A.D., mentions a district of Babylonia near the Euphrates, called Auchanitis—a word which seems to contain the elements of Accad; but concerning the district we have no further information than that it would seem to have been at the upper part of the Babylonian territory. (3.) About ten miles N.W. of Baghdad are some ruins, consisting chiefly of a square tower 100 feet in diameter and 129 feet high, called Aker-Kuf, which goes by the name of Nimrod's Tower. The name Aker-Kuf has been thought to contain the elements of Accad. (4.) By many it has been thought to be represented by the important but much later city of Ctesiphon, whose ruins exist a few miles below Baghdad, on the left (E.) bank of the Tigris. (5.) The local inscriptions mention the word Akkadim as the name by which the Chaldeans called themselves. If this be the case, we may probably regard Accad as the name not so much of any particular place, as of the race inhabiting the country of the Chaldean settlers. (Jerome, *De Situ et Nom.*, vol. i., p. 861 (129); *Quæst. in Gen.*, ib., 953 (320); Ptol., vi. 20. 3; Chesney, *Euphr.*, i. 117; Rich, *Memoir on Babylon*, p. 41; Loftus, pp. 96—100.)

We next come to ERECH, a name which seems to be contained in that of Archevites (Ezra iv. 9), mentioned there in close connection with the Babylonians. By the Septuagint translators of Gen. x. 10 it is called *Orech*. Ptolemy, in his enumeration of Chaldean cities, mentions one called Orchoe; Strabo speaks of a sect of philosophers called Orchoeni; and lastly, Pliny mentions a people called Orcheni, who, he says, stopped the mouth of the Euphrates for purposes of irrigation (Ptol., v. 20. 7; Strabo, vi., p. 739; Plin., vi. 130). Our readers will have noticed the similarity between the Septuagint word for Erech and the Greek and Latin names mentioned by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny. It is right, however, to mention that St. Jerome says that Erech was represented by EDESSA, a town in Northern Mesopotamia, nearly in the same latitude as Nisibis, but about 120 miles to the westward of that place. St. Jerome derived his information not from personal knowledge of the country, but from Jewish

tradition, an authority of little weight in this case. Let us inquire what conclusion can be drawn from internal evidence.

About 120 miles S.E. of Babylon, in lat. $31^{\circ} 19'$ and $45^{\circ} 40'$ long., four miles from the left (E.) bank of the

platform are situated the remains of numerous ancient buildings, among which the most remarkable by far are those of *Warka*, now commonly believed to represent the city of Ereeh, and to which the names Orech and Orchoe bear a satisfactory resemblance. We may re-



AKKER-KUF, OR NIMROD'S TOWER.

Euphrates, not far from the point at which the scattered streams of inundation re-enter in some degree the main channel of the river, is a tract of land slightly raised above the ordinary water-level. During the period of inundation it is unapproachable, and when the waters subside during the month of November, a sandy waste, with scarcely a blade of grass to relieve its desolation, succeeds to the waste of waters. Upon this sandy

mark further that it seems also to contain the substance of the name *Ur*, the Chaldean home of Abraham, and that it was for a similar reason that Orfah, or Edessa, long thought to be the "Ur of the Chaldees," was considered to be the equivalent of Ereeh, *i.e.*, that Ur, or Hur, and Ereeh were names of the same place. On this opinion we shall have occasion to remark hereafter. Let us now notice briefly the leading features of the

site of Warka, as described by Mr. Loftus. A rampart of earth, of almost circular form, nearly six miles in circumference, and sometimes forty feet in height, surrounds the area. Of this space the greater part is occupied by a number of mounds, consisting chiefly of one principal one and several others detached. The principal one is divided into two unequal portions, on which stand the most important remains, and in many places the traces of fire are manifest, due either to the manner in which the city was destroyed, or to the existence in various parts of it of furnaces for baking bricks and pottery. Within or without the walls are three principal edifices, one called in Arabic *Buwáriya*, a word signifying "reed mats," and illustrating the mode of construction used—viz., bricks interlaid with reeds, at distances of four to five feet. It is a tower 200 feet square and about 100 feet in height. Many of the inscribed bricks supporting its walls bear the name of *Uruk*, a king, perhaps the founder, whose date is supposed to have been about 2230 B.C.; and in some of those which compose the superstructure, the name also may be read of another king, who died about 700 years later, and who may be thought to have either repaired or rebuilt the work of his predecessor. A second building, called *Wuswas*, from a negro who attempted to penetrate into it in the hope of finding treasure, is larger than the *Buwáriya*, but not so high. Its remains exhibit in a remarkable degree the style of Chaldean architecture in, perhaps, the seventh century B.C. Many other buildings possessing architectural features of a striking kind, some of them of later date, are found within the area of the walls, and beyond the enclosure are many artificial mounds, one of them 950 feet in circumference and 90 feet in height, the purpose of whose construction has not yet been ascertained. But it is clear that the whole of Southern Chaldea, including Warka, is full of sepulchral memorials, while Assyria is remarkably deficient in them. Warka itself is a city of tombs, and it is worthy of remark that the Greek historian, Arrian, in his account of Alexander's entrance into Babylon, and description of Southern Babylonia, speaks of the tombs of Assyrian kings as being very numerous among the marshes of the Euphrates (*Arr. Exp.*, vii.; Loftus, p. 193). But whatever may have been the former condition of Warka, it is now utterly desolate. Its solitude, says Mr. Loftus, is even more striking than that of Babylon. "There is no life for miles around. No river glides in grandeur at the base of its mounds; no green date-groves flourish near its ruins. The jackal and the hyæna appear to shun the dull aspect of its tombs. The king of birds never hovers over the deserted waste. A blade of grass or an insect finds no existence there. Of all the desolate pictures which I have ever beheld, that of Warka incomparably surpasses all." (Loftus, p. 167.)

We now come to CALNEH, or as the Septuagint and Vulgate versions have it, CHALANNE, also in the land of Shinar. One opinion, maintained by M. Oppert, identifies Calneh with Mugheyr; another places it higher

up the river, not far from Kerkesyah; while a third, held by Sir H. Rawlinson, regards *Niffar* as its modern equivalent. (St. Jerome, as quoted above; Oppert, *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, i. 258; Chesney, i. 52—118.) Niffar is situated on the dry bank of a deserted canal, *Shât-el-Nil*, and consists of a number of mounds of unequal heights and irregular forms, haunted by lions, and abounding in coffins of baked clay (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, xxiv., pp. 556—566). Sir H. Rawlinson considered Niffar to be the true site of the Tower of Babel, and that Babylon proceeded from Niffar, in accordance with the statement interpolated by the Septuagint translators of Isa. x. 9, where Calno is mentioned, "at which place," it says, "the tower was built." The original name appears to have been *Tel-Anu*, the stronghold of Anu, a name which perhaps represents that of Noah, and the name Niffar, which appears upon the inscriptions as *Nipur*, was, perhaps, given later. The older opinion, mentioned by St. Jerome, identified Calneh with Ctesiphon, in the district called Chalontis, on the east side of the Tigris, or in a more northern one called Calacine or Calachene. (Jerome, as above; Plin., vi. 122; Strabo, xi. 530; Ptol., vi. 1, 2; Smith's *Anc. Hist.*, i. 98.) Calneh is also read for *Canneh* by one MS. in Ezek. xxvii. 23, where the mention of it would place it much more to the north.

There are still two Scripture names connected with Southern Chaldea which should, perhaps, be considered before we proceed to Babylon—ELLASAR and UR of the Chaldees. Of these Ellasar is mentioned (Gen. xiv. 1) in connection with *Arioch*, a name which, though probably not denoting the same person, evidently resembles *Uruk*, that of the probable founder of Warka. Ellasar has been thought to be a name for the same place as Telassar (Isa. xxxvii. 12); but this would carry it too far to the north. Another opinion has thought it to be the same place as Larissa, mentioned by Xenophon, the Athenian soldier-author, in his account of the Expedition of Cyrus. Ptolemy, in his account of Babylonia, mentions a place called *Thalatha* as being near the Tigris, in the lower part of its course. Berosus mentions a place called *Larancha*, and the inscriptions found at Sinkarah give a name *Larsa*, which seems fairly to answer to Ellasar. Sinkarah is a ruined town, about fifteen miles south-east of Warka. If this be the true site of Ellasar, it is impossible that Larissa of Xenophon can have any connection with that place, as the narrative of Xenophon shows Larissa to have been much more to the north. The word Sinkarah seems to be closely connected with Shinar, whose king, Amraphel, was allied with Arioch, king of Ellasar, in the expedition against Sodom and Gomorrah; and thus in the two names, Larsa and Sinkarah may, perhaps, be preserved the memorials both of Shinar, the name of the region, and of Ellasar, the town or district of which Uruk or Arioch was the ruler in the time of Abraham. Like Warka, Sinkarah is a city of tombs, and appears to have been early abandoned. (Berosus, p. 55; Xen., *Anab.*, iii. 4. 7; Ptol., v. 20. 4; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i., Essay vi.; Loftus, p. 251.)

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—XVI.

THE PATRIARCHS:—JACOB (*continued*).

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.

THE mode of this mysterious encounter at Peniel we are not careful to define. It may have been a vision of the night. Who can deny that all the great spiritual truths and lessons taught here might have been conveyed through such a channel? But till it can be shown that a dream or vision ever left behind it such a physical result as the halting upon the thigh, we are content to take the narrative literally. Of greater importance is it to notice that this was the crisis or turning-point in Jacob's inner life. The bestowment upon this occasion of the new name would of itself have led us to expect this. A careful study of his life establishes it. Dividing that life into two parts—the 97 years that preceded, and the 50 that followed the great interview at Peniel—we find little in the former to attract; not a little, on the other hand, to repel. Abundance, indeed, of good materials of character exhibit themselves: nothing shallow, nothing weak, all of good quality and proportion, quick intelligence, warm affection, poetic sentiment, large and varied capacities for work, firmness of purpose, fertility of resource, unfaltering self-confidence; but the presence, withal, of a selfish and sneaking cunning, an aptness for deceit and treachery in dealing even with nearest friends; and the absence of any clear tokens of the continuous and dominant influence of the ancestral faith—the first vision at Bethel making apparently but a temporary impression—one that faded away amid the manifold engagements of the strange and troubled life at Padan-aram. In the second section, the fifty years that date from Peniel, Jacob appears a quite altered man; the old nature, doubtless, still there, but thoroughly restrained and subdued. Not a trace of craft in any one piece of conduct: the crooked cunning ways followed no more. For adroitness there is simplicity; for falsehood, truth. Self-confidence has got its death-wound in that midnight meeting. Henceforth a certain nameless gentleness, restraint, timidity, distrust appear. Spiritually he halts, when before he would have put down his foot unfaltering. He hears of the indignity done to Dinah, and “holds his peace” (Gen. xxxiv. 5). Simeon and Levi avenge the wrong by a deed of shameless deceit and cruelty. He trembles “lest the Canaanites and Perizzites should gather themselves against him and slay him” (xxxiv. 30). A still more shameless deed than the one done at Shechem is committed in his own household, and all that is said of him is that “he heard it” (xxxv. 22). Trial follows trial, bereavement succeeds bereavement. Under severe and protracted discipline, the higher spiritual nature grows and ripens, till at the close the piety of Abraham and Isaac, their faith in God and in his special promises, shines forth in Jacob in un-

clouded beauty. The dates and incidents of this most interesting period of Jacob's life may be tabulated as follows:—

JACOB. Age.	ISAAC. Age.	JOSEPH. Age.	Incident.	Record.
97	157	6	The wrestling with the Angel at Peniel.	Gen. xxxii. 24—32; compare Gen. xxx. 25, 26; xxxi. 38, 41.
...	...	...	Sojourn at Succoth	Gen. xxxiii. 17.
...	...	...	At Shechem	xxxiii. 18—20.
...	...	...	Rape of Dinah, the plot, and the massacre.	xxxiv.
...	...	...	Bethel re-visited.	xxxv. 1—15.
...	...	...	Death of Deborah at Bethel.	xxxv. 8.
...	...	...	Death of Rachel at Ephrath; birth of Benjamin.	xxxv. 16—20.
107	167	16	Arrival at Hebron	xxxv. 27.
108	168	17	Joseph sold into Egypt.	xxxvii. 2.
120	180	29	Death of Isaac.	xxxv. 28, 29.
121	...	30	Joseph presented to Pharaoh.	xli. 46.
130	...	39	Jacob's presentation to Pharaoh.	xlvi. 7—10.
146	...	55	Adoption and blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh.	xlvi.
147	...	56	Death and burial of Jacob.	lix. 33; i. 1—13.

When “Esau ran to meet him, and fell upon his neck and kissed him, and they wept” (Gen. xxxiii. 4), did Jacob not feel that he had misjudged his brother? Men such as Esau are reckless, passionate, self-willed, and self-indulgent, but not rancorous or malevolent; not given to nurse a grudge in secret for years, biding revenge, but as quick often in their forgiveness as in their anger, and open to all the generous and kindly affections. So was it at least with his affectionate embrace of Jacob after their long separation. But the restless roving spirit of the son of the desert was not long in revealing itself. It would seem to have been on the very day of their meeting that he said to Jacob “Let us take our journey; let us go, and I will go before thee.” The proposal was, with good reason given, declined, nor was his kindly offer of leaving behind a protecting band more welcome. So, satisfied with a few hours' intercourse, “Esau returned that day on his way to Seir.” Left to regulate his movements as he pleased, Jacob descended from the banks of the Jabbok, and pitched his camp at Succoth, somewhere in the plain of the Jordan, but whether on the eastern or western side of the river is as yet uncertain. Here he not only built a house for himself, but erected booths for his flocks. It may have been some sanitary consideration, springing out of the condition of his flocks as affected by their late rapid march, which led him to put

them for some time under cover—a thing not common in the East, where night and day, summer and winter, they live in the open air. That the stay at Succoth was more than a mere ordinary halt for rest and refreshment upon a journey, is thus apparent; but can we form any idea of its probable length? We have ten years here to come and go upon, for so long was the interval between Jacob's reaching the borders of Canaan and his arrival at Hebron. Over these intervening years we have to distribute the incidents recorded in the 33rd, 34th, and 35th chapters of Genesis. To allow of Dinah and her brothers being of anything like sufficient age, it is necessary to throw the events narrated in the 34th chapter as far on as possible towards the close of this period. If we assign a year to the journey from Shechem to Bethel, Ephrath, Edar, and Mamre, there remain nine years to be divided between Succoth and Shechem. But did Jacob actually allow ten years to elapse after reaching the banks of the Jordan before visiting his aged parent at Mamre? So long as the terror of Esau was upon him, we can readily understand that he might shrink from a possible encounter with his brother, but from that terror the meeting by the banks of the Jabbok delivered him. We can even imagine that taking into consideration his father's peculiar disposition and his extreme existing frailties, Jacob might have shrunk from bringing so large a company, with all the domestic rivalries of Leah and Rachel and the eleven children of his household, in upon such a lover of quiet as Isaac ever was; but that after so long a separation Jacob should have lived continuously so many years so near to Hebron as he was at Succoth and at Shechem—a single week enough to carry him to and fro, and give him a day or two with Isaac—without once going to see him, is almost incredible. What so likely as that after having got his family and flocks all comfortably housed at Succoth, Jacob left them for a few days to pay a hasty and unrecorded visit to his father, bringing back with him Rebekah's maid, his own old nurse, who told him all about his mother's death, and who got in a few years such a hold upon the affections of the whole household of Rebekah's nieces, that when they buried her at Bethel the oak beneath which they laid her was called the "oak of weeping?" How else are we to account for Deborah's presence and for the emotion excited by her death?

From Succoth Jacob removed to Shechem. It was here that, 120 years before, his grandfather had made his first halt and reared his first altar in the Land of Promise. But Jacob not only pitched a tent and raised an altar; he bought a piece of ground from the Shechemites and dug a well, the remains of whose masonry still tell of the great labour that must have been bestowed on it. Obviously a prolonged residence here was meditated; nor was it till his hold of the place was loosened by the crime of Shechem and the bloody cruelty of his sons; nor was it till God said to him, "Arise, go up to Bethel," that he took his departure. The part taken personally by Jacob in the whole affair of the Shechemites (if indeed it can be

said that he took any part whatever in it) not only indicates a spirit chastened and subdued, but shows that already, young as they are, his own children have but slight regard to his judgment or will. His sons are with the cattle in the field when Jacob first hears of Dinah's defilement. As one afraid to speak out his sentiments in their absence, he held his peace "until they were come." Hamor comes out to commune with Jacob, to try and make up the matter amicably. But nothing is said or done till the sons "come out of the field," and when they come they take the whole colloquy out of their father's hands into their own. They did not consult him as to their treacherous proposal. By tacit consent he was party to the arrangement made, but he was not aware of and never suspected the foul violation of it, from the first contemplated. And when before his eyes the deceit and abominable barbarity of the sack of the town and slaughter of its helpless inhabitants was perpetrated, he neither attempted to restrain, nor ventured to condemn, but said only to Simeon and Levi, "Ye have troubled me to make me to stink among the inhabitants of the land; they shall gather themselves together against me; I shall be destroyed, I and my house." Was it that he was insensible to the atrocity of the deed, and thought only of its consequences? Let the words that nearly fifty years afterwards broke from his trembling lips upon his death-bed in Egypt be the answer. "Simeon and Levi are brethren; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations. O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou invited. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel."

It seems strange that Jacob should have delayed so long in going to Bethel—have needed to be reminded of the vow that he then had made. We may do him, however, some injustice here. The remembrance of the vow may have been fresh enough upon his heart, especially since that interview at Peniel. But he may have been restrained by his knowledge of how unfit his family and retainers were for going up with him to a place so suggestive of a vowed and exclusive allegiance to the one true God. The command that now came from heaven quickened his sense of this, and he issued the peremptory order, "Put away the strange gods that are among you." Who can tell how far it was the fear which the massacre of the Shechemites excited which prepared his motley company for at once and so fully carrying out the order, bringing "all the strange gods which were in their hand, and all their ear-rings which were in their ears"—all the objects and instruments of their idolatry—and burning them under the oak? At Bethel God again appeared to him, not now in a vision of the night, but in some visible form, renewing the promise, and "Jacob set up a pillar in the place where he talked with him, even a pillar of stone, and he poured a drink-offering thereon, and he poured oil thereon;" the first mention of such a mode of consecration. The name already given to himself at Peniel, which he had not perhaps communicated to any

one, had not at least exclusively appropriated, he was now told to assume; and the name that he had already given when alone to the place, but which no one else may have known of or heard given, he now openly attaches to it.

There was no lingering at Bethel. The impulse was now strong upon him to get to Hebron. It was but a two days' journey. Yet short as the way was, it brought with it a bitter grief in Rachel's death. Seven years had once seemed but a few days for the love he had to her. She had provoked him occasionally by her pettish impatience at Padan-aram, but the anger she had kindled was but short-lived. More recently she had been the source of an anxiety—all the deeper for the love he bore her. When all the gods were brought forth to be buried, can it be doubted that Laban's teraphim would be among the number coming out of Rachel's tent? And what could Jacob think as he looked upon them and remembered that scene upon Mount Gilead, and how he had said in his ignorance and false confidence to Laban, "With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, let him not live?" Rachel, he knew now, had stolen the images. What if she had been detected then? Hers was that fatal family gift of beauty which she had shared with her aunt Rebekah, but hers also that fatal family taint of deceitfulness from which he had not himself escaped, and which now in one form after another was developing itself in his household. But still he loved her, and when the sudden illness and the sharp suffering, and the unlooked-for death occurred at Ephrath, it was to Jacob an overwhelming woe. Long years afterward in Egypt one told Joseph that his father was dying, and he took his two sons Manasseh and Ephraim to a parting interview. And Jacob strengthened himself, and sat upon the bed, and spake very tenderly and encouragingly to Joseph about himself and his two sons. Then turning for a moment to think about himself—to look back upon the past—he added, "And as for me, when I came from Padan, Rachel died by me in the land of Canaan in the way, when yet there was but a little way to come to Ephrath: and I buried her there in the way of Ephrath." Alone out of all the family incidents of a long and chequered life, the death and the burial of Rachel were remembered and thus touchingly referred to. Jacob had often thought of what a pleasure it would be to present to his old father one whose beauty would remind him of his own Rebekah. But within a day's march of Hebron he has to lay her in the

grave.¹ In the babe born at Ephrath Isaac could not be expected to take much interest. But Joseph is there to be presented to his grandfather—Joseph in the very flower of his youth. And did it not kindle a new life in the old man's heart to see in Joseph the budding of dispositions far liker his own and his father's than ever Jacob's were? For the gentleness, the simplicity, the truthfulness, the fidelity that shone out so conspicuously in the Egyptian life must even thus early have shown themselves. It was with good reason that Jacob "loved Joseph more than all his children." In him there was nothing to remind him of his own earlier faults—in him no such cunning, no such cruelty, no such turbulent insubordination as he had already witnessed in his other children. Here amid the turbid waters that surround him, there was one pure bright silvery stream upon which his eye would rest with delight, and upon which he would ask his old father to gaze along with him. It was the one star of hope that shone in those heavens which the death at Ephrath had so darkened. But a year has scarce elapsed when, from the distant Dothan, Reuben, Simeon, and the rest bring the blood-stained coat to Hebron, and ask their father if he recognises it. By a made-up dress he had deceived his own father. By a like artifice he is himself deceived now by his own sons. "It is my son's coat; an evil beast hath devoured him; Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces. And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days. And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will go down into the grave² unto my son mourning" (chap. xxxvii. 33–35).

¹ A Moslem *wely*, or grave of a saint, on the road-side within a mile or so of Bethlehem, as you enter it from Jerusalem, is the traditional grave of Rachel; but there is another "sepulchre of Rachel" spoken of in 1 Sam. x. 2, which lay within "the border of Benjamin, at Zelzah." As this border did not extend southward beyond Jerusalem, the sepulchre must have lain north of that city. Ramah, the home of Samuel, from which Rachel's voice is represented as issuing as she weeps for her children, and where we would naturally place her tomb, was also north of Jerusalem, and was one of the towns of Benjamin. To reconcile this apparent discrepancy, it has been suggested the remains of Rachel may have been deposited first in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, and removed afterwards to Ramah. See Keil and Delitzsch, *Smith's Dictionary*, and Lange on *Genesis*, p. 569.

² Into *sheol*. This is the first place in which this word occurs. It cannot mean the grave considered simply as a place of deposit for the dead body. The Hebrews had another well-known word for the grave regarded as such. Besides, Joseph had never been buried—was lying in no grave. Yet Jacob speaks of going down unto him into *sheol*. For an interesting discussion on the primitive conception of *sheol*, see Lange on *Genesis*, pp. 584–587.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—IV.

THE PROPHETS:—HABAKKUK.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

HAVING announced his theme, Habakkuk rises at once—and by one of those rapid and abrupt transitions characteristic of this form of poetry—to the sublime *theophany*, which is the glory of his ode. He has

heard, and trembled to hear, "tidings" of an approaching manifestation of the Divine power and majesty. To comfort and reassure his trembling heart, he recalls similar manifestations made to his fathers in time past, and the happy results in which they had issued. He

recalls the "apocalypse" of Sinai, when the glory of the Lord appeared in the giving of the law (iii. 3, 4). He recalls the ravages of plague and pestilence in the desert, during the exodus (ver. 5). He recalls the consternation of the desert and Canaanite clans, when the tribes of Israel, led by Jehovah, advanced upon them and overthrew them (vs. 6—9). He recalls the great and decisive victory over the Amorites, in which "the Lord fought for Israel," and at Joshua's command "the sun stood still upon Gibeon and the moon in the valley of Ajalon," "until the people had avenged themselves on their enemies" (ver. 11). And he closes the theophany with a few exulting verses, in which he sets forth the merciful and gracious end of these terrible displays of the Divine omnipotence (vs. 12—15). But we must remember that it is poetry we are reading, not history; an ode, not a chronicle. The prophet gives us no details of the events he recalls, no distinct and specific recital of them, but only such hints, such suggestive names and allusions, as would suffice to call up scene after scene in the minds of men to whom the history of their fathers was intimately known. The Hebrews lived in the past almost as much as they did in the present. The sacred annals of their race were "familiar in their mouths as household words." The slightest hint, therefore, the mere turn of a phrase, would act on their memory like a charm, and wake to life scenes and events which were never very long absent from their thoughts. Habakkuk had no need to rehearse the deeds of ancient time at length; the barest allusion would be enough; nor would the laws of the ode, the most abrupt and impetuous of poetic forms, permit more than hint or suggestion. The ode is at the farthest remove from "descriptive poetry." Restless, and full of impulse, it sings "in wandering measures." Its movement is that of the swallow, swift, and full of quick, unexpected turns. It presupposes much knowledge on the part of the reader, as witness the odes of Pindar, or any of our fine English odes, Gray's or Collins's, Milton's or Wordsworth's. It touches point after point of its subject with light, but the light never tarries long on a single spot; it leaps and flashes from point to point, and requires that we should see what it illuminates at a glance. Habakkuk only does what, as a poet, he was bound to do. He aims at producing a strong and deep impression, by condensing into the briefest possible compass such a view of the manifestations of the glory of God, the *magnalia Dei*, as would vividly recall the whole course of the Hebrew story, and make all past "judgments" interpret the "judgment" he had been moved to predict. And, therefore, instead of giving a detached and historical description of them, he gives us, in touch on touch, stroke after stroke, the impression they had produced on his mind.

What made *his* work the shorter makes *ours* the longer. For, if we would read the ode with intelligence—as we must *expand its poetry into history*—we must both recall, in some detail, the historical events to which he abruptly alludes, and note what forms they assumed

in his mind. One point we must mark at once, viz., that the prophet is raised above the bounds of time. He beholds the Inhabitant of eternity *in eternity*. All past manifestations of God pass before him as taking place while he gazes upon them. In short, he is in a vision, and the glory of the Lord appears unto him. He *sees* what the fathers *saw*. And what is it that he beholds?

"God cometh from Teman,
The Holy One from the mountains of Paran.
His splendour covereth the heavens,
And the earth is full of his glory.
The brightness is like that of the sun;
Rays stream forth from his hand:
And there his glory is hid."

Sinai is not mentioned in these verses, and yet this is simply a poetic conception of the giving of the law at Sinai, as no student of the Hebrew Scriptures can doubt; for there is hardly a phrase in these verses which is not borrowed from Moses or Deborah. The song¹ in which "Moses, the man of God, blessed the children of Israel before his death" opens thus:—

"Jehovah came from Sinai,
And rose up upon them from Seir;
He shone out from the mountains of Paran,
And he came forth from the myriads of his angels,
Flashing forth rays of fire upon them from his right hand."

The leading image in the verses both of Moses and of Habakkuk is that of a sunrise. As they conceived the scene, the glory of God rose on the children of Israel encamped under Sinai, as the sun rises in the east when the morning spreads down the mountains. Moses speaks of Jehovah as *rising up*, as *shining forth*, as *flashing forth fiery rays*. Habakkuk expressly says that his brightness was *like that of the sun*, that his *splendour covered the heavens*, that the earth was *full of his glory*, that *rays streamed forth from his hand*. The image is at once natural and sublime. But, as used by these great poets, it has touches of beauty which are not obvious at the first glance. To gain these we must try to conceive the scene. The Israelites were camped in the wilderness before the mount. Above them towered the grim rugged peaks of Sinai. It was *this* mountain, on which the glory of the Lord was seen, over which the Divine Sun rose upon them. But far away, across the desert, in the distant east, two other lofty ranges lifted their crests to heaven: the one was the limestone range of Edom, of which Mount Seir was the highest peak; the other was the mountains of Paran, which formed the southern wall of Canaan. As these lofty ranges lay to the east, or, more strictly, the northeast, of Sinai, the sun, which the children of Israel saw pouring its light over the peaks and crags of Sinai, must first have "risen up on Mount Seir," and "shone out on the mountains of Paran." To them that would be the natural course of the sun. It would rise in the distant east, behind the ranges of Paran and Edom; having topped these ranges, it would shine full upon Sinai, and then, climbing the summit of Sinai, it would shine down, with fiery rays, on the camp of Israel. Of this figure Moses availed himself when describing the manifestation of the Divine glory. God came to them,

¹ Deut. xxxiii. 2.

as a sun, to give them light—came clothed with majesty as with a garment. And, to give effect to the figure, he drapes it in forms borrowed from the sunrise as it would appear to the Israelites encamped beneath the mountain.

Deborah, in her song of praise and triumph,¹ takes up the same imagery, varying it, however, to adapt it to her purpose. She sings:—

“Lord, when thou wentest out of Seir,
When thou marchest out of the field of Edom,
The earth trembled,
The heavens dropped,
The mountains melted from before the Lord,
Even Sinai from before the Lord God of Israel.”

Possessed by thoughts of battle and victory, Deborah conceives of the manifestation on Sinai under the figure of a march, but the march of the sun on its course. To her it seems that, issuing from the lofty terraces of Seir, God had advanced across the desert till he reached Sinai, where he stood, revealing himself in his glory, causing all its rugged edges to meet and flow into beauty.

Habakkuk takes up both the thought of Deborah and that of Moses. But, first, he simply expands that of the man of God. As he gazes on the vision, the land of Edom (of which *Temán* is but another name²) rises before him with its double range of red sandstone and limestone hills; and over against these hills “the mountains of Paran,” separated from them only by the deep valley of the Ghor. In the south-western desert lies the range of Sinai, and beyond it the fathers of Israel are encamped. He sees God rise and come, like a sun, over *Temán* and *Paran*, advance higher and higher till he tops the crest of Sinai, and shines down upon the camp, his splendour covering the heavens, his glory filling the earth. The one thought he adds to Moses is one of the most sublime in the ode. After dwelling on the “splendour” and “glory” of God, his “brightness,” and the “rays that stream forth from his hand,” the prophet affirms, that even in all these, the “glory” of God “is *hid*” rather than revealed. The sun shines with no borrowed light, in it is no darkness at all; and therefore it may be taken as our best symbol of the Almighty, of “the Holy One” who cannot tolerate sin. The law given on Sinai was a good law, disclosing much of God’s will, as much as men were able to bear. But God is brighter than the sun; he is more and better than the law can reveal. The heavens do declare the glory of God, but not fully: the statutes given to Israel are broad and pure, but not broad enough to contain all the thoughts of God, nor pure enough to do more than shadow forth “the Holy One.” Even in the rays that stream forth from Him, his glory is *hid* as well as revealed.

The first historical allusion of our ode, then, is to the giving of the law on Sinai. The prophet’s words suggest some such scene as this. It is the hour before dawn. Darkness rests on the camp of Israel. Through

the darkness there rise, like dim shadows, the steep grand mountain-forms of the Sinaitic range. Behind this range, in the far distant east, wholly concealed as yet by the darkness, stand the mountains of *Temán* and *Paran*. At dawn the distant peaks are touched, then suffused, with light. The light sweeps swiftly across the desert, climbs the farther side of Sinai, glitters among its lofty summits, and then flashes down its rays on the camp scattered round its western foot. The scene is so impressive, so inspiring, that the prophet ordains a pause in it. So soon as the words, “Eloah cometh from *Temán*, the Holy One from the mountains of *Paran*,” have been sung, the singers are to suspend their voices, and the orchestra is to heighten its tones, gliding into some symphony, I suppose—some sunrise symphony which, by its brightness and majesty, would prepare the congregation for the words that were to follow.

The second historical allusion of the ode is but dimly shadowed forth (ver. 5):—

“Before him stalks the plague,
And the pestilence dogs his feet.”

The connection of thought in the prophet’s mind seems to be that, as the fervent heat of the sun, which loads men with benefits, also draws forth a noxious and infectious poison from the refuse of the world, and breeds the contagious epidemics by which thousands fall; so also the glory of God, the very splendour of his love, by which men are healed and saved, are, through the neglects and sins of many, turned to their destruction. Every Divine manifestation has its aspect of terror as well as its aspect of grace. So the Hebrew fathers found. The very God who revealed his will on Sinai, also revealed his will, his displeasure against evil, in the plagues that fell upon them for their sins during the wanderings in the desert. He who suffered an entire generation to perish in the wilderness might well be described as having “Plague” to walk before him as herald, and Pestilence, as executioner, to dog his feet.

But is God terrible only to his friends? He is still more terrible to their enemies: *those* are corrected; *these*, destroyed. In the song of triumph³ sung by Moses on the margin of the Red Sea, in which the Egyptian host had been drowned, he acknowledges the gracious purpose of Jehovah toward Israel:—

“Thou, in thy mercy, leadest forth thy people whom thou hast redeemed;
Thou guidest them, in thy strength, to thy holy habitation.”

But he also predicts the consternation and terror into which the neighbouring nations will be thrown when Jehovah advances against them as the Captain and Leader of Israel:—

“The nations will hear it, and will be afraid:
Terror will seize the inhabitants of Philistia.
Then the chiefs of Edom will be amazed;
The mighty men of Moab, trembling will seize them;
All the inhabitants of Canaan will melt away with fear.”

It is this prediction which the prophet has in his mind,

¹ Judg. v. 4, 5.

² Or, rather, *Temán* is the proper name for the southern district of Edom, and is used, *per synecdoche*, for the whole land.

³ Exod. xv. 13—15.

though complicated with other memories, as he pens verses 6 and 7.

"He stands, and maketh the earth to quake;
He looks, and causeth the nations to tremble;
The primeval mountains crumble to dust;
The ancient hills sink down.
These are his ways of old.
I saw the tents of Cushan under affliction,
The tent-curtains of Midian tremble."

The prophet still has Sinai in his mind. The great tempest beneath which the primeval mountain "quaked greatly," and "was altogether in a smoke," finds an echo in his verse. But, like Deborah, he now conceives of the Divine advent, not as a sunrise, but as a march. Once more God is coming forth from Teman and Paran, crossing the crags of Sinai, to defend and redeem his people. As He pauses in his march, collecting his forces for the battle, all nature is convulsed; the earth quakes, the mountains crumble, the hills sink: as He looks with threatening aspect on their foes, *the nations tremble*; they are amazed and melt with fear. Once more Jehovah treads the ways that are his from of old. That the scene is still in the Sinaitic Desert, and that Habakkuk has the song sung by Moses on the margin of the Red Sea in his mind, is apparent from the fact that, among the nations which are to tremble, he mentions "Cushan" and "Midian." For the Midianites occupied the territory which stretches between the mountain range of Sinai and the gulf of the Red Sea (Ælanitic Gulf); while "Cushan" is but a lengthened form of "Cush," which lay on the other side of the range, and was the home of "the blameless Ethiopians." What the poet intends to convey is that, in his vision, the mighty tempest which blew around the feet of Jehovah as He stood on the peaks of Sinai, still raged, and carried fear to the nations on either side of the range, to the *African* and to the *Arabian* tribes. But this thought he conveys in poetic images, telling us that, under the stress of this mighty tempest, he saw the tents of Cushan under affliction, and the tent-curtains of Midian tremble. In plain prose the verse means, that both the tribes that lay under the very shadow of Sinai, and those who were afar off, came, and would come, within the circle of the Divine judgments.

As in imagination Habakkuk saw the glory revealed on Sinai, and stood with Moses by the Red Sea, taking part in the song of triumph, it was but natural that he should select for special mention the dividing of the Red Sea, and of the deep rapid waters of the Jordan—the two great kindred miracles in which Jehovah appeared to, and for his people, the one at the commencement, the other at the close, of their pilgrimage through the desert. It is in allusion to these miracles that he breaks into the impetuous and vehement inquiry (ver. 8):—

"Was it against the rivers, O Jehovah,
Against the rivers that thy wrath was kindled?
Was thy wrath against the sea,
That thou ridest hither upon thy horses,
Thy chariots of salvation?"

You feel, as you read, that the poet's heart and imagination have caught fire, that he is carried out of himself, that he is no longer content to stand, a mere spectator,

as the pageant of the Divine glory moves before him; that he *must* speak to get him ease, speak to the God whom he has traced along the ways of old. Of course, he expects no answer to the question. Such a question is, indeed, the strongest form of affirmation. In asking, he asserts that God's wrath *was* against the river and the sea; that is, God smote them as though in wrath. And yet the affirmation is also a negation. For it was not the mere waters with which God was angry; he smote them only to make a way for his people, only that he might deliver them out of the hands of their enemies. The figure of the march still dominates the prophet's thoughts. God is still advancing against the foes of Israel; but now he rides in the royal chariot, drawn by swift horses, with his quiver and bow beside him, his hosts following in his train. That the Almighty and his subordinate commanders ride in "chariots of salvation," denotes of course the gracious and redeeming purpose on which he comes, that he is hastening to rescue and redeem his people. Their salvation is near at hand. For, as the prophet looks more closely, he sees that the bow of the Divine Captain is already naked and bare; *i.e.*, drawn from the *corymbus*, or leathern case, in which it was carefully preserved from accidental harms and injuries of the weather, till the moment of action arrived. As he listens, he hears the Lord give the word, "Sevens of spears!" The command thunders along the line; the battle is joined; the arrows fly; the spearmen advance to the shock.

This, at least, I take to be the best interpretation of ver. 9. But it may serve to show how difficult the ode is made by its very grandeur, or by the compressed and intense style, full of historical allusions, to which it owes much of its grandeur, if I say that more than a hundred different interpretations have been put on the brief Hebrew phrase which I have ventured to render "Sevens of spears! was the word." It offers an enigma of which, probably, no satisfactory solution will ever be reached. The differences are not slight variations, such as one might hope to reconcile, but grave and deep. For "sevens of spears" the Authorised Version reads "oaths of the tribes." Delitzsch renders the line "rods are sworn by word," taking it to mean that Jehovah has sworn to chastise the foes of his people with rods. All we can do is to select that reading which best accords with the spirit of the poem. And, so far as I can judge, it is best to take "Sevens of spears" as an ancient military word of command, denoting a form of attack of which we have no record. Obviously, the prophet conceives of the Almighty as riding forth to war at the head of his hosts. He has uncovered his bow, the arrow is fitted to the string; and it surely is very natural and appropriate that, as He looses it, he should give the word to his troops, and bid them advance in due military array to the assault.

Here, again, we find the word "Selah." Once more the singers are to pause; the orchestra is to strike in with an interlude—a *military* symphony this time, I suppose, descriptive of the shock of battle.

THE OLD TESTAMENT.—VI.

THE PENTATEUCH.

DEUTERONOMY.

BY THE VERY REV. E. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

THE fifth book of the Pentateuch is called Deuteronomy, *The Repetition of the Law*, and is sometimes so styled by the Jews themselves, who understand by the words of chap. xvii. 18, rendered in our version "a copy of this law," the Book of Deuteronomy itself, the Hebrew literally signifying a duplicate, or second publication of anything. Our translation is probably the right one; but it was a common view of the fathers, founded upon the words of Ezek. xx. 11, 25, that God first gave the Israelites, at Mount Sinai, a spiritual law, of which the Ten Commandments were the central portion; and that it was only upon their constant violation of every moral precept, coupled with the neglect of the Sabbath day, that the burdensome ceremonial of sacrifices and legal purifications and festivals was added, partly as a punishment, but chiefly because they were not capable of anything better than this veiled teaching, in which the spiritual meaning was wrapped up in a cover of type and mysticism. This view is, no doubt, an exaggerated one, though certainly much of the Law was so arranged as to suit the low moral state of the people on leaving Egypt. It was afterwards the work of the prophets to disclose gradually its deeper and more spiritual signification, that so it might be the schoolmaster gradually leading on the mind of the nation, till, having outgrown its nonage, it was fit in its maturity to receive Christ.

Undeniably, however, the Book of Deuteronomy does give us the Law under a sublimer aspect than we find it in the Book of Leviticus, and so is a return to the form under which it was given at Sinai. While recapitulating the chief enactments relating to their religious and social life, and in many particulars adapting them more closely to the state of things about to be established in Palestine, it yet dwells with peculiar force upon the worship due to Jehovah himself. It is their God whom Moses sets before them as the centre of their love and reverence; vividly he portrays the awful contrast between their fate if they neglect Him, and the blessedness they will find in His service. It seems as if invigorated by the sight of the Land of Promise, now opening to his view, and warmed with admiration for the band of manly warriors, whose character he had formed during the thirty-eight long years of their tedious halt at Kadesh; solemnised, moreover, by the thought that his share in their high enterprise was over, and that he must die before the dividing line of Jordan was crossed, he gathered all his force together, and from the fulness of his heart spake the glowing words of patriotism and holy zeal which so distinguish this book.

Its ordinary title among the Jews, "These are the Words," not inaptly describes its contents, for it mainly consists of three addresses made to the people encamped on the Arabah, opposite Jericho. These occupy the first thirty chapters: next Moses solemnly appoints his successor (chap. xxxi.), utters his last psalm (chap. xxxii.), formally blesses the tribes (chap. xxxiii.), and dies (chap. xxxiv.). It is exceedingly probable that Joshua, after the conquest of Canaan, gathered these records together, and himself added to them the account of the great lawgiver's death, excepting the last four verses. In them we have the solemn verdict of Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue, as to the character and rank of Moses. In the grand roll of prophets who had ennobled their nation, not even an Elijah or an Isaiah had equalled the great "servant of Jehovah," with whom God had spoken face to face. When the canon of Holy Scripture closed, the words of Moses in Deut. xviii. 15, 18 were, according to their deliberate judgment, still unfulfilled.

As regards the authenticity of the book, we are at once struck by the remarkable discrepancy in the views of those who assail it. While many critics stoutly assert that it belongs to the age of Samuel, and others that it was the book which made so great an impression upon the mind of King Josiah, and which was not *found* by the high priest, Hilkiah, but *forged*, as they affirm, by him with the aid perhaps of the prophet Jeremiah (see 2 Kings xxii. 8); other critics of at least equal authority, and with more show of reason, affirm that Deuteronomy is really the ancient book, and contains a far less elaborate ritual than that found in Exodus and Leviticus. Whether we regard the simpler form of the legislation, they say, or the more primitive and less developed sacrificial system, Deuteronomy is plainly the antique foundation upon which later hands have built the burdensome but complete sacrificial system in use long ages afterwards in the Temple.

Both sides maintain their views with great strength of assertion, but it plainly results from their discrepancy that there is no force in the arguments brought against the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy from its style. There is, no doubt, a difference of style, but just such as was to be expected. In the previous books we have usually brief contemporaneous records, notes merely, and memoranda, the materials, as I have called them, of history, and not a finished history itself. Yet often the great power of the writer breaks out, as in the song of victory on the shores of the Red Sea. So again the episode of Balaam, digested into shape from the rumours which had reached the camp, or from records, it may be, captured after the battle in which

Balaam was slain, is vigorous and spirited in the highest degree. In Deuteronomy we have no longer rough notes, but three formal addresses, spoken to the people flushed with victory, and eager to enter upon their career of conquest. It was a noble occasion, and a solemn one, for the speaker, like the fabled dying swan, was chanting his death-notes. Who would not rise to grandeur under circumstances so inspiring? For thirty-eight years the lawgiver had toiled to wipe away the reproach of failure and the shame of defeat from the people whom he had led away from their old homes. And now victory was at hand. Already they had coped with the tall warriors of Sihon and Og, and had prevailed. And soon the Land of Promise would be theirs, though his eyes must never see them in possession. Naturally, then, his language is richer, more spirited and rhetorical, than when he was chronicling laws, or the too often distressing facts of their history in the wilderness.

No doubt such a composition, even with the aid of a skilled amanuensis like Joshua, was a wonderful effort for an old man verging on his hundred and twentieth year. But the testimony borne of him by his contemporaries was that his eye had not grown dim, nor his natural force abated (Dent. xxxiv. 7). Excepting the eventful episode of his visit to Egypt preparatory to the exodus, he had dwelt for eighty years in the wilderness, leading a simple life, and nourished by plain fare, such as was calculated to maintain body and mind in full possession of their powers. And now for the last time those powers burnt up brightly and clearly, and then another took his place, and led the hosts of Israel to victory.

But if there is no ground for doubting the authenticity of the Book of Deuteronomy because of its style, why has it been so attacked? The answer is simply that the whole Bible has now for many years been undergoing a course of what is called "*subjective criticism*." The meaning of this is, that each book is examined as to its contents and internal scope. Does it agree with the age and character of the author, and answer in all respects to what we should have expected beforehand? Now, as regards this book, there is large opportunity for such an examination; for we know a great deal about Moses, and we have three other books written by him, to say nothing of Genesis, of which he arranged the contents. Are the facts the same as in those three other books? Does the writer use much the same words and forms of expression? Now plainly such a style of argument is quite fair, but has its own dangers. If we found in Deuteronomy things plainly inconsistent with the previous history, and a style of writing quite unlike that used before, we must then abandon our belief in the Mosaic authorship either of the earlier books or of this.

But there are also great dangers in this style of argument, for it elevates the arbitrary notions of the critic into an absolute rule by which to judge. Now we know that the realities of life seldom or never do agree with our preconceived notions; and a very

moderate amount of external evidence entirely overthrows all such theories. It is often said that fact is stranger than fiction, because a writer of fiction must keep within the bounds of probability; while in real life most improbable things daily happen. External evidence, then, after all, is the most important, though there is fair room, and its own use, for this close examination of the contents of every book of Scripture, if it be not pushed to an extreme. The late Archbishop Whately once wrote an anonymous pamphlet called "*Historic Doubts as to the Existence of Napoleon Buonaparte*." In it he ignored all external evidence, and confined himself to internal and subjective considerations, with such success that he has made out a far stronger case against the existence of Buonaparte than any critic has succeeded in doing against that of Moses or of our Lord. So convincing is this amusing book, that one gentleman on reading it said, with a sigh, "Well, till now I had always believed that there had been such a person as Buonaparte." If you neglect external evidence, there is nothing against which a clever writer may not produce very strong arguments. The two modes of reasoning must go together, and mere difficulties, especially when the subjects of criticism are so very ancient as that before us, go for very little. Our knowledge of the days of Moses is so very limited that a child may ask questions which no scholar can answer; and that simply because we have not the necessary information.

Now let us turn to the external or objective criticism for a few minutes, and what do we find? The Pentateuch certainly comes down to us as the great national code, regarded with such entire veneration, that the rest of the Hebrew Scriptures was considered by the Jews as only of secondary authority, or, as by the Sadducees, was not received at all. When did this veneration begin? How did the Pentateuch win its way to this universal acceptance? On turning back to the history we find that there was, first, a long period of anarchy; that then the two warriors, Saul and David, established a vast military monarchy, followed by one peaceful and magnificent reign. And then came a disruption, and the military empire was broken up into two petty states, constantly struggling with one another, and able at most to maintain only a precarious existence in the face of the larger powers of Egypt and Mesopotamia. We know, too, that the founder of one of these kingdoms did his best to wean his subjects from the worship established at Jerusalem. Was the Pentateuch then in existence, and the worship at Jerusalem regulated by it?

Now we may feel quite sure that if the Pentateuch had not existed then, and been received by the nation as authoritative, it would never have found its way afterwards into the ten tribes. Jeroboam did his best to get rid of it, and set up instead the worship of the sun, as symbolised by the bull, Apis, with whose rites he had become familiar in Egypt. Observe, then, that two of the earliest prophets, Hosea and Amos, belong to Israel; the former entirely so; the latter, though of the

tribe of Judah, was yet sent on a special mission to Israel, and his prophecy is confined to an account of that mission. Now, in the most incidental way, and in the compass of two very short books, these prophets bear witness to the existence among the ten tribes of every peculiarity of the law of Moses. The three great festivals, the new moons and sabbaths, the solemn assemblies, the sacrifices of every kind, the daily offering, the burnt and meat offerings, peace offerings, free-will and sin offerings—all still existed; and, what was scarcely to be expected, they even paid the tithes of the third year (Amos iv. 4). The prophet Amos mentions many minuter points of the law as still practised among them. The thanksgiving cakes were leavened (chap. iv. 5; Lev. vii. 13), this being the only case in which Moses had allowed leaven to be used in God's service. The blood of their victims was dashed upon the altar, as prescribed in Leviticus, and the altar had horns, which in the appointed sacrifices were touched with the blood. And, not to mention too many instances, they had the peculiar bowl called *mizrak*, the "pourer" (see "Leviticus," p. 131) used for receiving the blood in large quantities; and Amos (vi. 6) accuses the rich of drinking wine in them, having, we must suppose, first plundered them from holy places, and then desecrated them by using them at their feasts.

To make the argument complete, there are in Amos many verbal references to Deuteronomy. The impenitence of Israel is described under the image of the two bitter plants, gall and wormwood (Amos vi. 12), as in Deuteronomy (xxix. 18), the words in the Hebrew being the same, though differently translated in our version. So the remarkable expression "blasting and mildew" is found only in Amos (iv. 9) and Deuteronomy (xxviii. 22), and in the prayer of Solomon, and in Haggai, in passages plainly modelled upon these two texts. No one can compare the threat about the building of houses for others to inhabit, in Amos v. 11, with the corresponding words of Deut. xxviii. 30, 39, without feeling that the denunciations of Moses were present to the prophet's mind. It would be tedious to mention the numerous other reminiscences, which not only prove that Amos was familiar with the Book of Deuteronomy, but that he expected his hearers to be so equally with himself. If we add the consideration that Amos was not educated in the schools of the prophets, but was a herdsman, adding to his scanty income by puncturing sycamore fruit, which is said not to ripen unless irritated by artificial means (vii. 14), we cannot but come to the conclusion that a knowledge of the Books of Moses was very general in his days, long before Jeremiah was born, and that the law of Moses had been received by the whole nation previously to the disruption.

Now, as no one doubts the authenticity of the prophecies of Hosea and Amos, the argument is narrowed down to this. We are told that David arranged the Temple ministrations, with the orders of the priests, Levites, and porters, and established a choral service (1 Chron. xxiii.—xxvi.). Had Samuel imposed upon him

writings of his own as those of Moses, and had David influence enough to establish them so thoroughly that when the great house of Joseph, under Jeroboam, threw off the hated yoke of Judah, these institutions were still cherished by the Ephraimites as the genuine property of all Israel?

But if so, how came the Levites to have no landed possessions except a few towns with their suburbs? For this would be settled when the land was divided. If, too, there is anything certain, it is that there was a sanctuary containing the ark at Shiloh, in the tribe of Ephraim, and that Samuel was brought up there, and that David copied the dimensions of that sanctuary in his plan for the Temple, only doubling the quantities. How came this sanctuary there, and how came Eli, a descendant of Aaron, to be high priest in it? Evidently Samuel was not the founder, though probably he was the reformer of the institutions under which the tribes lived. But the question will best be settled by the Book of Judges; for so great is the acknowledged agreement between the Books of Joshua and Deuteronomy that our opponents are driven to affirm that large portions of Joshua had the Deuteronomist for their author. Confessedly Deuteronomy was written before the Book of Joshua.

Now the Book of Judges gives us not merely a picture of the most distressing anarchy, but also of abominable licentiousness. The mass of the people have utterly fallen from the high moral standard to which they had been raised by Moses. Never again did the nation sink so low, and the narratives of which this book is composed could only have been written at the time, and by men who valued truth above national reputation. We can quite imagine these truthful descriptions urging a wise and thoughtful man like Samuel forward in the path of reform, and in the patriotic endeavour to rebuild the fallen institutions of Moses. Now, omitting the two last episodes contained in chaps. xvii.—xxi., for the same reason for which we omit Joshua, what do we find in this book? There is no central government; the priesthood exercises little influence; after the first chapter Judah retires to its fastnesses, and only appears again to advise Samson to yield himself to the Philistines. But here and there rough warriors spring up, who fight the battles of the nation and maintain its independence. There is little scope, then, for details, and yet the facts we find would be impossible to explain but for the Pentateuch. The people are living as settlers and conquerors mixed with hostile natives; the latter generally possess the towns, while the Israelites are encamped as large landholders over the country. It is these towns which are the fruitful source of moral corruption, while the landholders retain the impress of the master mind of Moses, and one especially, Gideon, shows all the theocratic feelings of the great lawgiver, and uses language worthy of Moses himself (Judg. viii. 23).

No one certainly would venture to assert that anything new was added to the institutions of Israel during

this miserable time. It is a time when things were fast falling to pieces, yet at the end of it we find the Levites separate from the rest of the nation, a tribe without inheritance, highest in rank, and poorest in money. We find the tabernacle at Shiloh the centre of the nation's worship, and Aaron's descendants ministering there; while in the book itself Samson is a Nazarite according to the rules in Numb. vi., and Jephthah's daughter cherishes those Messianic hopes which Moses had instilled into the people's minds. In short, where the documents are so brief, and our knowledge so limited, it is easy to suggest difficulties and construct plausible theories as to the date and authorship of any and every ancient book; but these theories on closer examination fade away, and are found to involve far greater improbabilities than the statements which have come down to us from the Jews, with all the weight of the evidence which they, with fuller knowledge, could bear to their authenticity.

But what are the difficulties which have driven men to these theories? The first is that in the account of the appointment of the judges in Deut. i. 6—18, Moses puts it after the departure from Horeb, whereas in Exod. xviii. we find that it occurred while they were encamped there. We answer, that though Moses had mentioned the departure from Horeb in verse 6, and now says, "At that time," plainly his reference was general; for in verse 19 he recurs again to the departure from Horeb as subsequent to this narrative.

Again in verse 22 it is said that the people urged Moses to send the spies, whereas, in Numb. xiii. 2, Jehovah is said to have commanded it. But the explanation is obvious. Though urged by the people, Moses did not send the spies, till God gave the command. In so brief a history much must be omitted, but Moses might now well remind the people of the additional fact of their share in sending the spies when it had ended so discreditably.

Again in verse 44 we read of the Amorites who dwelt in the mountain: whereas in Numb. xiv. 43—45 they are described as Amalekites. But this is an error on the part of our assailants. For in Numbers there is mention also made of Canaanites as present with the Amalekites when Israel was smitten at Zephath, and these are now correctly styled Amorites, their specific name being put instead of their general name. So any English writer might describe London at one time as the metropolis of Great Britain, and at another as that of England.

Other similar so-called discrepancies have been explained with equal facility by Hengstenberg. And in fact there is only one which has caused any real difficulty. In Numb. xxxiii. 30—36, the route given seems different from that in Numb. xx. 22; Deut. x. 6, 7: moreover, in Deuteronomy Aaron is made to die at Mosera, and in Numbers on Mount Hor. But the attentive reader of the article upon the Book of Numbers will at once solve the riddle. The stations mentioned in chap. xxxiii. 30—36 are those of the march northward up the Arabah in the second year after the Exodus.

Then came the defeat at Zephath, and the thirty-eight years' sojourn at Kadesh. Then in the fortieth year the Israelites march backward down the Arabah, and hence the inverted order of the stations in Deut. x. 6, 7. At Mosera the army halted, while Aaron and Moses went to Mount Hor in its immediate neighbourhood, and there the former died. It was not till they had reached the southernmost limit of Edom, that the Israelites struck eastward, and began their journey round the territories of that state and of Moab.

Minute criticism has failed, therefore, in substantiating any serious discrepancies between the statements in Deuteronomy and in the other books of Moses. But by calling attention to these minute points it has made us more thoroughly understand facts of the history which previously had not been sufficiently attended to. Leaving then these criticisms, let us now give a cursory glance at the contents of the book itself.

The first address (chap. i. 6—iv. 40) was spoken in the Arabah on the eastern side of the Jordan. Our version unfortunately speaks of this place as "over against the Red Sea" (chap. i. 1), putting, however, the word "sea" in italics to denote that it is not in the Hebrew text. Really it is *over against Suph*, the high mountain land on the west of the Dead Sea, where the Israelites had been defeated, and of which the capital was Zephath.¹ The address generally is of a hortatory character, reminding the people of their continual rebellions against God, and of His goodness and mercy towards them. In reading it now the effect is very much marred by the numerous notes inserted into it at its revision probably by Ezra. Much curious information about the Emim and Anakim, and Horim, Rephaim (rendered "giants"), Avim, and Zamzummim, which would at the present day be at the foot of the page, is thrust into the text. In the time of Moses such information would not have been needed, nor the notice that "the Sidonians called Hermon Sirion, but the Amorites Shenir" (iii. 9). At the return from Babylon such matters would have had great interest, and we must remember that if an explanation was to be given at all it must be given in the body of the text. Parchment was far too dear to allow of a wide margin for annotations. It was the want of a cheap writing material which in old time compelled scribes to resort to those many compendious ways which so limit the information given us in ancient books. As soon as paper was invented, printing soon followed. But we ought to remember that the Bible comes down to us from times so remote, that both writing was a rare art, and writing materials difficult to procure. We

¹ The name Zephath will, perhaps, sound unfamiliar to many English readers, even though they may be careful students of Bible history. As they read the narrative of the defeat of the Israelites by the Amalekites and Canaanites, Hormah appears as the scene of the disaster. A reference to Judg. i. 17 shows, however, that it had previously borne the name of Zephath, and that the new name Hormah ("destruction") was probably given to it at or soon after the time of the defeat, as denoting that the Israelites placed it under a solemn ban, and vowed that they would not rest till they had utterly destroyed the city which had witnessed their disgrace. Comp. Numb. xxi. 1—3.—Ed.

need not wonder, therefore, if Ezra, the learned scribe, inserted his many elucidations of Holy Scripture among its very words.

The second and longest address, extending over chaps. v.—xxvi., is a practical exposition of the whole law. Having laid down the Ten Commandments as the basis of human morality, Moses next takes the first table, and deduces from it the leading principles which are to regulate our conduct towards God. At the beginning of chap. xii. he considers man in his political and social relations, and completes the legislation of the previous books by the addition of many special regulations, and the application of many of the older enactments to their altered circumstances. And this certainly is remarkable that so many of those older regulations should have been fit only for the life in the desert, and have to be changed to adapt them to their peaceful settlement in Canaan. Lastly, in his third address (chaps. xxvii.—xxx.), he solemnly renews the covenant, sets before them the blessings and the curses which will follow upon obedience and disobedience, and requires them when they have passed the Jordan to inscribe the words of the Law on great stones covered with plaster, to be set up on Mounts Ebal and Gerizim; and there, after an altar had been built, and peace-offerings sacrificed, and a solemn feast held before Jehovah, they were solemnly to recite these blessings and curses before all the people grouped in equal divisions on these hills.

In chap. xxxi. we have an account of various arrangements made by Moses preparatory to his death. These especially referred to the charge of the Law, a copy of which he wrote out, and formally delivered to the Levites, who were to deposit it by the side of the ark, and take care that every seven years it was publicly read to the people. The manner of the narrative makes it probable that Joshua was the actual penman of this chapter, which contains also his own formal appointment to the chieftainship of Israel. It is noteworthy that until the days of Ezra this command to read the Law in the hearing of the people was not observed. Had the wise regulations of the great founder of Israel been obeyed, the history of the nation would have been far different from what it actually was. It is but too evident that the priests and Levites did not take that place in the training of the nation which Moses had expected. They were to have been its guides and instructors, but proved unworthy, and God raised up the prophets in their stead.

And Moses foresaw the evil days likely to come upon Israel, and wrote, therefore, a song (chap. xxxii.), intended first to be rehearsed in the hearing of the congregation, and then to be committed to memory, and so handed down from generation to generation. Where books do not exist, and knowledge is rare, such compositions have a value far exceeding what they would have in our times, and their metrical form makes their retention by the memory more easy. The song itself takes the highest rank in Hebrew poetry, and forms the very foundation of all future prophecy. Antique and

rugged in style, full of pregnant metaphors, earnest in its teachings, impassioned in its warnings, yet always careful in its rhythm so as to fasten easily on the memory, while it fascinated the imagination, it was well calculated to be a safeguard against apostasy from Jehovah's service, and a constant reminder that they were his special people.

It was a composition that probably had long occupied the prophet's thoughts at Kadesh. The past history of the people suggested only too probably their future disobedience. But Moses does not part with them in strains of such melancholy import. There is a tone of happier augury in his farewell blessings (chap. xxxiii.). In the benedictions of the tribes there is neither warning nor reproof, and they are described rather as what they might have been had they faithfully served the Lord, than as what they actually became. The song and the blessing, therefore, are mutually necessary to one another, and combine in setting before the people the alternative of happiness or punishment, according to their deserts.

This blessing modifies, and often even reverses in a remarkable manner the predictions with which Jacob had taken his farewell of the patriarchs. The scattering of Levi denounced by the one as a punishment is changed by the other into honour and reward, while Simeon, the sharer of Levi's enmity, is entirely passed over as unworthy of notice. So can repentance ever change the Divine chastisements into mercies, while continuance in sin ends in total ruin. Simeon did soon cease to be one of the tribes of Israel. Settled on the southern confines of the land, it became absorbed into the migratory tribes which roved over the Arabian desert. Most remarkable, too, is it that while Jacob had given the sceptre to Judah, as occupying the place of the first-born, Ephraim is evidently the leading tribe in the eyes of Moses. It was the great strife all through the history of Israel (Isa. xi. 13), and was at the root of the defection of the ten tribes, with whose overthrow the claims of Ephraim came to a disastrous end. But in the time of Moses it was the tribe of Joshua, his great general; and throughout the Book of Judges Ephraim's supremacy plainly appears, though more than once its claims led only to signal humiliation. In David's time it would have been absolutely high treason to put Ephraim before Judah (compare Ps. lxxviii. 67, 68).

With these grand poems Moses closed his long administration of Israel's government. For forty years he had been "king in Jeshurun," and the time had now come for his departure. With wistful, gazing eyes he surveyed from the summit of Pisgah the length and breadth of the Promised Land, and then calmly died, and Jehovah buried him in a ravine in the land of Moab, "but his sepulchre knoweth no man unto this day." It was a grand mysterious death, such as well became one of the greatest among the master spirits whom God from time to time raises up to fashion the destinies of mankind, and who in the truest sense are his "servants," sent to do his will.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—XVII

THE PATRIARCHS.

JACOB (*continued*).

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.

TWENTY years go by—marked only by the deaths of Isaac and of Leah; at the very time when the two brothers are laying their father's remains in the tomb of Machpelah, Joseph is lying in the king's prison in Egypt, waiting the summons that was to carry him into Pharaoh's presence. The famine that had been felt in Egypt, falls now, too, upon Canaan. It presses so heavily, that at last Jacob says to his sons, "Why do ye look one upon another? Behold, I have heard that there is corn in Egypt: get you down thither, and buy for us from thence; that we may live, and not die." The ten—leaving Benjamin behind—obey their father's voice, and go down to Egypt, where a singular experience awaits them. One can scarcely conceive a more trying position than that in which Jacob finds himself when the nine return—leaving Simeon bound as a hostage—to tell their father that if ever Simeon was to be released, or ever any help was to be gotten again from Egypt, they must take their brother Benjamin down with them to Egypt. Benjamin is now a few years older than Joseph was when lost, and had taken Joseph's place in his father's affections. Hearing of the strange proposal made by one who had dealt so mysteriously with his other sons, Jacob, in the bitterness of his heart, exclaimed, "Me have ye bereaved: Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away: all these things are against me." Reuben says, "Take my two sons and slay them, if I bring him not unto thee." But Jacob will not give Benjamin up. "My son," he says, "shall not go down with you; for his brother is dead, and he is left alone: if mischief befall him by the way in the which ye go, then shall ye bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave."

But the pressure of the famine continues—grows more intense and unendurable. Jacob is forced at last to yield, but how reluctantly! "Take," he says, "your brother, and arise, and go again unto the man: and God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he may send away your other brother, and Benjamin. If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved." Can one conceive a lonelier or more pitiable plight than that in which Jacob found himself, as, bidding Benjamin and his brothers farewell, he turned to his solitary home at Hebron, to ruminate on the insoluble mystery of the man's conduct in Egypt—to cherish the darkest forebodings as to his designs—to count the weeks that the journey to and fro would occupy. The time he gives has not expired (for we may be sure that the journey back on this occasion was performed with extra speed), when, hastening on before the wagons, his sons burst into his presence, abruptly exclaiming,

"Joseph is yet alive, and he is governor over all the land of Egypt." Intelligence so unexpected, so far beyond all his hopes, he will not, he cannot believe. But they tell him all the story in detail; and, by-and-by, the Egyptian wagons, dispatched by Joseph to carry him down to Egypt, appear. He sees in them tangible evidence of the truth of what they have been telling him. His spirit revives. "It is enough," he says, "Joseph my son is yet alive. I will go and see him before I die."

Yet some doubt, some fear, might well be cherished as to going down to Egypt. Abraham, under similar pressure, and on his own prompting, had gone there, and he remembered with what result. Isaac had meant to go, and had been forbidden. Was it to relieve him of any such doubt or fear that, on his way, at Beer-sheba, a voice came to him in the visions of the night, saying, "I am God, the God of thy father: fear not to go down into Egypt; for I will there make of thee a great nation. I will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up again."

Two hundred and fifty years had passed since Abraham entered Canaan. In all these years there had been but small increase of the promised seed. The children of Abraham and Isaac were but few, and even among those few there had been selection and exclusion. The children of the bond-woman were not made heirs along with the children of the free-woman. In Isaac, and in him alone, the promise was to be made good. Esau was shut out, and Jacob adopted. The covenant blessing was running within narrow limits. As yet the history of the chosen seed was a purely family one—the family as small as could be. But now, in the numerous progeny of Jacob—all of whom were to be embraced within, and none excluded from, the covenant—a new stage in that history was entered on. The family was to expand into a nation: this nation to have the land of Canaan as its earthly heritage. Where and how could this be best effected? Canaan was then occupied by numerous tribes, who counted the country as their own. Abraham had felt himself cramped in his movements among them, and had been content to buy a single field as a burying-place. Isaac had frequently to retire before those who grudged him anything like a permanent possession of the districts that he occupied. In Jacob's time the difficulties had not lessened. Canaan was not then a country in which Israel could have free room for a natural and unimpeded growth as the family: idened into a nation; in which that nation as it grew could have kept itself isolated and independent—preserving intact all its religious peculiarities. It must either have been forced into premature and unequal conflict with the other inhabitants, or have

mingled and intermarried with them, or have been scattered over the outlying border-lands; any of which issues had been fatal. It was different in Egypt. Every condition was to be found there needful and favourable for the expansion of the Israelites into an organised and independent community. A whole district of its best pasture lay open for occupation; that district close to Canaan on the one side, and running into the valley of the Nile on the other. Owing to the raids of those pastoral tribes, who had not only invaded the country, but seized upon the throne, every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians; this very antipathy serving as a strong bulwark for the protection and preservation of Israel's national and spiritual independence. Singularly rich, therefore, in meaning was the expression, "Fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee a great nation."

Encouraged thus, Jacob goes, carrying all his eleven sons, his daughters, his fifty grandchildren, and four great-grandsons with him, and reaches the land of Goshen. There Joseph meets him, appearing in his chariot "in all his glory." At sight of a son so loved, so long lost, and now so found—the shepherd errand-boy of Dothan transformed into "the governor over all the land of Egypt"—Jacob is wholly overcome. He falls upon Joseph's neck, and weeps "a good while," over and over again,¹ each new remembrance of the past calling forth a fresh flood of tears. At first no word is spoken on either side. At last there comes from Jacob's lips the utterance, reminding one so much of old Simeon's in the Temple, "Now let me die, since I have seen thy face, because thou art yet alive."

Joseph lost no time in bringing in his father and presenting him to Pharaoh. The interview, though short, was exceedingly striking. The king looked upon Jacob with respect akin to awe. He had never seen, perhaps, so old a man; for, as compared with the patriarchs, the Egyptians were a short-lived people. There was more than the dignified courteousness of true royalty—more than the warm friendliness felt for Joseph's father in the look that Pharaoh bent upon the man before him, whose head was silvered with the sorrows, whose face was furrowed with the wrinkles of more than a hundred years; there was the veneration which all true-hearted men feel for extreme old age. And there was more than the homage paid simply to the majesty of rank—more than the gratitude felt for many kindnesses in the look that Jacob bent upon Pharaoh; there was the profound respect and admiration for a prince, so unenvious, so confiding, so affectionate, so boundlessly generous as this Pharaoh had shown himself to be. A very different Pharaoh this from the haughty and defiant Pharaoh of the Exodus. Having the privilege and exercising the prerogative of old age, which bestows upon its owner a kind of priesthood, Jacob blessed Pharaoh, and Pharaoh accepted the patriarchal benediction. "And Pharaoh said unto Jacob, How old art thou?" literally, "How many are

the days of the years of thy life?" The answer is a prolonged echo to the question: "The days of the years of my pilgrimage are a hundred and thirty years: few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage." Days and years repeated and repeated, sounding in the ear like the tolling of a time-bell. Life, in Jacob's estimate—a pilgrimage, no stoppage by the way, no home along the passage, rough the road often, and weary the traveller; but beyond death and the grave, another and better country, even a heavenly. The length of his own life Jacob compares with that of his immediate ancestors; the common tendency to compare one's own age with that of older men. Isaac had lived one hundred and eighty years; Abraham one hundred and seventy-five. He had reached but one hundred and thirty; and evil as well as few had the days of the years of his pilgrimage been. What a deep shade of sadness over the retrospect as it presents itself to his eye! Not without reason. Few men have had such a series of domestic trials and sufferings to look back upon as he had, from the day of that dark deed which drove him from Hebron. Exile from home; separation from a mother he was never to see again; seven years of labour from the object of his love, and then most humiliatingly tricked; twenty years of toil in the house of a selfish uncle, the drought consuming him by day, the frost by night, sleep departing from his eyes, his wages changed ten times; sons multiplying rapidly around him, the crowded household bringing but little comfort; a daughter's dishonour, her brother's deliberate fraud and desperate cruelty; Rachel's premature and melancholy death; Reuben's incest; Judah's disgrace; the falsehood and malignity of the sale of Joseph, the presentation of the bloody coat of many colours—a long line of sorrows. How often and how strangely the specific form of his own early offence repeated itself and was reflected back upon him; his uncle cheating him as he had cheated Isaac; the very kind of sins that he had committed against his father and brother, committed in an aggravated form by his own children against himself and toward one another. But if the discipline was singularly adapted to the subject, and singularly protracted and severe, it was as singularly successful. He fancied, as he stood before Pharaoh, looking back upon the past, that he was standing on the very border of eternity. He spake as one who thought that his days were numbered. He was mistaken. There were seventeen years still in store for him. These closing years in Egypt offer a striking contrast to those which preceded them. They were years of untroubled rest, of unshadowed prosperity. Not a single disturbing or distressing incident—no difficulty, no sorrow, no death; things ran on so evenly, so calmly, so brightly, there is nothing to record. The first five were years of famine in Egypt, but the Israelites were not neglected in the distribution of the hoarded stores. The other twelve were years of plenty, during which "Israel dwelt in the land of Goshen, and

¹ Our narrative is based here upon the exact interpretation of chap. xlii. 29. See Lange on *Genesis*, pp. 632, 633.

they had possessions therein, and grew and multiplied exceedingly." The quiet evening of a long, dark, troubled day, it was a period of perfect outward rest and enjoyment; and over its close there shines a light which tells us that there was an inward peace, and trust, and hope of which the outward was an image.

It was told Joseph that his father was dying. Taking his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim, with him, Joseph went to see him. Jacob's eyes were so dimmed by age, or the film of death was so upon them, that he did not notice the entrance of the youths. They were now upon the edge of manhood, and he had a purpose in his heart regarding them, which he took this special occasion of their father's coming to him to execute. These young men were born in Egypt, of an Egyptian mother. The rank and services of their father offered to them the most flattering prospects of wealth and honour in the land of their birth; but father and grandfather had desired that they should cast in their lot with their own people. And Jacob, not knowing that he was speaking in their presence, now announces to Joseph, "Thy two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, which were born unto thee in the land of Egypt, are mine: as Reuben and Simeon, they shall be mine." Reuben had forfeited the birth-right privilege of the first-born. The double share of the inheritance is transferred to Joseph; and his two sons are not simply adopted as his own by their aged grandfather, but made each the head of one of the tribes of Israel. Perhaps the young men, hearing themselves so spoken of, drew somewhat nearer to the bed. Jacob discerns their forms, and says, "Who is there?" Joseph

draws them nearer, and Jacob embraces and kisses them; and now from the lips of the dying there came the words, "God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk"—he does not name himself; perhaps he felt that his walk had not been so with God as that of his fathers; but it was a God in whose living presence men could walk, and that all through life of whom he spake, the ever-present God—"the God which fed me all my life long unto this day." No thought now of his own schemes, his own efforts, his own successes. The preservation, the support, the provision all through life he attributes alone to God—He the source of all his strength, He the blesser of all his efforts, He the giver of all that he has got or gained—the all-providing God. "The Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads." The incidents of the bygone life no longer spoken of as of old—as "things that had been against him" (see chap. xlii. 36)—no longer thought of as a series of perils, and trials, and bereavements; but appearing now to the clear eye of faith as so many deliverances commanded and wrought out for him by that Angel of the covenant with whom he had that mysterious struggle at Peniel; over whom, through weakness, he had power, and who not merely from the common ills of life—out of the hands of a Laban and an Esau had rescued him—but from all evil had delivered him—the redeeming God, whose goodness and mercy had followed him all the days of his life, and into whose provided house and home he had so soon to enter. Such was the threefold aspect in which the dying Jacob looked at God.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.—X.

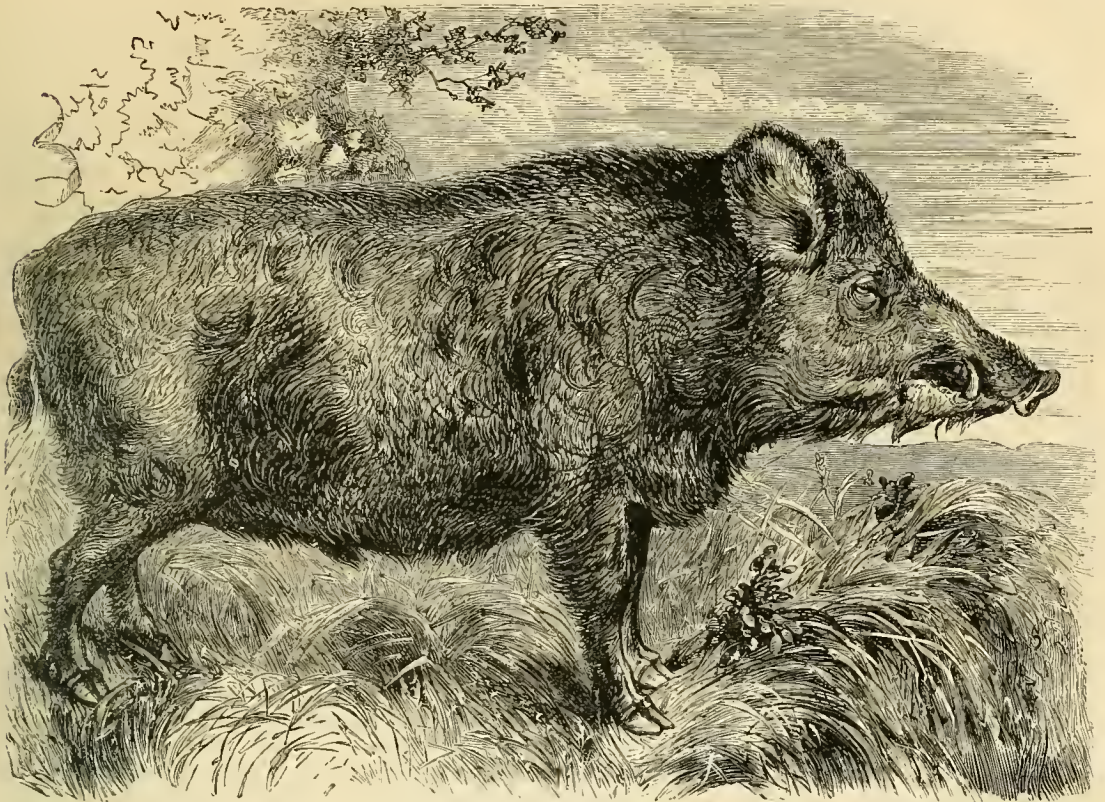
BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

WILD BOAR—SWINE.

THERE is only one distinct allusion to the wild boar (Heb. *chazir*) in the Bible—viz., in Ps. lxxx. 13: "The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it." The psalmist is evidently writing at a time of great national calamity; he complains that the people are fed with "the bread of tears," and "are a strife unto their neighbours, so that their enemies laugh them to scorn." Calling to mind the former mercies and great things which God had done for his people—how he had brought them, as a transplanted vine, out of Egypt, had cast out the heathen before them, and increased them greatly, so that the vine had taken deep root and filled the land, until the hills were covered with the shadow of it—the psalmist now, in bitterness and heaviness of heart, complains that the hedges of the vineyard are broken down, "so that all they which pass by the way do pluck her; the boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it." In a country like Palestine, "a land of wheat, and barley, and vines," the damage which wild hogs would cause to crops and

vineyards can hardly be imagined. "It is astonishing," says Mr. Hartley, in his *Researches in Greece*, "what havoc a wild boar is capable of effecting during a single night. What with eating and trampling under foot, he will destroy a vast quantity of grapes;" and recently Dr. Tristram writes, "Not only does it devour any fruits within reach, but in a single night a party of wild boars will uproot a whole field, and destroy the husbandman's hope for the year."

The wild boar is a ferocious and dangerous animal when attacked or wounded, but never himself begins a fight unless provoked. With his long, sharp, and strong tusks he is able to tear open the body of almost any enemy, though vastly his superior in size and strength. In solitary places and retired forests, among reedy marshes and thickets near rivers, he has his lair during the daytime, wandering forth at night in search of food. Dr. Tristram writes of the habits of these animals as follows: "They swarm in the thickets all along the banks of the Jordan, from Jericho to the Lake of Gennesaret. From these fastnesses, whence neither dog nor man can dislodge them, they make nightly forays upon the corn-fields and root-crops of

THE WILD BOAR (*Sus scrofa*).

the villagers, retiring at day-break to their coverts. About Jericho they are especially destructive, and when the barley-crop is ripening, the husbandmen have to keep nightly watch to drive them away. Their presence can always be detected by the crashing noise they make in forcing their way through the thickets, when the men fire, guided by the sound."

These animals, the same writer informs us, are nowhere so abundant as among the valleys of Moab and Gilead. "The many streams, of which the Jabbok and the Arnon are the most important, which furrow that long chain of mountains, and descend to the Jordan or Dead Sea, are for the most part thickly shaded by a rich fringe of oleander. Among them, close to the never-failing water, the wild boar multiplies rapidly, and as we rode up the *wadys* they were never out of sight. Every few minutes they were put up, and scampered up the hills; sometimes one or two huge old boars alone, more frequently a sow with a long train of little ones, all striped zebra fashion, black and yellow. Were the country east of Jordan more cultivated, the wild boars would be a perfect pest until their numbers had been reduced. Even under Hermon, in the vineyard district, we heard grievous lamentations of the damage done to the vines by the boars, which devour not only the grapes, but also munch up the bearing shoots." In the bare wilder-

ness of Beer-sheba, too, Dr. Tristram and his party noticed these animals tearing up innumerable furrows in the herbage of the downs, subsisting on the roots of the asphodels, irises, and crocuses which carpet the slopes and plains.

Swine are always spoken of in the Old and New Testament with horror and disgust. "He that offereth an oblation, as if he offered swine's blood" (Isa. lvi. 3). "They that sanctify themselves . . . eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse, shall be consumed together" (ver. 17). "As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman which is without discretion" (Prov. xi. 22). "Neither cast ye your pearls before swine" (Matt. vii. 6). "But it is happened unto them according to the true proverb, The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire" (2 Peter ii. 22). In the time of our Lord some of the people of Palestine, it appears, kept large herds of swine, as the Gergesenes (Matt. viii. 28). The prodigal son went and joined himself to a citizen of a far country; "and he sent him into his fields to feed swine: and he would fain have filled his belly with the husks (*κεράρια*, pods of the *Ceratonia siliqua*) that the swine did eat; and no man gave unto him" (Luke xv. 15, 16).

Several reasons appear to have combined to render the pig hateful in the eyes of the ancient Jews; such as

its dirty habits, the supposed unwholesomeness of its flesh, its occasional carnivorous ferocity, and, above all, its association with many forms of paganism. Dr. Kalisch, in his remarks on the dietary laws of the Hebrews (*Comment. on Levit., Part II.*), has entered very fully, and with his usual care and sagacity, into this subject, and as it is one which presents many curious and interesting points, we shall bring before our readers much which this learned scholar has written. "The unclean habits of the swine," he says, "struck the Hebrews so strongly that they gave rise to the saying, 'The snout of the pig resembles ambulant dirt.' Swine were considered as the fit habitations of 'unclean spirits or devils' driven out of possessed persons; a man wallowing in the last and most disgusting stage of drunkenness was compared with the swine. Maimonides believed that the 'principal reason why the law held the pig in abomination was because the animal is the filthiest of all, and feeds on the filthiest of refuse;' and he added, with pardonable exaggeration, that it would have been a strange anomaly if the Hebrews, upon whom the most scrupulous cleanliness was enjoined, even with respect to their camp, had been permitted to rear pigs, 'whereby the streets of their towns, nay, their very houses, must become foully offensive.' The Egyptians regarded the pig as hateful to sun and moon. They deemed it so singularly contaminating by its 'uncleanliness, unholiness, and all-devouring voracity, surpassing even of its own young, and of men,' that any person who had accidentally touched a pig was obliged instantly to plunge into the water, dressed as he was. Swineherds, detested and disgraced, 'though of pure Egyptian blood,' were forbidden to enter any of the national temples, or to intermarry with any other class or caste; and the Egyptian priests, and all those initiated in the mysteries, rigidly abstained from pork except on one solitary occasion. . . . The same food was scrupulously shunned by the Ethiopians, who hardly ever kept swine; by Libyan tribes, as the Bææans, who followed the Egyptians; by the Comani, in Pontus, who deemed it a pollution of their temples to admit a pig within the precincts of their towns; by the Seythians, who 'never sacrificed swine, nor suffered them to be reared in their country at all;' and the Galatians in Pessinus, who shrank from touching any part of the swine. It was prohibited in Zabul, to the holier orders of the Hindoos, who abhorred it as much as human flesh, and the more so as the latter and pork were considered almost perfectly alike in taste and smell; and to the Parsees, because swine were believed to devour the impure creatures of the evil demon, or the *Khurfesters*. The same antipathy was shared by the Phœnicians and the Syrians in Hieropolis, who regarded it as an abomination to eat or to sacrifice swine. From the temple of Hercules or Melkarth, in Gades (Cadiz), women and swine were excluded.

"Tum quis fas et honos adyti penetralia nosse,
Femineos prohibent gressus, ac limine curant
Setigeros arcere sues." (Sil. Ital., *Punica*, iii. 21—23.)

Pork was pronounced detestable by Mohammed: it was

and is still abhorred by the Druses, by the Christian Copts—following, probably, the example of their Egyptian ancestors—though they eat the wild boar, by the Arabs and Turks, and most of the South American tribes."

Yet, on the other hand, the flesh of the pig was by some nations held in the greatest esteem as an article of diet. Every one is familiar with the fact that the ancient Greeks and Romans bred pigs largely, and ate the flesh with gusto. "The Greeks," as Dr. Kalisch says, "heard without surprise of Homer's divine swineherd, although the transformation of Ulysses' friends into grovelling swine was to them equally intelligible. The Romans paid the utmost attention to the rearing of pigs: among them pork was employed medicinally for very numerous purposes; it was dressed in a variety of ways as a delicious dainty, not only with care, but so expensively that sumptuary laws were enacted to check the extravagance. 'There is no animal,' says Pliny (*N. H.*, viii. 77), 'that affords a greater variety to the palate of the epicure; all the others have their own peculiar flavour, but the flesh of the pig has nearly fifty different flavours. Hence the whole pages of regulations made by the censors forbidding the serving up of certain parts at banquets.' Galen declared, as the result of long observation, that 'of all viands pork is the most nutritious;' and he found, for instance, that gladiators and others engaged in athletic exercises, visibly lost strength if, instead of pork, they took the same quantity of any other meat. Similar opinions were entertained among many tribes even in Western Asia and Northern Africa, by whom pork was not only deemed healthier than beef, mutton, and goose, but eminently suitable for invalids. Pork forms a staple food in China, where the pig is one of the chief victims sacrificed to the gods and to the manes of Confucius. It is commonly eaten by the people of India; it is permitted even to the Parsees, provided that due precautions are taken that the pig does not consume unclean creatures within a year of its slaughter; and it is held lawful by the Oriental Christians, who yet abstain from camel's flesh. The Jews had constantly to bear the taunting irony of other nations 'because they do not eat the most eligible meat' (*ὅτι τὸ δικαίωτατον κρέας οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν*). Jewish writers themselves, as Philo, and the physician Isaac ben Solomon living in the tenth century, admit the excellence and nourishing qualities of pork; and the most rigorous Talmudism, believing bacon to be a remedy against consumption and atrophy, allows it to Jews suffering from these and similar complaints. Yet, on the other hand, it is a notorious fact that pork was from early periods shunned by many on account of its own or the pig's injurious properties. It was regarded with repugnance by the Egyptian priests, who contended that 'it engenders many superfluous humours.' Maimonides declared that 'pork is too juicy and too rich to be recommended as food;' and he enlarged this observation into the general rule that 'all animals forbidden by the Lord are unwholesome nutriment;' whereas ruminants, because thoroughly

masticating their food, and perfectly separating the good from the deleterious humours, yield healthful meat. This view occurs in many anterior and subsequent writers, variously, and often strangely, modified. Pork was pronounced injurious, not only to the health of the body, but to the vigour and clearness of the mind."

Dr. Kalisch goes on to say that the pig was brought into disrepute more especially by the cutaneous disorders "to which it is unquestionably subject, especially in the East, and by which, as many believed, consumers of pork are certain to be affected." He quotes from the Talmud the following passage:—"Ten measures of pestilential sickness were spread over the earth, and nine of them fell to the share of pigs." "Pork is detested," says Plutarch, "because foreign nations generally abhor scab and leprosy, and even believe that those diseases destroy men by contagion." The same or a similar opinion was held by Tacitus and other writers. Dr. Kalisch instances certain medical cases of modern days as infection by tape-worm and trichinæ, and is of opinion that modern science and experience have not been able "to contradict the observation of former ages" as to the hurtful distemper of swine. "That cases of *trichonosis* have occurred through eating pork there can be no doubt, but these are exceptional, and we do not think as a rule that pork and bacon properly prepared and cooked can be fairly regarded as unwholesome, if eaten with moderation, even in a hot country. "Neither in the tropics nor in the East, during the first centuries of Christianity, or in the era of the crusades, or among the Christians of the present day, are any ill effects ascribed to the use of swine's flesh; and the Moslem population, which is debarred the use of this kind of food, is perhaps more liable to disease and to the plague than others, because it lacks the stamina of resistance to infection, and that supply of digestive nutriment which keeps the alimentary system in a healthy condition. The rich Moslems supply the deficiency by vegetable oils and butter or *ghee*; hence, while the wealthy official class multiplies, the poorer classes, for want of a cheap supply of similar ingredients, diminish" (Lieut.-Colonel C. Hamilton Smith, in *Encyc. of Bib. Lit.*, edit. W. L. Alexander, iii., p. 398). We are inclined to think that the prohibition of the flesh of this useful animal among the Jews originated more from religious prejudice than any good hygienic reason, and to agree with the writer quoted above, who remarks that "the reasoning of the ancients and of commentators, rabbinical and medical, regarding the unhealthiness of sound pork in moderate quantities as a condiment, or more generally as an article of food, is entirely erroneous." The pig did not fulfil the required condition of "dividing the hoof and chewing the cud," and therefore it was proscribed as food; at the same time, when we consider that the pig was known to be omnivorous, to devour rats and mice, and sometimes its own young, to attack men, and devour human bodies, that it was even supposed to feed upon serpents, we can well understand why the "eating of pork was denounced

by Hebrew teachers with uncompromising vehemence, and why it was enumerated among the worst abominations and the most wicked practices."

We now come to another interesting point connected with this subject, and one which apparently afforded the chief reason for regarding the pig as the most abominable of creatures. We quote Dr. Kalisch once again. He asks, "But do even all these combined circumstances account for the supreme importance attached to abstinence from pork? They hardly suffice to explain all the facts which are associated with this subject, and some of which we may be allowed to recall to the readers' memory. In the times of the Syrian dominion and of the Maccabees, the Jews preferred the most horrible tortures, and death itself, to the defilement of pork; and the aged Eleazar and the mother with her seven sons were no exceptional examples of heroic fortitude. They considered it a triumph and a glorification of God to show their constancy by offering up their lives as a sacrifice; and they were certain of the most splendid rewards which awaited their firmness in the future world (2 Macc. vii. 9, 14, 29). The swine was not only singled out as the type of all unclean beasts (1 Macc. i. 47), but the eating of pork was equivalent to forswearing the law and to absolute apostasy (2 Macc. vii. 1; and Jos., *Ant.* xii. v. 4; *Bell. Jud.* i. 1, 2). Later, the very word *chazir* was avoided as detestable, and replaced by the euphemism *dabhar achar*;¹ or, if used, it was applied as a by-word of idolatrous nations, especially of arch enemies of the Jews, such as the Edomites and the Romans. The door-posts of houses (*mezuzoth*) in a swine-breeding town were not to be provided with the religious inscriptions ordained by the law; and the rearing of pigs by Jews was unconditionally forbidden in any country, and even stamped as an accursed pursuit, as was the study of Greek philosophy, since both alike were considered to lead to desertion of the Jewish faith. Finally, the abhorrence of the Israelites to pork struck the heathen as the most conspicuous characteristic of their religion, and it was believed they would eat human flesh with no greater repugnance than pork. This peculiar aversion to the pig must have had a peculiar reason; it must in some way have been connected with the very essence of the Hebrew faith itself. In searching for the reason, we obtain welcome aid from statements of classical writers. It cannot be doubted that the swine, on account of its prolificness, was extensively regarded as an emblem of the fertility of Nature and of her productive powers: it received, therefore, a cosmic significance; it represented the main principle of all heathen religions—the eternal working of the elements and of the innate forces of matter, a principle directly opposed to that of Hebraism, which rigorously insists upon one personal Deity creating, ruling, and preserving the universe and all mankind. Hence many pagan nations sacrificed the swine to those gods to whom they attributed the fertility of the soil and the fruitfulness of cattle. Though the Egyptians

¹ i.e., "the other thing," "the thing," as being something too disgraceful to mention by name.

commonly avoided the pig as particularly unclean, they offered and consumed one once every year, at the feast of the full moon, in honour of Isis and Osiris, the fructifying powers of Nature, and this was done so scrupulously that the poor, who could not afford a pig, were ordered to shape one of dough, and to hallow and eat this image. The pig was indeed believed to have suggested the first idea of ploughing and the ploughshare, by breaking up the earth with its protruding snout. In Egypt it was no unimportant agent in securing agricultural success; for in some parts of the country, especially in the Delta, as soon as the subsiding Nile had irrigated the fields, the husbandmen turned swine into their land to press the seed into the ground, thus protecting the grain from the birds; and at harvest-time pigs were employed to tread out the corn. The famous zodiac of Denderah represents under the sign of the fishes a man carrying a small pig, which points to the Egyptian swine-offering in reference to the progress of the seasons. A pig formed the usual sacrifice for Demeter. Thus the Athenians generally offered one in their mysteries, which mainly related to the secret activity of Nature. On Athenian and Eleusinian coins Ceres is figured together with a swine. The Boeotians, at an annual festival celebrated in their sacred grove near Potniæ, in honour of Demeter and Kora (Proserpine), let down into subterranean chambers pigs which were supposed to re-appear in the following summer at Dodona, near the old and sacred oracle. The early Romans honoured Ceres or Tellus after the conclusion of the harvest by the sacrifice of a pig, generally a fat and pregnant sow, which, indeed, was considered to have been the first offering slaughtered to Ceres, if not the first of all sacrifices, 'because the swine is useful to men mainly by its flesh,' that is, by its death.

"Therefore pigs, so far from being detested, were often declared holy. Thus the Syrians in Hierapolis, who neither ate nor offered swine, did so, according to some ancient authorities, 'not because they believed pigs to be a pollution, but sacred animals.' The Cretans held the pig holy, not on account of the mythical reason put forth by some foreign writers, that a sow allowed the infant Jupiter to suck her teats, and by her grunting prevented the child's cries from being heard, but because it was the emblem of fruitfulness, whence the Praisians, a tribe of Crete, regularly sacrificed a sow before marriage. Callimachus called Venus Castnetis the wisest of her sisters, because she was the first among them who accepted the sacrifice of swine. Nay, the Hebrews themselves were believed, however erroneously, to have avoided pork not from feelings of disgust, but 'because they held the sow in honour as their instructor in sowing and ploughing.'

"Hence again, as Ceres, or agriculture, was looked upon as the originator of all personal and civil ties, of matrimonial law, of special and political order, the swine was employed for various solemn and imposing rituals connected with domestic and public life. The Athenians, on entering the national assembly, used certain parts of

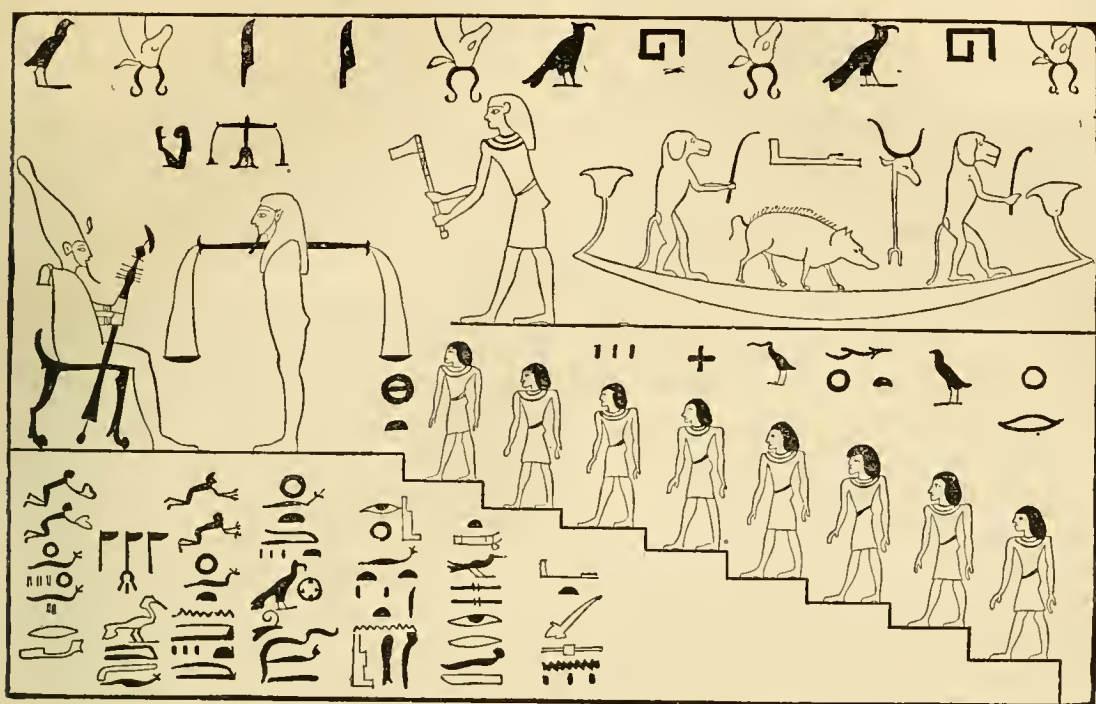
the pig for purification. When they desired to expiate a house, a temple, or a town, the priests carried young pigs round the edifice or the city; and they sprinkled with pig's blood the benches used at popular assemblies. By the same offering the Romans purified the public roads or cross-ways; conciliated the manes of dead men, the bones of whom had been left uncovered upon the ground; and honoured the Lares. They included the pig among the animals employed for their periodical lustrations; sealed peace treaties and friendly compacts by the slaughter of a pig, and maintained this custom even to the times of the emperors. They therefore represented the image of a pig among the figures on the Roman standards, since the object of war is peace; and it was an old and long-preserved usage of the Roman bride, when first entering her husband's house, to touch the door-posts with pig's fat. The same animal was sacrificed by the Cyprians for purposes of divination; by the Argives to Venus, at the festival of Hysteria; and by the ancient Latini, the princes and chiefs of Etruria, and the Italian Greeks, at matrimonial feasts, which are associated both with a sacred alliance and the idea of progeny. Moreover, as pork was, in its nature and taste, considered to resemble human flesh, the offering of a swine was, on peculiar emergencies, substituted for a human sacrifice.

"Can it, then, be surprising that the Jewish doctors and sages, anxious to wean the people from the worship of Nature and her powers, and to imbue them with reverence for the one eternal Creator, the bestower of all earthly blessings, looked with implacable detestation upon the animal which typified a main feature of paganism, and declared the eating of pork as nothing less than a revolt against the foundations of Judaism—nay, that the early teachers among the Christians shared the same repugnance, and relaxed in it only after long struggles? The very persecution and ridicule which the Jews constantly suffered on that account helped to intensify their abhorrence, especially as the eating of pork was in later times also enforced and regarded as the first and most conspicuous act of the Jewish renegade, as among Mohammedans it is still held to be equivalent to abjuring the Islam.

"Thus all the varied reasons which individually unfitted different animals for food, were combined in the pig to render it hateful in the eyes of the Jews—loathsomely unclean, unwholesomeness, carnivorous ferocity, and dangerous seduction to paganism" (Kalisch, *Comment. on Levit.*, pt. ii., essay viii.).

Dr. Tristram, speaking of the wild boar as food, says: "We found both old and young delicious eating, bearing the same relation to pork that venison does to mutton. The flesh was rather dark, and so long as we had any in our larder we discovered another advantage, that we were secure from pilferers, so great is their terror of the nuclear thing" (*Natural History of the Bible*, p. 55).

In former days the wild boar was highly prized in this country as a beast of chase; the nobles and squires of Old England, armed with spears and mounted on



A WICKED SOUL RETURNING TO EARTH IN THE BODY OF A PIG. (EGYPTIAN.)

horseback, used to set out from their halls anxious to do battle with the dangerous animal. In the dense forests which once covered this country, the wild boar found food and concealment; and William the Conqueror, who cared more for his game than his subjects, enacted that he who was found guilty of killing a wild bear was to be punished with the loss of his eyes. Up to Henry II.'s time herds of wild swine were to be found in some of the forests; but they had already begun to grow scarce, and it was found desirable by lovers of this exciting sport to introduce into the woods fresh supplies of these animals. Charles I. turned out some wild swine in the New Forest for the purpose of restoring the breed to that royal hunting-ground; but it is said they were destroyed during the Civil War. A similar attempt, Mr. Bell tells us, was made some years ago in Bere Wood, Dorsetshire; "but one of the boars having injured a valuable horse belonging to the worthy Nimrod who exhibited this specimen of sporting epicurism, he caused them to be destroyed." The name of the wild boar appears frequently in the geographical nomenclature of England; the Anglo-Saxon *eofer* is seen in the following places:—Ever-shaw, i.e., "the wild boars' field;" Evershot, "wild boars' wood;" Everton, "wild boar's enclosure;" Everleigh, or Everley, "the wild boars' meadow;" while the Scandinavian name of the animal (*gris*, or *griss*) appears in Gris-dale and Gris-mire, "the wild pig's vale and bog."

The accompanying woodcut represents an Egyptian judgment scene. On the left hand Osiris, the judge of the dead, is seated, holding his sceptre; before him stand the scales of justice, in which the actions of the deceased have just been weighed; judgment has been given against him; he has been "tried in the balance and found wanting" (see Dan. v. 27); his evil deeds outweighed his good ones. Osiris inclines his sceptre in token of condemnation; he is not to be admitted into the regions of the blest; but his soul returns to earth under the form of a pig. Placed in a boat, it is removed under the charge of two dog-faced baboons: all communication with the precincts of the blessed is figuratively cut off by a man who hews away the earth with an axe after its passage. The figures ascending the steps are different souls proceeding to judgment. The inverted stags' heads are supposed to have reference to eternity, from that animal annually shedding its horns.

[It seems worth while to mention, in addition to what has been stated in the text, that the view maintained by Kalisch has been defended, with nearly equal exhaustiveness, by a divine of the English Church, Spencer, Dean of Ely, in his elaborate treatise, *De Legibus Hebræorum*. Even the very name *sus* was connected with the Greek *θύω*, "I sacrifice," by Athenæus and Varro, as though, both in Greece and Italy, it was more identified with the national worship than any other animal. The reference to those who eat swine's flesh, in Isa. lxxv. 4, clearly implies that it was condemned by the prophet, not merely as an act of ceremonial disobedience, but of religious apostasy and the observance of heathen rites.—ED.]

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.—II.

BY THE REV. A. S. AGLEN, M.A., INCUMBENT OF ST. NINIAN'S, ALYTH, N.B.

MANY definitions have been given of poetry, and the art has often been reduced to rules. It would be out of place to attempt any detailed examination of these here, but it is necessary to state certain principles to which all poetic compositions must be referred, and without which no judgment could be formed of the character of the Biblical poetry.

There are two principal springs of poetic impulse. Shakespeare has delineated them with his accustomed power and truth in the following well-known passage:—

“The poet’s eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,
And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet’s pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.”

We have indeed here a complete picture of the origin and action of poetry. We see its source in the excited emotion, the agitation of passion, which is essential to the poetic mood, and which Shakespeare, like Aristotle, called *frenzy* or *madness*. But discourse, the moment it rises above the level of familiar facts, and becomes inflamed with passion or exalted by thought, clothes itself in images. This is *imagination*, the second essential to poetry. Burning to express his thought, the poet looks “from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven.” Here are materials in countless variety which he may subordinate to his feeling. They lie ready to the artist’s hand in the wide universe of created things, and in the world of human action and life. Seizing on these with spontaneous power, he constructs from them a likeness to his own thought, and makes visible in the flame of his inspiration what other eyes would else fail to see.

Poetry, then, is an *imitation*¹ of nature, or, rather, a *proper creation*. For the poet² (*ποιητής*, the maker, or creator) passes the materials presented to him in the world through the crucible of his own feeling and invention, and gives them back, a new and splendid thing. We call his production a work of art.

There are many arts which imagination uses in its work—viz., *simile*, *metaphor*, *personification*, *allegory*, *parable*. These it will be necessary to explain and illustrate from the sacred poets at a later time.

Poetry is the natural language of passion, “the eloquence of excited emotion.” “The language of poetry I have more than once described as the effect of mental emotion. Poetry itself is indebted for its origin, character, complexion, emphasis, and application, to effects which are produced upon the mind and body, upon the imagination, the senses, the voice, and respiration, by the agitation of passion. Every affection of the human soul while it rages with violence is a momentary frenzy. When, therefore, a poet is able, by

the force of genius or rather imagination, to conceive any emotion of the mind so perfectly as to transfer to his own feelings the instinctive passion of another, and agreeably to the nature of the subject to express it in all its vigour, such a man, according to a common mode of speaking, may be said to possess the true poetic enthusiasm.”³

Thus a description of nature or life is not poetry, although it may represent a scene with great elegance and truth. This is called word-painting. To create the poetic impression, something more is needed—the poet’s pen “must tremble towards the inner founts of feeling;” the heart must be brought into sympathy with the flower, the mountain, or the star, and must receive some suggestion of the inner life and spirit which is concealed by the outward beauty of form and colour. Linnaeus describing the structure of a wild flower is a botanist; but Linnaeus kneeling by the golden gorse “on the sod, for its beauty thanking God,” is a poet. The disciples had gazed often on the bright colours of the lily of the Galilean hills. When they were taught to “consider” them so as to feel the power of their simple loveliness to hush the anxious cries of burdened humanity and lift the heart up in trustful love to the Maker and Giver of all, they were brought under poetic influence. A poet of Hebrew race, much less He who gathered into himself all human excellence, could not stop there, but goes on to a higher tone. He catches “the moral intimations” of nature. “Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.” So of old, at sight of the broad sea and the uplifted hills the psalmist had sung of God’s “righteousness as the strong mountains, and his judgments as a great deep.”

We shall find that this gives us the key to the “sublimity of passion” which so distinguishes Hebrew poetry. Ranging as it does over all the feelings natural to man, the Bible is yet chiefly employed with those emotions which are the foundation of religion. “What in reality forms the substance and subject of most of these poems but the passion of admiration, excited by the consideration of the Divine power and majesty; the passion of joy, from the sense of the Divine favour, and the prosperous issue of events; the passion of resentment and indignation against the contemners of God; of grief from the consciousness of sin; and terror from the apprehension of the Divine judgment? Of all these, and if there be any emotions of the mind beyond them, exquisite examples may be found in the Book of Job, in the Psalms, in the Canticles, and in every part of the prophetic writings.”

One instance in this place will suffice. “The stars awaken a certain reverence because, though always present, they are always inaccessible.” There is the

¹ Τέχνη μιμητική (Aristotle).

² The Anglo-Saxons had a similar name for the minstrel.

³ Lowth (Lecture xvii.)

germ of poetry. This is the language of the feeling stirred by it in a modern poet :¹—

"Ye stars, which are the poetry of Heaven,
If in your bright leaves we would read the fate
Of men and empires, 'tis to be forgiven
That, in our aspirations to be great,
Our destinies o'erleap their mortal state,
And claim a kindred with you; for ye are
A beauty and a mystery, and create
In us such love and reverence from afar,
That fortune, fame, power, life, have named themselves a star."

But here is the Hebrew poet's translation of the same emotion :²—

"When I consider the heavens, the works of thy fingers,
The moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained;
What is man, that thou art mindful of him?
And the son of man, that thou visitest him?
For thou hast made him a little lower than God,
And hast crown'd him with glory and honour."

Or, to take another feeling suggested by the same beautiful objects. With that power to draw all natural things into sympathy with the mood of the moment so characteristic of modern poetry, a living poet thus addresses the stars :³—

"And ye, meanwhile, far over moor and fell,
Beat to the noiseless music of the night!
Has our whole earth gone nearer to the glow
Of your soft splendours, that you look so bright?
I have climb'd nearer out of lonely hell.
Beat, happy stars, timing with things below;
Beat with my heart, more blest than heart can tell."

The ancient poet's thought goes back rather to the primal beginning of things, and listens for the harmony of nature in accord with its Creator, when

"The morning stars sang together,
And all the sons of God shouted for joy."⁴

The sources of the poet's materials are inexhaustible. His eye glances "from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven." From this infinite store he draws his images. All human experience and history, all the wealth of the past and life of the present, as well as the whole world of outward and sensible things, stand obedient to his call. Hebrew poetry is especially bold in seizing its

imagery from unexpected quarters, and its universally admitted sublimity and force are derived in great measure from this commanding power to subject everything to its sway.

Enough will have been indicated in these preliminary remarks when the chief ends of the poetic art have been briefly enumerated.

1. It is the mission of poetry to make us see beauty and feel delight in it. "The very source of true poetry is love—a divine glow and vision conscious of the radiant glories belonging to all surrounding things in God's creation, 'whether in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth.'"⁵

2. But the delight must not rest in the outward beauty. The presence of a spiritual element is essential to its perfection. The poet teaches that "beauty is the mark God sets on virtue." He elevates our thoughts to the admiration of what is becoming, great, and noble—

"Bringing to light and use, else hid from all,
The many sweet clear sources which we have
Of good and beauty in our own deep bosoms."

The poet's office is that of priestly purification. He cleanses the sources of our feeling by showing us where to admire, where to pity, where to love, where to adore; he warns us from all that is mean, and base, and unholy, by the seathing fire of his own indignation and scorn. Thus he may be said "to instil into the soul the very principles of morality itself, to improve the bias of our nature, and cherish and enliven the embers of virtue."⁶

All poetry that is worth reading does this. But above all other literature, the Bible knows how to touch the deepest sources of moral strength. This it does by the power of its religious inspiration. It makes the love of goodness one with the love of God, and teaches man that the only true source of life and strength is in the Eternal Might. Of the whole of Biblical poetry this is the burden, these the two persistent strains:—

"O ye that love the Lord, see that ye hate the thing that is evil,"⁷

"To him that ordereth his conversation aright shall be shown the salvation of God."⁸

¹ Byron. ² Ps. viii. (see Perowne's translation).

³ Tennyson's *Maud*. ⁴ Job xxxviii. 7.

⁵ J. A. St. John. ⁶ Lowth. ⁷ Ps. xcvi. 10. ⁸ Ps. i. 23.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.—VIII.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—ST. PETER.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

"Neither as being lords over God's heritage."—1 PETER v. 3.



BETTER and more accurate translation here would be, "Neither as being lords over the congregations assigned to you."

These words are part of the exhortation addressed to elders or presbyters of the Church by St. Peter, their fellow-elder, and contain a solemn warning against the third great danger to which Church leaders in all times are exposed—"love of power." Ministers of the Church are exposed to three deadly perils—indolence, love of gain, love of power; so

Gerhard in Wiesinger, who also speaks of this passage of St. Peter as "the mirror of the pastoral office." The word rendered in the English version "*God's heritage*," *κληρος*, *clerus*, has obtained a very foremost place in ecclesiastical terminology. From it are derived *clerus*, *clericus*, *clergy*, *clergyman*, *clerk*, *clergé*, *cleriker*, *clerisei*, &c.

Κληρος, *clerus* signifies (1) a lot; (2) anything which is assigned by lot—for instance, an allotment of land or an official position, the *κληρος* here being the *flocks* or *congregations* assigned to the different elders or

presbyters to whom St. Peter was writing. The word we find used in Patristic Greek to designate a single community, ὁ κληρος ἑμός, introduces an address to a congregation of Christians. The interpretation "God's heritage" was adopted by Beza, and followed by the translators of our Bible under the supposition that the idea was purely an Old Testament one; but the plural form of the Greek word translated "heritage" forbids this rendering. Eumenius, followed by many Roman Catholic writers, understands St. Peter here designating by κληρος the Christian priesthood. "Ho (Peter) terms the sacred collegio (ἱερὸν σύνστημα), the clergy (κληρον), as we do now." Corn. à Lap. (quoted by Alford) represents St. Peter in this place as commanding the bishops and pastors not to desire to rule haughtily over the inferior clergy.

Although in this passage the translation "clergy" must be rejected, yet the history of the term "clergy," used for all orders of the Christian ministry, reaches back to the Septuagint use of the same word, κληρος. It is true the appellation is never given to the Aaronic priesthood, but to the children of Israel collectively, as in Deut. ix. 29: "Thine inheritance (κληρος) which thou broughtest out by Thy mighty power and by Thy stretched-out arm;" but this does not seem to invalidate the derivation, for just as Israel out of all the nations of the world was deemed "the lot or portion of the Lord," so out of the whole body of Christians "God's ministers" were called *clerici*, "the lot and portion" of the Lord. It was thus St. Jerome understood it: "God's ministers were called *clerici*, either because they are the lot and portion of the Lord, or because the Lord is their lot, that is, their inheritance" (*Epist. ad Nep. de Vitâ Cler.*). The associations which clung to the Old Testament use of the word no doubt had a powerful influence in determining its position in the new Christian vocabulary as the appellation by which the whole Christian ministry was to be generally known; but no doubt the transaction related in the 17th and following verses of Acts i. indirectly contributed to the universal adoption of the term in this new sense. In this passage the word κληρος, *clerus*, "lot," stands out very prominently: Judas had received the lot (κληρον) of the ministry. The brethren placed their lots in the urn (De Wette). The lot fell on Matthias, and he was numbered with the eleven. Although this custom of choosing persons by lot has never prevailed in the Christian Church, except in the Moravian community (Glog on Acts i. 26), still the history of this solemn election to supply the place of the traitor in the holy twelve, related so circumstantially in the Acts—a book widely circulated and generally received in the early Church—would be examined with minute and reverent attention on all occasions of electing or choosing men into any holy office, even though the practice related were not followed; and the prominent place occupied by one remarkable word, the repetition in the history of an election—never to be repeated by men—to the holiest of Christian offices, of a word already possessing such a history, no doubt

planted it in the vocabulary of the Christian Church; the old word with the old meaning, but newly consecrated under the altered relations of the new covenant.

Professor Lightfoot, in searching for the origin of the term "clergy," as applied to the Christian ministry, makes a still greater use of this passage from the Acts, which he looks upon as "supplying the clue" to the whole history of the subsequent of this famous term. (See his "Exeoursus on the Christian Ministry," *Ep. to Phil.*) In its new and deeper meaning, κληρος, *clerus*, as denoting the whole ministry, gradually became generally used in the early Church. Tertullian, at the close of the second, or beginning of the third century, in his *Treatise de Monogamia*, we find using *clerus* in the sense of *clergy* in each of the following passages (c. xii.): "Unde enim episcopi et clerus," *clergy*; "Unde monogami in clerum;" and again, "Do quo allectio (choice) fiat in clerum;" and "Sed cum extollimur et inflamur adversus clerum." Eusebius (*H. E.*, vi. 43) quotes a letter written in Greek from the Roman Bishop Cornelius to Fabius of Antioch, about the middle of the third century, in which letter we find the word κληρος used of the whole clergy. Cornelius is writing of what was supposed to be the illegal ordination of Novatus, to which ordination objection was made by all the clergy (ἐπὶ παντός τοῦ κληρον) and by many lay persons. Here the term is plainly used for ordained ministers of the Church as distinguished from the laity. In the third century the name seems to have been universally accepted. St. Cyprian even terms those admitted into inferior orders sub-deacons, readers, &c., as "clerici," and calls the ordination of such "ordinationes clericæ." (Epp. 24—33, quoted by Bingham, *Ant. i.* 5.) The Council of Nice, A.D. 325, gives the appellation κληρος, *clergy*, to all ordained Christian ministers, bishops, priests, deacons, and also to all inferior orders.

We have thus traced the word *clerus*, *clergy*, *clergyman*—so familiar to Christians of all denominations—back to its fountain head—to its first use in the long desert wanderings recounted by Moses, when the chosen race received the title of the lot and portion of Jehovah.

The Hebrew קָהָן was faithfully rendered in the almost sacred Greek version of the LXX. by κληρος, and the ring as well as the meaning of the old Greek word is preserved to us in the different Latin and Teuton tongues.

When Christianity was offered to the world, the beautiful appellation was at first bestowed on the varied flocks and congregations of the Christian Church. As these increased everywhere, the title lost much of its old meaning, and from the flock it passed to the pastor.

Such an inquiry as this is no useless or fanciful task. Surely such considerations as these will not lessen the consciousness of individual responsibility in the holder of any sacred office. Will they not rather spur him on, through difficulty and danger, through work and self-denial, to merit for himself that title to honour which underlies the ancient word, which reminds us ever how the faithful minister is the Lord's lot and portion?

BIBLICAL PSYCHOLOGY.—I.

BY THE REV. J. B. HEARD, M.A., CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

INTRODUCTION.

PSYCHOLOGY and theology are kindred and related sciences, but, as is often the case with relations, it has been a "little more than kin and less than kind." The botany of the Bible or the natural history of the Bible present no such difficulties and "oppositions of science" as the psychology; for unless we go ignorantly to the Bible for a revealed system of physical science, as former ages did, or exaggerate the discrepancies between its statements and those of science as modern unbelievers do, there need be no contradiction between the Bible and modern thought. Science and Revelation each go on their own path—their orbits do not cross except on one or two points, and it is only at these crossing points that misunderstandings arise. As our knowledge advances we may be able to clear up these contradictions one after the other, and thus set at rest the confusion which has existed for some time between the claims of science and those of revelation.

But psychology and ethics are the two sciences on which the Bible is expected to speak with authority. As Delitzsch remarks, "What Scripture says to us of cosmogony might certainly appear insufficient to originate a system of cosmogony, but assuredly it says to us infinitely more about man's soul and spirit than about Orion and the Pleiades. I would not assert," he adds, "that Scripture offers us no natural knowledge of the soul; I believe it rather to the honour of God's word to be compelled to maintain the contrary." Revelation, if it is to retain any authority as a divine teacher, must reveal to us truths concerning ourselves and our duties which we cannot learn elsewhere. In other words, psychology and ethics are in a relation of dependence to theology such as the other inductive sciences have long since emancipated themselves from. The queen of the sciences, as theology was considered during the Middle Ages, has been stripped of her territory, and her empire, like that of Alexander, has been broken up among her generals. Nature has revolted and set up for itself as independent, or nearly so; but human nature still remains, and over that province of thought theology justly asserts its right to be heard. It is true that this claim has been very unwillingly allowed. Moral philosophy, as it is called, has been studied with as little attention to Bible statements on the subject as even natural philosophy. The psychology of the Bible has been treated as contemptuously as its cosmogony or astronomy. It has been taken for granted that the one is as unscientific as the other, and the consequence has been disastrous on both sides. The psychology of the schools and the theology of the Bible have each gone on their own course to the detriment of both. It is a sign of candour on both sides that we see our mistake and are endeavouring to repair it.

Biblical Psychology is a branch of inquiry which is slowly recovering from the state of comparative neglect into which subjects of this class fell when mankind awoke to the discovery that they were not to look for a complete manual of science in the revealed Word of God. When Galileo boldly laid down for the first time the limits between revelation and science in his celebrated maxim that "the Holy Spirit has taught us how to reach heaven, not how heaven moves," a change came over the way of apprehending the relations of the Bible to science. One after another the sciences have emancipated themselves from what may be called the theological or deductive method of thought, until even theology itself has shared in the general rising against the tyranny of a now obsolete method. Eminent professors of theology argue out the atonement and other Christian doctrines on what they describe as the inductive method, and thus the change from the old to the new method of argument seems to be complete.

From time to time attempts have been made to retard or even arrest this steady progressive change in the method of thought. Hutchesonianism, so called from a Scotch divine of that name, was an attempt to bring science back within the old lines, and to set up a Biblical system of science. The attempt has failed, as all mere reactions deserve to do. Truth of one kind is not served by trying to hinder or warp truth in another department of thought, for as Galileo remarks in that celebrated letter to the Grand Duchess Christiana, "It is a crime against truth when men seek the more to suppress her the more clearly and openly she shows herself. But to condemn one opinion and to leave the rest standing would be still worse, for it would give men the chance of seeing an opinion proved to be true which had been condemned as false. But to forbid science itself would be against the Bible, which teaches in a hundred places how the greatness and glory of God are wonderfully seen in all his works, and are to be read in their full divinity in the open book of the heavens."

This danger, a very real one in Galileo's time, of compelling science to defer its teachings to the popular language of Scripture, has passed away. The schools have been emancipated completely from the authority of the Church, and the danger is now rather in the other direction. We are in much greater danger of forgetting that there are some subjects bearing on science in which the Bible may be said to speak with authority, than we are of including all science within the bounds of Biblical interpretation. Psychology and ethics are cases in point. If Scripture be a revelation at all, we can never admit that it has nothing to teach us of the relation of sense to spirit or of mind to body, which is the subject-matter of ethics. The sciences, properly so called, in which matter and its laws are chiefly concerned may lie outside of the path of Biblical interpretation, but not

so with those more personal questions which concern ourselves and our duty. A Biblical psychology and a Christian code of ethics seem to us to be a necessity of the age if the Scriptures are to retain anything like the authority which they lay claim to, as an authentic and authoritative declaration of the will of God to man.

But let us make our meaning clear at the outset. While contending for Biblical psychology in general, we do not pretend to draw out a system on the subject by simply letting down our bucket into the well of inspiration pure and undefiled. Our difficulty does not arise from this, that the well is deep, and we have nothing to draw with, for, thanks to modern criticism and exegesis, the real sense of the Hebrew and Greek writers is better understood than ever. The difficulty arises from this fact, that the allusions of Scripture on the subject are implicit rather than explicit. We are not to look for a formal, much less a scholastic, account of the relation of the parts of human nature to each other, for that would frustrate the end of revelation, which is practical only, not speculative. We are given a few pregnant hints as to human nature in general, and he is the best psychologist who embraces those hints and incorporates them into his system. Psychology tells us what we are in ourselves—theology adds the further truth, what we become in our relation to God. It cannot, for instance, be a secondary question whether we are the offspring of God or only the creatures of his handiwork. The psychology of the schools suggests the latter account of the matter, the psychology of the Bible the former. Which of the two accounts is right, and whether there is a reconciling point between the two, as we believe there is, it would be premature here to discuss. It is enough here to remark that there is such a discrepancy. The Scriptural account both of man's original and ultimate relation to God is too profound to be passed by with the cold and contemptuous remark that it is irrelevant to modern science. The deistical moral philosophy of the last century has died out amid the contempt even of philosophers. It satisfies neither side. Based on a denial of our spiritual instincts, it is a defective draft of human nature even as it is, while it is certainly short of what human nature is capable of becoming when led by the Spirit and taught of God. A Biblical psychology would have saved the Scotch school of Reid and Dugald Stewart from that defective outline of human nature which is now generally discarded as much by philosophers as divines. It is a sketch founded on an imperfect analysis of the mind and its functions. It is faulty in arrangement, and narrow in its range of view. It takes little account of the dependence of mind on body, and is thus open to attack on the physiological side. It is even more defective in its account of the relation of man to the unseen and spiritual world. It has put aside the supernatural element in man as mystical and transcendental, and as a consequence must itself be set aside as not corresponding with the facts of the case. The physiologist on the one hand, and the spiritualist on the other, are dissatisfied

for different reasons with the old dualism of mind and matter, and the old-fashioned dichotomy of man into body and soul. It is evident that if psychology is to hold its place as a science, it must retrace its steps, and get out of the rut of scholasticism into which it had fallen. It must both deepen and widen its range of inquiry. It must take account of human nature on the side of physiology on the one hand, and of theology on the other. Science will no longer admit the old Cartesian formula, *cogito ergo sum*. Man is not a mere machine that thinks, as the animal is not a mere machine that does not think. The *differentia* between reason and instinct must be sought in a different direction from this, or else psychology will find itself swept away, and reduced to become a mere department of physiology.

On the other hand, the theological account of man as made in the image of God must have its place, if psychology is to hold its ground as a science worthy of the name. The same objection made to the evidential school of last century that they treated living Christianity as a *caput mortuum*, and that they put twelve men into the jury-box to give a verdict in its favour, is also applicable to the psychology of last century. It was a cold and pagan account of human nature—correct as far as it went, but leaving out of account the relation of mind to matter on the one side and to God on the other. That abstraction called "the soul" exactly corresponded with that other abstraction called Christianity, which divines like Sherlock and Paley put on its trial, and for which, as practical advocates, they tried to obtain a verdict before a deistical age. The dead have buried their dead, and the very modes of thought have disappeared which called for evidences of this sort. Our defences must be new, seeing that the modes of attack are also new. In the same way, with an advancing physiology, effacing the old lines of distinction between reason and instinct, and teaching a new theory of necessity instead of the old dogma of the freedom of the will, it is evident that the time has come when psychology must take higher ground if it is not to be swept away by the rising tide of materialism.

A Christian psychology is thus a necessity of our age. It is called for as much in the interests of psychology itself as of theology. It is impossible any longer to regard moral philosophy as a subject on which the Bible has no more authoritative teaching than on botany or any other inductive science. It will be our endeavour to show that as there is no treating ethics apart from the highest standard of duty, the revealed will of God, so psychology has its ground in the truth that "in the image of God made he man, male and female created he them." Thus the Fatherhood of God is more than a mere theological truth on which divines may dispute as to its extent and meaning. It is the key, as we conceive, to the problems of human nature as well. The point of view from which we set out in such an inquiry as this must determine our whole course afterwards. Religion, or the tie which binds us to God, is either an integral part of

human nature, or it is a mischievous excrescence which should be cut out as the Positivists desire. It is either an instinct derived from our original constitution,¹ as made in the image of God, or it is an effete principle, a compound of fear and ignorance, a superstition of the savage stage of human nature, which by some obstinate survival still lingers on into more enlightened times. Which of these two is the most rational account of the religious element in man it is not for us here to say. We should prejudice the question if we were to appeal to history to confirm our account of the universality of the religious instinct in man. Suffice it for us here to remark, that as in physiology the existence of an organ presupposes some special function for that organ to discharge, so in psychology very much turns on the question whether there be any religious organ in man or not. Concerning the function itself there can be no dispute: man is everywhere a religious animal. You may travel the world, as Plutarch long ago remarked, and find cities without walls, without letters, without kings, without wealth, without coin, without schools and theatres; but a city without a temple, without worship, without prayers, no one ever saw. What can be the meaning of this? The inference is obvious, that a special function presupposes some special organ. In physiology there are cases, as of the spleen, in which we know the organ, but cannot assign its exact function; there are none, as far as we are aware, where the reverse is the case. Given a function, we assume with the greatest certainty that we shall determine the organ to which it is attached. Our anatomy would be wholly at fault if we were loosely to assign varying functions to the same organ, and to speak of organs with no particular function attached to them—packed in merely to fill up the system, as Paley hastily concluded might be the case with the spleen. And yet our reasoning on psychological problems has been as loose and inexact as this. We come upon a function like the religious instinct, which is in action everywhere, wherever we meet with man. It varies, it is true, with civilisation, but on the other hand the converse is equally true, that civilisation varies with it, so that which is cause and which is effect, or reciprocally, whether an advance in religion does not lead to an advance in civilisation, and *vice versâ*, it is impossible to say. Now it is only reasonable to suppose that a special function like this must have some special organ by which it discharges itself. This is no mere play on words, no mere metaphor from physiology to psychology,

and, like other metaphors, misleading if pressed too far. It is an analogy in the strict sense in which the word is used by Bishop Butler from the known to the unknown, from demonstrated to problematical truth. Religion as a fact of human nature presupposes some religious organ through which it is exercised. Given the function, we may assert with the greatest confidence that there must be some organ corresponding by which that function discharges itself.

This leads us to see the defect in our academical psychology, which is still the popular one. It treats of the faculties of human nature, which it sometimes divides into two classes, the intellectual and the active; and sometimes into three, the intellect, the emotions, and the will. But it leaves the religious instinct unexplained and unaccounted for. Schleiermacher's theory of religion, as a blind sense of dependence, as that of a dog on its master, is a striking instance of the inconsistencies into which divines fall when they attempt to piece together a spiritual theology with an academic and unspiritual philosophy. Schleiermacher, with his Moravian training, had a true consciousness of the phenomena of the spiritual life. But these phenomena had no place in his philosophy. Instead, therefore, of concluding that his philosophy was shallow, which ignored these undeniable facts of human nature, he argued the other way. He did not deny the facts themselves, as the Positivists do. He was too true to his early training to be capable of that. But he came very near it. He attenuated the facts themselves to the barest shred. He reduced the religious instinct to a minimum. The faculty of God-consciousness (to use his own phrase) was less than the intellectual, less than the active power in man. It was a mere blind instinct, of which we are unable to give any account, and are barely able to say that it exists.

But even this is more than ordinary psychologists say on the subject. In most cases we are told that religion is a kind of compound—the exercise partly of our intellect, partly of our affections, but principally of our will. Much has been said and written, particularly by English and American divines, on the relative place of the intellect and the affections in religious matters. The old school laid too great stress on the intellect. Jonathan Edwards and the Revival school generally brought the affections more into vogue as the focus and centre of the divine life within. Others lastly, and particularly in our day, call on the will as the operative principle in religion; and there is a sense, as we shall see in the sequel, in which we agree with them. They are at least nearest the mark, for the will is of all others the one nearest and most akin to the conscience or God-consciousness in man, which is the true *nidus* of the spiritual nature in man. But the error in all those writers is the same: they have not sought to attach a distinct function to a distinct organ. Now physiology teaches us that the higher the life the more certain is this correlation of organ and function. In the lower forms the same organ discharges very different functions. In the

¹ Dean Mansel in his *Essays*, lately published, glances at this thought. Referring to Sensation, Reason, and Will, as the three factors of consciousness, he adds in a note, "Should not a religious element be added? What may be made in a philosophy of religion of the psychological fact that man is a worshipping being?" Our inquiry is the answer to the very question of the Dean, and our only surprise is, that in his analysis of the will he did not see wrapped up in it the conscience, or God-consciousness, which is the dawning and as yet undeveloped *pneuma*. Man *minus* a conscience or a will, which turns to the will of God as the supreme judge of character and conduct, would indeed be a monster. We might say, indeed, that if science can only teach us that we are cunning cads of clay, it is self-destructive—"What matters science unto men?"

quadrumana, for instance, the distinction of hand and foot is only faintly perceptible, as it disappears altogether in the quadruped proper. In a lower scale still, as in the jelly-fish, stomach and mouth are reversible; the same organ can discharge entirely opposite functions when the conditions of life are reversed. But in man, the most complex of all organisms, this pliability disappears. Each organ has its own peculiar function; "the eye it cannot choose but see, we cannot bid the ear be still." The optic nerve will only convey one class of sensations, and so with the nerve of hearing. Hence when injured in any way they throb with sensations which convey false impressions; the singing in the ear and the flashing fire from the eye after a blow on the head are familiar instances of this. All this suggests to us the analogy, that as in man's physical constitution organ and function are correlative, the same must hold good of his intellectual and moral nature. If religion be only a variety of our intellectual or moral life (as it certainly is in some aspects), then we concede that there is no need to postulate for it a special organ such as the spirit or *pneuma*. In that case a Christian psychology is a mere superfluity, and our inquiry has no higher scientific use than a research into the plants or animals of the Bible. But if, on the other hand, religion as a distinct function seems to require a special organ to itself, then the question of the relation of psychology to theology assumes its true importance. Theology tells us of the function, and psychology points to the organ. As Leverrier's and Adams' calculations led them to look out for Neptune at a particular point in the sky, and so the missing link in the planetary system was filled up, so it is with our inquiry into the place which religion holds in human nature. Religion is a disturbing element in human nature as it is described by the school psychology. We want to account for it; and looking along the track of our spiritual experiences, we find not only its orbit, but the very planet itself swims within our gaze. It is the *pneuma* in man which accounts for his spiritual aspirations—those "fallings from us, vanishings, those blank misgivings of a creature moving about in worlds not realised." Never was Bacon's favourite text from Proverbs more applicable than to this correspondence between the spiritual function in man and a spiritual organ. "It is the glory of God to conceal a matter, but the glory of the king to find it out."

The organ itself has been hidden from us as are the other secrets of nature, that we may discern them by reasoning from effects to causes. As the phenomena of electricity set us on the track of discovering the thing itself, and harmonising the phenomena into a new science, so spiritual phenomena should set us on the track of a spiritual psychology. In this respect we are in a pre-scientific age, as our forefathers were with regard to certain straggling facts, such as the magnetism of the loadstone and the attraction of amber and resin. In Bacon's age these loose facts were not

gathered into the knot of one science. They were "experiments solitary." So with spiritual phenomena; they have not been classified aright hitherto, but are as magical as the action of amber or the loadstone were once thought to be. But this reproach will soon be rolled away. A Christian psychology is now an admitted necessity of the time. The day has gone by for that empirical way of treating religion as a thing by itself outside the known laws of human nature. It must have laws of its own, or it is no genuine part of human nature, but a mere excrescence. Our spiritual writers have all along correctly enough described the spiritual life, but there they have left their inquiry. It is as if a writer—like Bell—on the hand were to describe the motions of the joints and muscles of the fingers and wrist, and not to generalise therefrom, as Sir C. Bell has done, on the nature of the organ *as a whole*. No one can read the Bridgewater treatise without feeling with that great physiologist, that the hand is a complete and perfect instrument, adapting man for his exact place at the head of creation. The same argument applies to the phenomena of the spiritual life. They all cluster round a distinct organ, which is called in Scripture the *pneuma*, or spirit in man, the candle of the Lord, as it is described in the Proverbs, the light which God has kindled in every man from the beginning. It is no objection, but on the contrary an argument in its favour, that this organ is only rudimentary in the case of very many. As in physiology, Oken's law of typical forms led to a fruitful discovery that the function determines the organ as much as the organ the function. So it is in higher things. An undeveloped *pneuma* is like the fin of a whale or the hoof of a horse, a rudimentary organ, as the rose sleeps in the rosebud, or the music of the moon in the plain egg of the nightingale. It is the glory of God thus to conceal, and of man to find it out.

BIBLICAL COINCIDENCES.

BY THE EDITOR.

I AVAIL myself of a vacant corner to bring before readers of the English Gospels a fact of some interest under this head, which is familiar to those who read them in the Greek. There are two memorable instances in which our Lord is recorded to have put forth his supernatural power to feed a famishing multitude. In the first, 5,000 are fed with five loaves and two fishes, and twelve baskets full of fragments are taken up (Matt. xiv. 20; Mark vi. 43). In the other, 4,000 are fed with seven loaves, and seven baskets are filled (Matt. xv. 37; Mark viii. 8). It is to be noted, however, that the baskets in the two cases are not the same in the original. In the feeding of the 5,000 they are *κόφιναι* (*cophinai*), hand-baskets, and the same word is used by St. Luke and St. John in their account of the miracle. In that of the 4,000 they are *σπίrides* (*spurides*), or hampers. So when our Lord refers to the two together (Matt. xvi. 9, 10), he uses in each case the appropriate word, "How many *cophinai*—how many *spurides* ye took up." This precision of detail, for which the writer of a mythical narrative would have no motive, may be regarded as, at least, a presumptive evidence of the truth of the Gospel record. It is clearly decisive against the theory that we have different versions of the same event, each with a miraculous colouring that did not properly belong to it.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—XVIII.

THE PATRIARCHS.

JACOB (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. W. HANNA, D.D., EDINBURGH.

THE death-scene was sublime. All the sons were summoned and stood round the bed. "And Jacob called unto his sons, and said, Gather yourselves together, and hear, ye sons of Jacob; and hearken unto Israel your father, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the last days." They had given him no small care and trouble. He had watched each, and studied their individual character. Many a time, and with no little anxiety, had he thought of what would befall them all when he was gone. With such dim powers of vision as he before possessed he had strained his sight in picturing the future of the various tribes of Israel. And now the time has arrived to give them all his last blessing. The remembrance of his father's deathbed quickens the desire and hope that some illumination from on high may fall upon the spirit at the parting hour. It comes in a series of flitting fragmentary visions, in which son after son, tribe after tribe, is presented; the character of each son sketched, the after destiny of each tribe dimly and brokenly shadowed forth: not a set of distinct prophecies, as if Jacob had the particular events that were to happen actually before his eye, and was giving so many imaginative descriptions of them—still less a set of prophetic sketches contrived by some one long after the events had happened, and put into the lips of the dying seer. Too vague and undefined these utterances, too rhythmic, too fanciful, too full of imagery of all kinds, ever to have been deliberately drawn up to be passed off as Jacob's dying prophecies; yet too peculiar, too specific, too truthful, ever to have been invented by Jacob himself at the moment, or indeed to have occurred to any mere human foresight. The prophecies centre in Canaan, and had such fulfilment as they were meant to have in the days of the Judges and the Kings. But he whose eyes were thus opened to see these visions of the Almighty, had a shadowy glimpse of the coming of a greater than Israelitish king, unto whom there was to be a greater gathering than that of all the tribes of Judah (chap. xlix. 10). Like his father Abraham, he saw the day of Christ afar off; he saw it, and was so glad that, even when speaking of conching asses and biting serpents, he breaks in with the exclamation, "I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord" (chap. xlix. 18).

The very first thing that Jacob did when the shadow of death fell on him, was to send for Joseph, to see him alone, and say to him, "Bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt. But I will lie with my fathers, and thou shalt carry me out of Egypt, and bury me in their burying-place." Joseph said that he would do so, but Jacob was not satisfied. He made him swear to do it, and

when the oath was taken he offered up a thanksgiving. Again, in the interview with Joseph and his two sons, he cannot let Joseph leave without saying, "Behold, I die; but God shall be with you, and bring you again unto the land of your fathers;" so full of faith was he that the promise made to Abraham would stand sure. And now the very last thing he does, after telling his sons all about themselves and their descendants, is to say this about himself: "I am to be gathered unto my people: bury me with my fathers in the cave that is in the field of Machpelah. . . . There they buried Abraham and Sarah his wife; there they buried Isaac and Rebekah his wife; and there I buried Leah. And when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons, he gathered up his feet into the bed, and yielded up the ghost."

Never was a death-bed injunction more faithfully executed. Joseph, since coming to Egypt, had remarked how the chief men of that country dealt with their dead, embalming the body so that it could defy for ages the process of corruption. All that their art could do in this way he would have done for his father. He issued orders to this effect to the physicians, and forty days were devoted to the rendering of the embalmment perfect. Unmeet himself, while the days of mourning still lasted, to stand before the king, he then got some of his friends at court to intercede with Pharaoh that he might be permitted to go and bury his father at Hebron. Pharaoh did much more than grant the permission. The mourning for Jacob was by his orders made national, and when the funeral procession set out from Goshen it showed a train of followers such in number and in character as never perhaps before or since ever followed, in so long a journey as that from Goshen to Hebron, a human being to the grave. There was all the house of Israel—"only their little ones, and their flocks, and their herds they left behind them"—all the rest went; a goodly company of itself. But besides these were "all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt." All the magnates of the kingdom went, and "there went up both chariots and horsemen, and it was a very great company." Taking not the straight course to Canaan, but the one taken afterwards by the Israelites, round the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, the great procession moved on till, at the threshing-floor of Atad, there was a seven days' halt, and such a lamentation, shared in so thoroughly by the Egyptians of the company, that the Canaanitish onlookers said that it was a grievous mourning to the Egyptians, and called the place Abel-mizraim, "the mourning of Egypt." It was a very graceful way

for the Egyptians to repay the services of Joseph; but we cannot but regard it also as a very striking testimony to the impression which, during his seventeen years' residence among them, the character of Jacob had made upon them. The Egyptians would seem to have stayed behind at Abel-mizraim, leaving it to Joseph and the rest to lay the body, as they did, in the cave of Machpelah. Most of the other bodies deposited there have long since mouldered away. If we could get access to that cave, and have the tombs of Abraham and Isaac opened, all that we could ever hope to see would be what has been seen sometimes in the Catacombs of Rome, the shadow of a human figure composed of the thinnest layer of dust. Not so with the body of Jacob. It was embalmed with all the art of Egypt.

Under Jewish or Christian guardianship, tombs so sacred as those of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah, would be carefully shielded from invasion; and ever since the Mussulman occupation, in 1187, the great Mosque that covers the cave has been so superstitiously guarded, that for six hundred years no European has been permitted to set foot within its sacred precincts. When entered, it was by stealth, and during all this period only three accounts of its having been so visited have come down to us. In 1862 the Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Dean of Westminster and a few friends, was, after many difficulties made, and as an extreme favour, permitted to enter the Mosque,¹ and to inspect the shrines, which, upon its floor-level, stand above the tombs; but they were not allowed to go down into the cave, or set eye upon the places in which the remains of the dead

were laid. Mussulman fanaticism will, however, in due time relax; and the men may be alive who shall see that mummy of Jacob—if it still be there—unwrapped, and who shall gaze upon the face of the dead just as it was when, a few moments after death, "Joseph fell upon his father's face, and wept upon him, and kissed him."

NOTE.—In the preceding narrative we have adopted the chronology of Jacob's life which is generally received, and have referred in the tables to the passages by which it is regarded as being established. The chief ground upon which it rests is the conclusion, which at first sight appears not only warrantable, but inevitable, that Jacob himself twice tells us that the whole period of his sojourn in Padan-aram was twenty years (Gen. xxxi. 38, 41). Dr. Kennicott, however, has suggested that the twenty years of ver. 38 are not the same as the twenty years of ver. 41, and that the sense of the Hebrew would be better expressed as follows:—Ver. 38, "One twenty years I was with thee" (i.e. taking care of thy flocks for thee, but not in thy house); and ver. 41, "Another twenty years I was for myself in thy house, serving thee fourteen years for thy two daughters, and six years for thy cattle." Bishop Horsley has said that the reasons by which this interpretation are supported by Dr. Kennicott appear to him unanswerable; and Bishop Harold Browne has recently indicated a preference for it. As it is quite certain that Joseph was born in the ninety-first year of his father's life, six years before the departure from Haran, if we adopt the interpretation which bears that Jacob spent two twenties, or forty years in Padan-aram, we must throw back the date at which Jacob fled from Hebron from his seventy-seventh to his fifty-seventh year, and arrange the residence at Padan-aram as follows: First, fourteen years' service for his wives, in the course of the last six years of which Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah are born of Leah, and Dan and Naphtali of Bilhah. Then the twenty years of chap. xxxi. 38, in course of which Gad and Asher are born of Zilpah; Issachar and Zebulun of Leah, and Dinah also. Then the closing six years, at the commencement of which Joseph is born, his father being then ninety-one. This arrangement of the dates has this great recommendation, that it spreads the birth of the eleven sons over a period of twenty-six years; whereas the common calculation obliges us to conclude that all the eleven were born within six years—a thing not impossible, if we admit a few cotemporaneous births, but yet, it must be admitted, highly improbable. It has also the advantage of assigning such ages to Simeon, Levi, Dinah, Judah, Er, and Onan as harmonise with the events described in chaps. xxxiv. and xxxviii. (See *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i., pp. 177, 178.)

¹ A most interesting account of this visit to the Mosque of Hebron is given in Stanley's *History of the Jewish Church*, vol. ii., Appendix ii., pp. 481–509.

THE CHERUBIM AND SERAPHIM.—I.

BY THE REV. S. CLARK, M.A., RECTOR OF EATON BISHOP.

I.
IN the first mention of cherubim we find them placed "to keep the way of the tree of life," with "a flaming sword which turned every way," after the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the garden of Eden (Gen. iii. 24).

They are next named in connection with the tabernacle. Two figures of them in gold, having outspread wings, with their faces turned toward each other and looking downwards, stood upon the mercy-seat which was placed over the ark of the covenant (Exod. xxv. 18–20); and embroidered figures of them adorned the curtains of the tabernacle (Exod. xxvi. 1).

When Solomon had built the Temple, he made two large images of cherubim in olive-wood, plated with gold, ten cubits in height. These were placed in the most holy place, standing on their feet, with their faces turned towards the ark of the covenant, and their

wings stretched out in such a manner that a wing of each of them touched one of the opposite walls, while the other wings met one another in the middle space. Besides this, Solomon ornamented "all the walls of the house round about, and the doors, with carvings of cherubim and palm-trees and flowers."¹ We are also told that he placed cherubim with lions and oxen in the bases which supported the ten lavers in the court of the Temple (1 Kings vii. 29).

In the vision of Ezekiel, four cherubim (or "living creatures," see Ezek. x. 20) are described in detail, as they come out of "a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself, and a brightness." They had "the likeness of a man," that is, they stood upright. Each had four faces, four wings, hands under the wings, and feet like those of a calf, and they were "full of eyes." The four

¹ 1 Kings vi. 23–25; 2 Chron. iii. 11–13; cf. Ezek. xli. 18, 20, 25.

faces were those of a man, an ox, a lion, and an eagle. As they stood together, with their wings stretched out so as to meet, they bore up "a firmament," on which was set the throne of the Almighty. Their motions were in some way connected with wheels,¹ which, like themselves, were full of eyes. In their swift obedience to fulfil the Divine will, they moved in any direction without turning their bodies, and "ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning." The noise of their wings was "like the noise of great waters." The four, after taking their stand on the right side of the Temple seen in the vision, "lifted up their wings, and mounted up from the earth" (Ezek. i. 5—24; x. 1—22).²

In the vision of Isaiah, the beings that attend the throne of God, but are not described as supporting it, are called seraphim. Each of them has six wings; "with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly." Each appears with one face, and they raise their voices in antiphonal chorus. There is no hint that would lead us to suppose that their bodies differed in any respect from the human form (Isa. vi. 2, 6, 7).³ The seraphim are not mentioned by any other sacred writer.

There does not appear to be any just ground for the distinction between the cherubim and the seraphim which has been recognised by many Jewish and Christian writers.⁴ The apocalyptic vision of St. John (Rev. iv. 7) seems to furnish an argument against any such distinction. The apostle describes *four living creatures*

¹ In the language of the prophet, the wheels seem to belong in some mysterious way to the cherubim themselves; but Abarbanel and others have conceived the wheels to belong to a chariot on which the throne stood, and which was conveyed by the cherubim. Milton has adopted this image in his magnificent description, *Par. Lost*, vi. 750:—

"Forth rushed with whirlwind sound

The chariot of paternal Deity,
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,
Itself instinct with spirit, but convoyed
By four cherubic shapes; four faces each
Had wondrous; as with stars, their bodies all
And wings were set with eyes; with eyes the wheels
Of beryl, and encircling fires between."

² Vitringa appears to make out the probability that the imagery of Ezekiel's vision of the cherubim was in great part drawn from his recollections of the elaborate and beautiful bases of the ten lavers in the court of the Temple, which are described in such minute detail (1 Kings vii. 27—37). The coincidence in the two passages of the combination of the wheels with the cherubic figures is very striking. The carelessness of the description shows the consideration in which the bases must have been held as works of art; and we can easily imagine with what yearning regard and admiration the prophet must have dwelt on the impressions of all that was connected with his early life as a priest in the Temple. (Vitringa, *Obs. Sac.*, p. 4, cap. 1.)

³ The word *seraph* happens to be identical in form with the name of the fiery serpents mentioned in Numb. xxi. 6, 8; Deut. viii. 15; Isa. xiv. 29; and it has been ascribed to the same root, signifying "to burn" or "to glow." But it is held by Gesenius, Fürst, and other good authorities, that *seraph* comes from a root which, though spelt in the same manner, is quite distinct, and means "to be exalted."

⁴ Ewald, however, maintains the distinction as far as external form is concerned, and adheres to the old view of the etymology of *seraph*, which he regards as identical with that of *σφ'ικον* and *dragon*, denoting a creature with sharp glowing eyes. He appears to favour that etymology of *cherub* which would connect it with *γρῦψ* and *griffin*, and conceives that "the gigantic cherub was originally only one, whereas of the smaller and more fairy-like seraphs there were always many." (*Hist. of Israel*, vol. i., p. 322; Martineau's translation.)

(*ḥāa*, in our version most unfortunately rendered "beasts"), using the same name as Ezekiel does in the first chapter (cf. i. 5 with x. 20). Each of them had six wings, and they sang in chorus the trisagion before the throne of the Lord. Thus far they resembled in figure and function the seraphim of Isaiah; but, instead of having a human form, one of them was like a lion, another like a calf, another had the face of a man, and the fourth was like a flying eagle; and they were full of eyes. These particulars remind us of the cherubim of Ezekiel, though in the latter the four faces were conjoined in one head, instead of each single form of face distinguishing an individual.

The psalmist speaks of the Lord as riding upon a cherub (Ps. xviii. 10; 2 Sam. xxii. 11). But the Scriptural image of most frequent occurrence is of the Lord dwelling, or sitting, between the cherubim (1 Sam. iv. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2; 2 Kings xix. 15; 1 Chron. xiii. 6; Ps. lxxx. 1; xcix. 1; Isa. xxxvii. 16). It was from between the cherubim that he communed with Moses (Exod. xxv. 22; Numb. vii. 89).

II.

The first specific point for investigation is, What was the essential form of the cherub? On the results of this inquiry must hinge, in a great degree, our conclusions regarding its meaning and the origin of its name.

From the way in which cherubim are mentioned in the Pentateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament, we may infer that a certain form was ascribed to them which was familiarly recognised by the Hebrews. The prevailing voice of Jewish and patristic traditions has identified the cherubim of the sanctuary as human forms, with the addition of wings, like the common representations of angels. There is no reason to suppose that the name suggested a different image to the mind when it was applied to the guards of the garden of Eden. It is indeed not easy to imagine that any form besides the human would have been described as wielding a sword. The seraphim of Isaiah appear to have been of the same type, unless it may have been in regard to the number of their wings.

It is obvious that the cherubim of Ezekiel, with their four faces, four wings, and calves' feet, had a form of their own, sufficiently peculiar to call for the detailed description of the prophet. These, however, resembled the others in standing upright on their feet. But a form of cherub must also have been recognised which was adapted for riding like a horse (2 Sam. xxii. 11; Ps. xviii. 10). Whatever licence may be granted to poetical language, the figure of the Lord riding on a cherub cannot be reconciled with anything like a human figure. It has been conjectured that the shape here present to the mind of the Psalmist was that of a winged ox. It has even been supposed that this was "the normal type" of the cherub. In support of this, appeal has been made to Ezek. i. 10, compared with Ezek. x. 1-4. In the former passage the faces of a cherub are said to be those of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle; and in the latter place, those of a *cherub*, a

man, a lion, and an eagle. It might thus appear that *cherub* in one place is used for *ox* in the other.¹ Attempts have been made on this ground to explain the worship of the golden calf (Exod. xxxii. 4), and that of the calves of Jeroboam (1 Kings xii. 28), as being abuses of the symbolism of the cherubim by turning them into objects of worship.²

It would seem, after comparing the passages of Scripture to which reference has been made, that the name "cherub" was applied to several different combinations of the parts of two or more of four animal forms, those of man, of the ox, the lion, and the eagle.

¹ De Sauley and others of those who are in favour of the ox having furnished the original cherubic type, consider that the form was a winged ox with a human face, such as we are familiar with in the sculptures of Nineveh. This notion is, of course, not consistent with the argument drawn from the comparison of the two texts in Ezekiel, according to which the face, called "the face of a cherub," could have been no other than that of an ox.

² See Bochart, *Hieroz.*, lib. i., cap. 41.

Wings, either in pairs, in fours, or in sixes, are common to all cherubic shapes. The normal figure and the normal face we believe to have been the human, as in the cherubim of the sanctuary. But the legs, and probably the body, of an ox were in some cases substituted. The three faces of animals were either conjoined with the face of man, as in each of the cherubim of Ezekiel,³ or any one of them alone might belong to an individual cherub, as in the vision of St. John, and, assuming the three creatures⁴ in the bases of the lavers to have been cherubic forms (1 Kings vii. 29), in some of the symbolism of the Temple.⁵

³ Spencer makes a strained attempt to prove that each of the cherubim of Ezekiel had but a single face (lib. iii., c. iv., § 3).

⁴ Josephus names eagles in the place of cherubim in his description of these bases.

⁵ In describing the carvings in relief on the walls of the Temple as they appeared in his vision, Ezekiel speaks of cherubim with two faces (Ezek. xli. 18). But it has been justly observed that, in the reliefs, two faces only out of four might have been apparent.

MUSIC OF THE BIBLE.—V.

BY JOHN STAINER, M.A., MUS. D., MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD; ORGANIST OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS (*concluded*).

KITHROS, *cithara* (κίθαρα), is one of the instruments mentioned in Dan. iii. 5, 10, 15: the Greek form of the name, as before remarked, strengthens the argument that the instrument itself was a foreign importation. In Ezek. xxvii., the prophet, in giving the many sources of luxury and greatness open to Tyre, distinctly alludes to Grecian traffic; and moreover, in the succeeding age to the fall of Troy, Æolian and Ionian colonies were transplanted into Asia. There is, therefore, more than one channel through which Greek names of musical instruments could become familiar in Asia. From *cithara* our European word *guitar* is derived, but this is only one of a large family of words sprung from the same origin. The Arabians have their *kuitra*; the Persians, *kitar*. The Nubian *kissar* has already been described, but it may be well to add that the Egyptians call the *kissar* "gytarah barbareh," or the *Berbers' guitar*. In Europe the name has undergone many changes; the old French form is *guiterne*; the old English *gittern*, *cithern*, *cither*, *cythorn*, or *gythorn*; Italian, *ghitterra* or *chitterra* (*chitarrone*, a big cithara, was a long-necked theorbo); German, *zither*, only this is not the instrument now called by this name, which is becoming very popular. It is remarkable that Sanskrit *chatar* means *four*, and that *chutara* in Persian may mean four strings, and also that the Hindus have also a name implying a numerical value, *si-tar*, "the three-stringed." Is it possible that the instrument was in the earliest times of Asiatic origin, that it was then imported into the civilisation of south-east Europe, and then carried to the Babylonians as a European luxury?

It is difficult to determine when the cithara had so

far departed from the form of a *lyre* as to become a *guitar*. As a full explanation of the difference between these two has been already given (see page 71), it will be unnecessary to say much more. Only, the transition from the old cithara with its partially covered strings to the long-necked modern instrument is remarkable, when it is remembered that the Egyptians actually possessed such things. (See Fig. 23, page 73.) But the Greeks and Romans never adopted these instruments. Had they done so, the European guitar would not have been the slow growth of several centuries.

As a lyre and a guitar have been depicted in Figs. 21 and 22, page 73, and the upper part of the neck of a modern European guitar in Fig. 24, page 74, it will be only necessary to give now some illustrations of old citharas, when the only distinction which existed between them and lyres was the sort of box over which the lower ends of the strings stretched (see Figs. 38, 39, 40, 41.)

Fig. 41, which was discovered in a painting at Heracleum, is remarkable, in that there are evidently two strings to each note.

It would seem that the ancient lyre of the Greeks, the *phorminx* (φόρμιγξ), had the characteristics of a cithara, rather than those of a lyre. The barbiton, which was a large instrument, is shown in Fig. 42 in the following page.

Some authors have affirmed that without doubt the Hebrews had citharas of classical form, and appeal in proof of their assertion to the devices on Maccabæan medals shown in Figs. 43, 44, 45. But putting the late date of these medals out of the question, it would be most unsafe to attach so much importance to any-



Fig. 38.



Fig. 39.

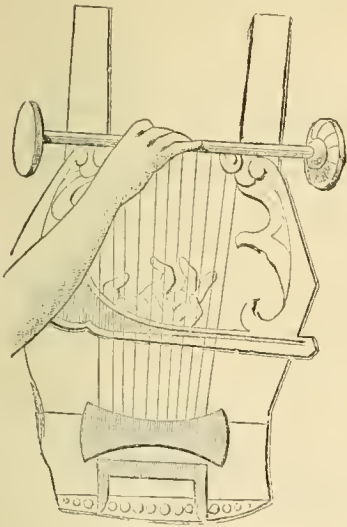


Fig. 40.



Fig. 41.



Fig. 44.



Fig. 45.



Fig. 43.

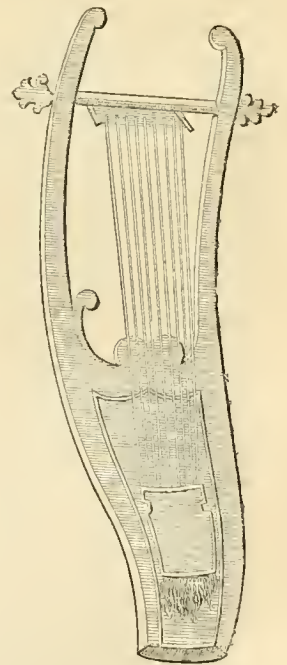


Fig. 42.

thing found on coins. It is true that ancient nations were more in the habit of looking for objects of art round about themselves than we are, but on the other hand the lyre had no doubt become established as a

common ornament. It has been well remarked that should the statue of Handel, now in Westminster Abbey, survive all around it, and be the happy discovery of remote antiquarians, they will certainly

believe that our great composer played on, and wrote for, the *lyre*, because he holds one in his hands. And should it also happen to be known that he actually *did* include a part for a theorbo, or arch-lute, in one of his works, the supposed fact will be considered firmly established.

The more important instruments of the above class have now been discussed, and although many conflicting opinions have been brought together, and notwithstanding the impossibility of collecting any new facts bearing on this difficult subject, much, it is hoped, has been done to bring the various conjectures within certain limits, and point out to which of them may be ascribed the greater probability of truth. But before concluding this branch of our work, a few terms must be noticed, which should not be passed over by the musician, albeit some eminent critics have doubted whether they really contain a musical reference. *Alamoth*, one of these obscure words, occurs in the title of Ps. xlvii., and also in Ps. lxxviii. 25. But as it is met with in the next quotation, in juxtaposition with *sheminith*, it will be convenient to consider them together. "So the singers, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, were appointed to sound with cymbals of brass; and Zechariah, and Aziel, and Shemiramoth, and Jehiel, and Unni, and Eliab, and Maaseiah, and Benaiah, with psalteries on Alamoth; and Mattithiah, and Elipheleh, and Mikneiah, and Obed-edom, and Jeiel, and Azaziah, with harps on the Sheminith to excel" (1 Chron. xv. 19—21). Thus we see whilst some were set aside as players of cymbals, others were to play with *nebel*s on *alamoth*, and others with *kinnors* on the *sheminith*.

Alamoth may mean "hidden things," or "things pertaining to youths" or "virgins." The first is adopted by St. Augustine, who applies it to the mysteries of the Gospel. But many authors, adopting the last meanings, have considered *alamoth* to mean songs for boys or virgins, or, in fact, for *treble voices*. But Dr. Jebb, in his learned dissertation on this word,¹ points out that the signification of "hidden things," or "mysteries," is inapplicable to its appearance in Ps. lxxviii. 25. "First go the *sharim* (singers), then follow the *neginim* (kinnors), in the midst are the *alamoth*," where our version renders it "the damsels playing on the timbrels." There is also one more reason why "virgins" or "boys" should not be necessarily implied in the term, namely, from a consideration of the passage above quoted (1 Chron. xv. 19—21), where the names of *men* are given as players on *nebel*s on *alamoth*. It may, however, mean of a *treble* or *high pitch*, and it has been explained "vox clara et acuta quasi virginum;" but if this explanation refers to the *nebel* with which *alamoth* is associated, it will make *nebel* appear to be of a higher pitch than the *kinnor*, which is associated with *sheminith*. This is a conclusion to which we should be very unwillingly driven; because the *kinnor* is the more ancient of the two, being (as has been before stated) the only stringed instrument mentioned in the Pen-

tateuch, while the *nebel* is not named till we reach 1 Sam. x. 5; and moreover, the *kinnor*, as being carried about hither and thither in the wanderings of the early tribes, must necessarily have been light and portable. If the *nebel* were of a pitch much higher than that of the *kinnor*, the *kinnor* must have been considerably larger to have made a suitable *bass* to it. Is it likely that a nation would succeed in carrying into captivity and preserving large harps? Yet the Israelites hung their *kinnors* in the willow branches which shadowed Babylon's waters. No; the *kinnor* was smaller than the *nebel*. Of course it may be urged that the *nebel*, even if a larger instrument than the *kinnor*, might have had so great an upward compass as to enable the performer on it to play above the pitch of the *kinnor*. But if this were the case, why should *sheminith* be associated with *kinnor*?

It is to this relation between *sheminith* and *alamoth* that we must look for the meaning of the latter, and as *sheminith* signifies *eighth*, it is certainly fair to assume that *alamoth*, when connected with *nebel*, suggested also some numerical value, even if all traces of its precise meaning are now lost.

The exact application of the expression "on the eighth" (*sheminith*) with reference to *kinnors* is most difficult, or rather impossible to determine. The following seem to be the most important conjectures which have been hazarded—namely, that it refers (1) to the pitch of an octave; or (2) to the name of a scale or tune; or (3) to the number of strings on the instrument. As to the first of these, it must be admitted that it is ingenious, but a little consideration will show that there are serious objections to its acceptance. For, although it is true that the *octave* is not only one of the best known intervals in music, as being the distance between the singing-pitch of men and women, but also the most important naturally, being produced by the simplest ratio of vibrations 1:2; yet the name *octave* could only be given to it by those who possessed a scale in which eight steps led from a note to its octave. Such a sound-ladder is of comparatively modern origin. The Greeks called the *interval* of an octave *diapason* (διὰ πᾶσων); the position of an octave on a string *mesē* (μέση), that is, *middle*, because half the length of any string will produce the octave above the sound of the whole length; and two sounds forming an octave they called, as to their relation to each other, *antiphonoi* (ἀντιφωνοί), as being "over against," or responsive to each other. Moreover, their scale consisted of a series of tetrachords, or groups of four notes in succession, some overlapping, that is, having one note common to two; others being disjunct.

It is true that the Ambrosian chant, in the fourth century, and two centuries later, the Gregorian modes, were to a certain extent limited, in more than one way, by the octave, but at the same time it was always attempted by teachers of music to graft the new on to the old system, although the former had indeed departed vastly from the principles of the latter. Thus it will be found that a knowledge of ecclesiastical

¹ A Literal Translation of the Psalms. Longmans, 1846. 2 vols.

modes, and of the Greek tetrachords, and harmonic ratios, formed the material of music-lore until the Guidonian system of hexachords became established in the eleventh century. This system held its own for five or six centuries; in fact, its system of nomenclature seems to have been retained long after modern key-tonality was firmly settled. It may then be safely said that "on the eighth" would not have directed the Levites to play in octaves.

As to the second explanation of *sheminith* which has been mentioned—namely, that it referred to an eighth mode or scale—all that need be said is, that even if the Hebrews did use various modes known by their numbers, there seems to be no reason for giving general directions that such and such men should play on *nebel*s, in one particular key, and other men on *kinnors* in some other key; because, if these instruments were always used and intended to be used in particular definite keys, why was it necessary to specify in which key? the fact would be known; but on the other hand, if these instruments were capable of being tuned to many keys (as certainly was the case), why give command to certain Levites to play upon them only in one key?

To believe that the expression refers to a certain melody, is equally impossible, as nothing could be more absurd than to suppose that certainly highly practised *nebelists* or *kinnorists* would be formally set aside for the purpose of playing *one tune*. It might be so for one ceremony, but the close of chap. xvi. (1 Chron.) distinctly intimates that these Levites were chosen to be before the ark *continually*, and those were chosen "who were expressed by name to give thanks to the Lord, because his mercy endureth for ever" (ver. 41).

If "on the eighth" or "the eighth" refers to the number of the strings of the *kinnor*, we must be led to the important and valuable conclusion, that these *nebel*s and *kinnors* were used at different times or at the will of different players, with various numbers of strings, and that the object of this direction was to procure uniformity in this respect. A little further on an ingenious conjecture as to the meaning of *alamoth* will be given.

Gittith, or *Ha-Gittith*, appears over Psalms viii., lxxxi., and lxxxiv. As being derived from a root signifying "wine-press," it has been translated in the Septuagint by *ληνολ*, and Vulgate by *torcularia*, both meaning "wine-presses," and some have thought it shows that the psalm is a *vintage-song*, or to be sung to some well-known vintage-song. But the word is also connected with *Gath*, and it may have been an instrument brought from the city of Gath.

Aijeleth-shahar or *Aijeleth-he-shahar*, which occurs in Ps. xxii., signifies "hind of the morning," "dawn of day," or "morning twilight," supposed by many commentators to be the first line of words of a well-known tune to which this psalm was to be sung; just as the Germans now call their chorales by the first line of the original words, even when other sets of words are adapted to them, as in the well-known instances,

"O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden," "In allen meinen Thaten."

Alluding to the three words *Alamoth*, *Aijeleth*, and *Gittith*, Dr. Jebb makes such an important suggestion that he will forgive us for quoting his own words, which are as follow:—"It is to be observed that there are three Levitical cities, whose names resemble three designations in the titles (of the Psalms), *Alemeth*, *Aijelon*, and *Gath-Rimmon*. What is there, then, to hinder us from supposing that the designation *Alamoth* may mean harps that were constructed or improved by some Levite of *Alemeth*; that *Aijeleth-he-shahar* means a harp of *Aijelon*; and *Gittith*, one of *Gath*; just as we now speak of a German flute or a Cremona violin?" (*Literal Translation of the Psalms*. Dissertations.)

Neginoth, in the singular *neginah*, occurs over several Psalms, as the root from which it is derived signifies "to strike a chord" (much the same as *psallere*): it probably is the *collective* term for stringed instruments. It is often joined with *kinnor*, though not with *nebel*. But if not joined with *kinnor* it often refers to that instrument, as, for example:—"And Saul said unto his servants, Provide me now a man that can play well, and bring him to me. Then answered one of the servants and said, Behold, I have seen a son of Jesse the Bethlehemite, that is *cunning in playing*," &c. (1 Sam. xvi. 17; see also xviii. 10, and elsewhere). Dr. Jebb says *neginoth*, *sheminith*, and *kinnor* all refer to the same instrument: the first, to the mode of playing it; the second, to its compass; the last is its specific designation.

Shushan may mean "change," or more commonly "lily;" the latter, if it contains a musical reference, can only refer to the shape of an instrument—some have thought to *cymbals*, as being generally circular, with a deep central indentation. But it would be more applicable to the elegant outline of some of the lyres as shown in classical sculpture, such, for instance, as that in the celebrated "Apollo citharoedus." But it also may have a numerical meaning, suggesting the number six. It is often joined with the word *eduth*, which signified "testimony;" hence *shushan eduth* has been translated by Sebelsner (quoted by Dr. Jebb) "the hexachord of testimony"—a highly poetical rendering, doubtless, but one which does not convey much definite information. As it is recorded in 1 Chron. xvi. 37—42, that part of the Levitical choir was stationed at Gibeon, where the tabernacle was pitched; and another part—the company of Asaph, at Jerusalem—to do honour to the ark of the testimony, it is possible that the *shushan eduth* meant the harp of six strings played at the latter, its distinctive name being retained after the junction of the two choral divisions.

Higgaion, translated in the Septuagint *ὁδῶς*, appears in the Bible version of Ps. ix. 16—"The Lord is known by the judgment which he executeth: the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands. Higgaion. Selah." The marginal note translates Higgaion as a "meditation." As the root of the word suggests "meditation," or "murmuring," and as it is used in Lam. iii. 62 of the

murmurings of malicious enemies, the term can hardly be considered as a musical direction. But, on the other hand, it occurs in Ps. xcii. 4, in such an association as to render a musical reference almost necessary:—"Upon an instrument of ten strings, and upon the psaltery: upon the harp with a *solemn sound*," or, as the margin has it, more correctly, "upon the *higgaion* (solemn sound) with the harp." The Prayer-book version, it will be remembered, here reads "upon a *loud instrument*." It may possibly allude to a solemn and deep-toned performance on harps, which was found conducive to private meditation. Its conjunction with *Selah* makes this explanation the more probable.

Minim, which is derived from a root signifying "division," or "distribution," hence *strings*, seems on all sides to be allowed to be a poetical allusion to stringed instruments generally, and is so translated in the last Psalm:—"Praise him with *stringed instruments* and organs." The word also occurs in Ps. xlv. 8, which would be better rendered thus:—"Out of the ivory palaces the stringed instruments have made thee glad."

In conclusion, it must be said that although our information is very scanty on the subject of Hebrew stringed instruments, so scanty as to warn us against entering into elaborate arguments as to the exact number of strings on any particular one, and although the *kinnor* and *nebel* seem to have been almost the only instruments consecrated to sacred uses, yet there is no reason for doubting that many other kinds were known or used by the Hebrews. If it seems absurd to us, that two families of harps should be the chief, or perhaps only, string-support of their sacred music, let us ask ourselves how many families of stringed instruments we use in our modern orchestra; practically *one*. We have four sorts, it is true, but they have (at the present

time) the same number of strings, and are of similar construction, and have the same name, *viol*. We have the viol, the little viol, the big viol, and the little-big viol. The harp does of course appear occasionally, but it can hardly be called a necessary part of a stringed band, considering that the student may listen to all the symphonies of Beethoven, Mozart, and Mendelssohn, without once hearing its tones. In speaking of the *kinnor* and *nebel* it will be noticed that the *azor* has been just now omitted. In addition to the cloud of uncertainty which hangs round this instrument, it ought to have been mentioned that many authors consider the word *azor* as explanatory of, or as modifying, the word *nebel*, to which it is always attached, in which case the *nebel* becomes the *ten-stringed* harp. The constant improvements which are always being made in musical instruments renders it no easy task to describe one even of our own time. The answer to the simple question, "What is the compass of a piano-forte?" might be extended to a goodly length, if full particulars were entered into. Minute details cannot be expected when the search is among occasional hints or allusions, which are in themselves accidental, and not intended for the special information of the reader. We have reason to congratulate ourselves that modern writers have learned to distrust a vast amount of statements made by certain writers of the two or perhaps three last centuries. Some, who were for a long period held in much esteem (Kircher, for example), seem to have drawn largely upon their imagination when describing ancient musical instruments, and to have thought that the best argument in favour of any suppositions form of an instrument was to give a good wood-cut of it! In our next we shall begin an account of the wind-instruments of the Bible.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.—IX.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—ST. PETER.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

"The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Marcus my son."—1 PETER v. 13.



A curious question connected with the closing verses of St. Peter's first Epistle will be considerably influenced by the reading of the Sinaitic MS., discovered by Dr. Tischendorf. The passage translated in the English version, "The church that is in Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you," according to the hitherto universally received readings should be rendered, "The one [fem.] elected together with you in Babylon" (*die miterwählte*). Most commentators have understood these words as signifying a "sister congregation," and following out this view our translators put in italics the words "church that is." Bengel, however, and many others, among whom are Alford, understand the words to refer to St. Peter's wife mentioned by St. Matthew (viii. 14), and

also by St. Paul in 1 Cor. ix. 5. For this view it is argued with some force that in this concluding passage, both in the verse preceding and in the sentence immediately following, St. Peter is addressing *individuals*, Silvanus and Marcus. The reading of the Sinaitic MS., recently brought to light by Dr. Tischendorf, supplies the very word already happily guessed by so many, *ἐκκλησία* (church). This ancient and weighty testimony will do much to set aside the interpretation which assigned the greeting to St. Peter's wife.

The words "in Babylon" have been interpreted by very early writers, such as Papias, Clement of Alexandria, Jerome, as signifying "Rome." If this be the true signification, it would be the first known instance of allegorical terminology among Christians. Romanist writers have always pressed this interpretation, being desirous of showing St. Peter's close connection with,

and authority over, the Roman congregation. But (1.) the extreme improbability of an allegorical meaning being attached to a proper name, simply used in the farewell greeting of a letter; and (2.) the doubtfulness of the allegorical use of Babylon at the period of St. Peter's writing, excludes any forced unnatural meaning being given to Babylon, which doubtless signifies the ruined but still inhabited city on the Euphrates. "*Marcus my son*" has been supposed to signify literally St. Peter's son, but no tradition in any way connects this Mark with St. Peter, except as his secretary and faithful follower. Such writers as Papias, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, all allude to the close and intimate friendship of St. Peter with Mark his disciple and interpreter. Marcus is most probably identical with John Mark of the Acts, nephew to Barnabas, and there is little doubt that, under the guidance St. Peter, he compiled the Gospel bearing his name.

"For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them

down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment."—2 PETER ii. 4.

St. Peter in this solemn passage is warning the Church addressed against false teachers—men who apparently once possessed a knowledge of truth, and then used this knowledge as an instrument of mischief, and fresh vice and new crime seem to have been the sure result of this false teaching. Against such teachers and their unhappy disciples St. Peter, and with more detail St. Jude (Jude 6), promises the sure wrath of God; instancing certain terrible judgments already gone forth against, and in process of execution upon, beings once in the confidence of the Almighty, but who had used this confidence only to lead others astray. One of the instances adduced refers to certain angels who, instead of preserving the original power and authority committed to them by God, deserted their posts. These unhappy spirits their Lord reduced from their old high position, and is now reserving in some degraded state for final judgment at the great assize.

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—V.

THE PROPHETS:—HABAKKUK (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. SAMUEL COX, NOTTINGHAM.

THE universe is a theophany. All nature is but a various manifestation of the God by whom it was created and made. In this conclusion even the modern philosopher and poet concur with the sages and psalmists of old. Goethe, who was both poet and man of science, speaks of that vast complex of physical forces and laws which we call "Nature," as "the garment which we see God by," as the web which He is for ever weaving on "the roaring loom of Time." But the modern tendency of thought is to regard "the garment" and "the web" exclusively, and to forget Him who weaves the web and wears the garment; and hence the very conception of "miracles" is held to be irrational. Yet, surely it is just as reasonable to conceive of God as still working at his work of creation, as to conceive of Him as having commenced it at the beginning. Surely it is as reasonable to believe that when He, the Creator, draws near to his work, when He interposes to reveal himself to men, that his manifestation of himself will be as creative, that is, as miraculous, as it was that He did reveal his energies in wonders of creative power and skill, when of "things not seen" He first made "the things which do appear." Once admit that He *has* interposed, that He has appeared unto men, and I do not see how we are to deny that his appearing will involve the exhibition of creative energy, that He will show himself in works or effects which, though natural to Him, are supernatural to us.

But it may be objected, "It is this very assumption

against which we protest, the assumption that He *has* appeared to men: *that* is incredible to us, and therefore miracles are incredible." We reply, Whether it be incredible or not, at least it is not irrational. A sufficient cause, a reasonable motive, may be assigned for it. If, to provide a home for men, He "who built all things" created a world, surely He might well appear in the world He had made, in order that men might be taught to know, and obey, and love Him. *Well-being* is not of less moment than *being*, but of greater moment. Better that we had never been born than that, being born, we had been left without that knowledge of God in which is eternal life. To this knowledge, as experience no less than the Bible affirms, we could not have attained apart from revelation. The Creator can only reveal Himself by the display of creative energies. And how can a display of creative energies be anything short of miraculous to us?

Of all creative or recreative processes, moreover, *destruction* seems to be an inevitable condition. The husk of the seed perishes that it may feed the growing life. Our bodies waste that they may grow. The death of the winter gives birth to the life of spring. The mighty geologic changes by which the world is formed anew are attended by convulsions, by upheavals, by subsidences, by detritions, in which much is lost, absorbed, destroyed. So that in any display of creative forces, we expect to find a loss that leads to gain, a waste that contributes to growth, a death that ministers to life, a destruction on which renewal and advance are contingent.

All these thoughts were as familiar to the Hebrew prophets as they are to us, though not in the abstract and scientific forms of modern times. They constantly affirmed that He who built all things did manifest himself to men; that his manifestations were accompanied by signs and wonders, by a display of the very energies by which the world was made; and that, in these displays, destruction was the inevitable condition of new and larger forms of life. From Habakkuk, for example, we have already heard (iii. 6) that when God stood on Sinai, surveying the foes of his people, the earth quaked, the nations trembled, the primeval mountains crumbled to dust, the ancient hills sank down: in short, the whole world, natural and human, was moved, and could not but be moved, at the presence of the Lord and the glory of his power. And now (vs. 9—13), now that he sees Jehovah advance upon his foes, riding in his war-chariot, baring his bow, and shouting the word of command to his hosts; now that the Lord shows himself "a man of war," the prophet once more feels the solid earth rock beneath him, the heavens darken, the mountains fall into pangs of travail while "the great deep" shrieks as in torture, or perhaps in exultation, and flings up its hands on high.

"The mountains see Thee; they writhe:
The rain-torrent sweepeth along:
The abyss lifteth up its voice,
It flingeth its hands on high:

Sun and moon draw back into their habitations
At the light of thine arrows shooting by,
At the lightning splendours of thy spear.
In fury thou dost march through the earth;
Thou dost stamp down nations in thy wrath.
Thou goest forth to the rescue of thy people,
To the rescue of thine anointed."

Storm, earthquake, and battle all lend their terrors to the scene that now passes before the poet's eye. The world trembles and splits, mighty torrents gushing out from the rents, so that "the earth is cloven with rivers," the mountains writhe in agony as they gaze, affrighted, on the armed and incensed King of Heaven; torrents of rain lash and obscure the air; the "abyss," i.e. the great deep of waters, is shaken into violent commotion, flinging up its billows to heaven and beating its shores with the hoarse roar of its waves. The sun does not now stand still on Gibeon, or the moon in the valley of Ajalon, as in the day of Joshua's famous victory over "the five kings of the Amorites;" they sullenly retire into their chambers, eclipsed by the still more vivid splendour of the arrows shot from the Divine bow, and of the spear which He hurls, like lightning, from his hand. In short, to the excited imagination of the poet, it seems that the fair ordered cosmos is resolved into its chaotic elements: once more "the earth is without form and void;" once more "darkness broods on the face of the deep."

Once more, too, "the Spirit of God moves on the face of the waters," to bring order from confusion, and to fill the void with forms of beauty. For as the prophet draws his theophany to a close, he sees, and lets us see, the gracious and redeeming purpose for the accomplish-

ment of which God has come forth from the secret places of his pavilion. He marches in fury through the earth, stamping down, in his march, the nations who set themselves against his people; but his aim is not vengeance so much as rescue, the rescue of the race whom He has chosen and anointed, and in whom all the nations of the earth are to be blessed. "Evil to men" is often "good for man;" often, the welfare of humanity can only be secured by the removal of those who oppose themselves to it, just as in the natural world destruction is a constant condition of welfare and advance. So that when God manifests himself for salvation, He must often manifest himself in destruction; but his aim, his end, is ever gracious, his will is the salvation of men.

On this conviction Habakkuk stays his soul as the glory of the Lord passes before him, oppressing him with its terrors. He had great need of such a stay, for the theophany now robes itself in forms drawn from the darkest memories of the past, and full of threatening omens for the future. We, too, must bear this conviction steadfastly in mind; for in ver. 13, the very verse which declares the merciful secret intention of the Divine judgments, the prophet enigmatically alludes to one of the darkest tragedies in the Hebrew story:—

"Thou goest forth to the rescue of thy people,
To the rescue of thine anointed.

Thou dashest in pieces the head of the house of the wicked,
Laying bare the foundations to the very neck, (Selah.)
Thou piercest with his own spear the head of his hordes,
Who storm hither to break me to powder,
Whose joy it is to devour the poor in secret."

One of the saddest pages in the Hebrew annals is that which records the extirpation of the Canaanitish races by the victorious Israelites; and in the history of that war of extirpation one act of ferocity and treachery is recorded, and recorded with approval, at least by Deborah the prophetess, which we cannot but condemn: nor do I see how we are to understand Deborah's approval of it, except as we remember that both the war, and this dreadful incident of the war, were means by which God rescued his anointed people, and rescued them not for their own sakes alone, but because a blessing was in them for the whole race. When Habakkuk sings—

"Thou dashest in pieces the head of the house of the wicked,
Laying bare the foundations to the very neck,"

we find it very difficult to catch his meaning; but the Hebrews would soon seize his allusion to the fate of Sisera. The poet had been recalling scene after scene from the ancient chronicles of their race, tracing the Divine manifestations made to them from the giving of the Law to the conquest of Canaan. Now of the Canaanitish tribes none seem to have been so powerful as that of which Jabin was king, and Hazor the capital. We are expressly told that Hazor was "the head of all those kingdoms."¹ To this phrase Habakkuk refers in the line "Thou dashest in pieces the head of the house

¹ Josh. xi. 10.

of the wicked," "the house of the wicked" being the confederacy of the Canaanitish tribes; its "head" being Hazer, or the tribe, or the king, of whom Hazer was the capital, as represented by Sisera, the "captain of their army."¹ This army was rendered formidable by "nine hundred chariots of iron," and indeed well-nigh invincible to the Israelites, who fought on foot. For twenty years they were miserably oppressed by "the king that reigned in Hazer." Then, led by Deborah and Barak, they arose against the tyranny which had grown insupportable. "And the Lord discomfited Sisera, and all his chariots, and all his host, with the edge of the sword before Barak, so that Sisera lighted down from his chariot, and fled away on his feet."² In his flight he took refuge in the tent of Jael the Kenite, between whose tribe and his there was peace. Jael received the fugitive with "lordly" hospitality; but when, worn out with defeat and chagrin, he fell asleep, she took a tent-peg and a hammer, and drove "the nail" through his temples, "and fastened it into the ground." Thus "*the head of the house of the wicked was broken in pieces.*" Possibly the tent-peg, that entered at the temples, came out at the neck, and when the dead body was wrenched from the ground, "*the foundations of the neck were laid bare.*" This, at least, is one interpretation of Habakkuk's phrase. Another and more ingenious interpretation³ is that in "head of the house" we must take "the house" more literally; so that "the head," as part of the house, is the gable, the "neck" is the point at which the roof or gable meets the wall; and we are to understand that the destruction of the wicked tribes of Canaan was like that of a house, of which roof, joints, and foundation are demolished at a single blow.

Apparently the prophet is conscious that he has conveyed his historical allusion in an obscure and enigmatical form, a form so obscure that even a Hebrew congregation would need to pause and reflect before they could seize upon it and enjoy it. Hence, as at the similar enigma of the 9th verse, he ordains a pause. Once more the word "Selah" bids the singers keep silence, while the orchestra strikes in, playing, we may suppose, a march or pæan of victory, in which the Divine triumph was shadowed forth.

After this solemn pause, Habakkuk resumes his theme—viz., the triumph of Israel in the discomfiture of their foes. Not only is "the head of the house of the wicked," the captain of the adverse host, destroyed; the warlike tribes who follow him share his fate. Like a mighty tempest the Canaanitish hordes "stormed up," thinking "to break" Israel, with whom the prophet identifies himself, "to powder," as the tempest whirls up, and breaks, and disperses the chaff. Like a robber, a free-booter, who lurks in secret places, who rejoices when the moment arrives at which he may set on the defenceless traveller, and snatch from him life and goods, so they beset the children of Israel. But God "pierced their heads with their own spears," smiting them with con-

fusion and bewilderment, so that they turned their weapons on themselves; "and every man's sword was against his fellow," and "every one helped to destroy another."

But above all this vast heaving sea of confusion, God, the Creator of the ends of the earth, holds fast the redeeming purpose of his love. As of old his Spirit moved on the face of the deep, so now He comes treading on the sea, riding on the heaving waters in the chariots of salvation, advancing to an assured triumph, a foreseen victory:

"Thou treadest upon the sea,
Thy horses upon the heaving waters."

That which alone gives order to the confusions of history, and evolves from them a fair and hopeful significance, is the merciful purpose of God which, ever seeking the welfare and advance of humanity, compels even the darkest tragedies to contribute to its common and ultimate good.

Now there can be no doubt, I think, that in composing this sublime theophany, Habakkuk drew the materials of his ode from the most sacred facts of the Hebrew history, such as the passage of the Red Sea, the giving of the Law, the pilgrimage through the Desert, the conquest of Canaan. Doubtless, too, he had the Chaldeans and their fate in his mind, and argued that God would march upon *them* and destroy *them*, just as in the days of old He made war on the Canaanitish tribes who set themselves against the anointed race, and took counsel together against them. It was for this express purpose, to convey this hope to the oppressed Hebrews, who had suffered so much at the hands of "that fierce and impetuous nation," that the ode was written. But though he drew the form of his poem from the ancient chronicles, and pointed it against the Chaldean tyranny, I cannot but think that he aimed also at depicting the cardinal features of all Divine manifestations, at showing what every theophany must be like. Loaded as his ode is with local and historical allusions, it seems nevertheless to gather into one all displays of the Divine glory, to generalise upon them, to give us the pattern, the type, to which they all conform. It is too large in style, too sublime in tone, to be taken merely as a picture of any one "appearance." It sums them all up, and teaches us what essential characteristics they have in common. Whenever God appears to men and for men, Nature recognises and responds to His presence, trembling before the majesty in which it nevertheless rejoices. Whenever He appears, signs and wonders and judgments attend his coming, the thoughts of men's hearts are revealed, their secrets laid bare, their iniquities punished. Whenever and wherever He appears to judge and destroy, it is that He may rescue men from their bonds, to give liberty to the captive, to bind up the broken-hearted, to comfort them that mourn, to give them beauty for ashes, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. Always and everywhere "the day of vengeance of our God" proclaims and ushers in "the acceptable year of the Lord." Even when He makes

¹ Judg. iv 3.

² Judg. iv. 15.

³ Delitzsch in loco.

bare his bow and launches his spear, He rides in chariots of *salvation* to *rescue* his anointed and to redeem his people.

It is because Habakkuk is strong in his conviction of the redeeming "end" of judgment, that he closes his ode with expressions of patient and joyful trust which have never been surpassed in the tone of tender and unalterable fidelity they breathe :—

"I heard, and trembling seized my breast;
My lips quivered at the sound:
Rottenness penetrates my bones:
I tremble under myself
That I am silently to await the day of tribulation,
When he that shall attack me cometh up.
*For though the fig-tree will not blossom
And there be no yield on the vines,
The fruit of the olive fails,
And the corn-fields bear no food,
The fold is empty of the flock,
And there is no ox in the stall;
Yet in Jehovah will I rejoice,
I will be joyful in the God of my salvation.
Jehovah the Lord is my strength,
And maketh my feet like hinds' feet,
And causeth me to walk in his high places."*

In one superb instance he shows us how true his own words are, "the just man shall *live by his faith*." Not that he has yet attained the perfect love which casts out fear. As when the ode opened, so is he still appalled by the "tidings" he has heard, the tidings of the miseries by which the Hebrews, in whose name he speaks, are to be redeemed from their bondage to injustice and corruption. He had *then* begun, in ver. 2, to describe the emotions by which he was shaken, but had broken off his description with an impassioned prayer that God would revive his ancient wonders of deliverance, attemper wrath with mercy, and *hasten* the revelation of his mercy. He now returns upon the point from which he started; he resumes and completes the description he had begun. His whole frame trembles, he tells us, as he listens to the word of the Lord, and anticipates the judgments that are about to fall on the land. His flesh quivers, his very bones rot and melt. It is not only the doom that oppresses him, but also the suspense. The doom is still in the distance, on the far horizon; and he is paralysed with terror as he watches it slowly rising and spreading, slowly advancing nearer and nearer still. The pain in the very heart of his pain is this "fearful looking for of judgment," that he has silently, and without hope of averting it, to "await the day of tribulation," in which the destined attack of the Chaldeans will be made.

But not in vain has he seen, in vision, God's wonders from of old, the glory of the Divine mercy shining through dark clouds of judgment. Forcing its way up through all the terrors of the flesh, there rises from the depths of his heart the clear immovable conviction that the terrors at which he trembles veil a salvation in which he will rejoice. His imagination paints "the day of tribulation" in the darkest colours, but his constant spirit is equal to any fate. When the Chaldeans devastate the land, the corn-fields will be trodden down, the homesteads plundered; the untended

orchards will yield no fruit, or yield it only to the spoiler's hand; the flocks will be carried off from the folds, the oxen from their stalls. Want and famine will stalk through the land. Nevertheless his heart sings through all:

"In Jehovah will I rejoice,
I will be joyful in the God of my salvation;"

for he has now discovered that it is the saving mercy of God which is to be wrought out through the corrections wherewith He afflicts and chastises his people. Nay, even this new vigour of hope is not his own. It is the Lord Jehovah who is his "strength," and sends him rejoicing on his way like the hind which bounds along the high places of the hills.

"To this complexion has he come at last." From a scepticism racked with misery he has risen to a faith which no misery can shake. He opens his prophecy with a cry of profound despair,

"How long shall I cry, O Jehovah, and Thou hearest not!"

charging God foolishly, accusing Him of indifference to his misery. When that cry is answered by a denunciation of the judgment that is to overtake the neighbours who wrong and afflict him, he asks, "Are these then to be destroyed?" He cannot see the justice of giving the Hebrews, violent and corrupt though they be, to be a prey to the Chaldeans, who are even more corrupt and violent than they. Can this be the purpose of Him who is "too pure of eye to behold evil" and "to look on misery?" To this expostulation God replies by predicting the yet more terrible fate that He will mete out to the godless and cruel Chaldeans. And now the heart of the prophet trembles and well-nigh dies within him. Are the heavens to be always dark with judgment, then? Are all nations to be the sport of a malignant and capricious fate? Is every day to be a day of tribulation? He cannot and will not believe it. Already, hints of a gracious purpose to be subserved by calamity have dawned upon him. He has argued—

"Art not Thou from everlasting,
O Jehovah, my God, my Holy One?
We shall not die."

He has hoped that the doom on Israel has been ordained only "for correction." He has grasped the conviction that, in all events, "the righteous shall live by his fidelity;" nay, that because Jehovah is in his holy temple, ruling and overruling all the actions of men, "the earth shall yet be filled with the knowledge of the glory of Jehovah, as the waters cover the deep." And now, finally, having recalled "the ancient ways of God," the ends of mercy and goodwill which He has ever pursued in the calamities He has inflicted on men, having woven these historic manifestations of the Divine glory into a theophany, in which the Sun of Love shines with full splendour through clouds of judgment, his faith breaks clear from all detaining bonds of doubt; he soars into the gracious heaven of the Divine goodwill, and rains down upon us the sweet notes of trust and hope with which his ode and his prophecy conclude.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.—I.

SACRED SEASONS.

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IF in one sense it may be said that, when our blessed Lord introduced Christianity with all its exalted privileges, its higher life, and its glorious hopes, into the world, He introduced a new thing, in another and still more important sense it must be added, that it was new because it was the fulfilment of the old. "I am not come," said the Saviour, "to destroy, but to fulfil;" and in that single sentence he has given us a principle of universal range and of inestimable value. It is a lesson for the politician, telling him that in all wise change he must take up those threads of the past which have interwoven themselves with a nation's life, and that only in so far as he does so can the measures by which he would promote the progress of a people possess true adaptation to their wants, secure a firm hold of their minds, gain that stability for the time which is necessary to all real advance, and become in their own turn a foundation upon which at some future day a still higher fabric of national welfare may be reared. It is a lesson for the rulers and guides of the Church, impressing upon them that, in their efforts to carry the Church onward to the perfection which they anticipate and long for, overhastiness will defeat their end; and that if they grasp too suddenly at the coming glory they will only unsettle instead of deepening conviction, will only plunge into confusion and darkness instead of bringing nearer to the perfect day. It is a lesson for the Christian thinker, bidding him be careful that in all developments of truth and life he recognise what has been true in those bygone days which may have been less enlightened than his own, and that his developments are certainly false if they do not embrace these more imperfect views in their loftier conceptions of belief and duty. Finally, it is a lesson for every man who would "forget what is behind and reach on to what is before," reminding him that however he may be dissatisfied with the present, there is yet a glory in the earth even as it is; that there is a light on the land and on the sea; that an entirely new world is not needed to accomplish either the patriot's or the poet's dreams, but that the arrangements of society, the bonds that unite men in the family, in the neighbourhood, in the state, have a long and valuable history behind them, and that to begin with subverting them would be to cut down the very tree into whose stem and branches he would introduce the sweeter sap of which he boasts. "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil."

What words both for the desponding and the hopeful, for those whose affections linger in the past, and for those who press forward to the future! The old

is not despised while the value of the new is felt. The one does not die while yet the other springs up in power and beauty. By that single principle our Lord places himself upon a platform from which he commands the progress of the race; and we, if we inhale his spirit, become "the heirs of all the ages." We see that they have an inheritance to bestow on us; and, when we receive it, we learn to lay it out in such a way that our children shall be richer and more favoured than ourselves.

The principle thus applicable to all things, we propose now to apply to some of the leading parts of the economy of the Old Testament. Even in a historical point of view an inquiry into the parts we shall select can hardly fail to interest us. But the interest is greatly deepened when we remember that in Israel's training we see the shadow of our own; that all the ordinances by which it was promoted were symbolical of better things to come; and that in studying the symbol we may often learn to apprehend more fully the realities imperfectly expressed by it. It is not merely a past that in these circumstances we have before our eyes, but a past which throws no small measure of light upon what ought now to be the tone of our own feelings as Christian men.

We begin with the Sacred Seasons of Israel, and first of all with the great festival lying at the foundation of Israel's sacred year—

THE PASSOVER.

The circumstances which led to its institution are fully given in the 12th chapter of the Book of Exodus, and it is unnecessary to dwell on them. Enough that the night of institution might well be spoken of as "a night much to be remembered" throughout all subsequent generations, for then the long and cruel bondage of Egypt was brought to a close, and Israel was led forth a free and independent nation to travel to the land that should be its own.

Let us pass at once to the mode in which the Feast of the Passover was celebrated. It is the month Abib, then, in the Promised Land, or, as it has been called since the Babylonish Captivity, the month Nisan, the first or advent month of Israel's sacred—as the seventh month, or Tisri, was the first of its civil—year. The season corresponds with the beginning of April in England, but with all that difference in the appearance of nature which belongs to the spring and early summer of a country whose southern boundary is only about seven degrees north of the torrid zone. Even sad Judæa puts on her fairest robe. The grass is not yet scorched by the summer sun. Innumerable

white and scarlet flowers are in their greatest blaze of glory. The cold of winter, the latter rain of March, is gone. Everything wears its brightest, greenest aspect. The barley is in the ear, and will ere long be ready for the sickle. To crown all, the moon, owing to that arrangement of the Jewish months which our space will not permit us to explain, is crescent, and when the fifteenth day of the month arrives she will be at the full.

In the first days of the month the capital begins to fill with strangers, who are encouraged by the fact that they will receive from its inhabitants a room without charge in which to celebrate the feast.¹ They come accordingly, in obedience to the law, from all parts of Palestine and the countries beyond in innumerable groups. Every house within the walls is filled to overflow, and thousands are compelled to rest outside the city in tents.

Of the feelings which animated these pilgrim-groups we have a beautiful indication in Psalms cxx.—cxxxiv., entitled in our version, "Songs of Degrees," but which should really be styled "Songs of Pilgrimages." They were the Psalms sung by the companies of pilgrims who went up together to Jerusalem at the three great festivals of the year. Some of them, like the 120th, are sad, recalling times of past oppression, and these were probably sung at the commencement of the pilgrimage. Others, like the 121st and 125th, are full of lofty confidence, when as the pilgrims first came in sight of the hills around Jerusalem, they burst forth into strains of joyful triumph, beholding in the security of Zion an emblem of that protection with which the Lord surrounds his people. A third portion of them, like the 122nd, seems to have been designed for the moment when the pilgrims reached the gates. A fourth, like the 127th, may have been sung when they stood beside the lofty temple-pile that had been reared amidst so many difficulties; while it is obvious that a fifth portion, like the 134th, was especially intended for those who went up to the Temple at the hour of evening sacrifice, and called upon the servants of the Lord ministering there to pray for them, and to pronounce over them the priestly blessing. But whether they were designed for these particular moments of the pilgrimage or not, the whole group of Psalms is full of that blending of joy and sorrow, of triumph and aspiration, which were so strikingly characteristic of Israel, and which the great feasts were so eminently calculated to express and deepen.

In the meantime, while the last bands of pilgrims are approaching Jerusalem, the inhabitants have begun to prepare for the feast. It is impossible to enumerate all the particulars of the preparation. The most important were that—on the afternoon of the day on whose evening the Passover was to be celebrated—each head of a household, having previously procured a lamb, hastened with it to the Temple, while newly-

arrived strangers supplied themselves at the great market held at these times within the precincts of the consecrated ground.² Ranks of priests, some with golden, others with silver basins, stretched from the altar to the outer court, in which alone the lambs could be slain.

The act of slaughter was performed by the bringer of the lamb; the blood was poured into a basin so constructed that it could not stand upright on the ground; the basin was passed along the line of priests until it came into the hands of the priest standing nearest to the altar, and by him the blood was shot out upon the altar at one gush. Conduits for the purpose then carried it away. In the meantime the lamb had been hung up, flayed, and opened; and the fat, together with those parts of the entrails which could not be used for food, had been given to the priests for a burnt-offering. After this the offerer carried home the body that it might be roasted for the paschal supper. Two spits were employed in preparing it for the fire, one stretching lengthways through the body, the other crossing it at the breast—an arrangement which easily suggested to the early Christian apologists the idea that they had here a type of the Saviour's cross. The lamb was then roasted in an oven open both at top and bottom. Boiling was strictly prohibited, lest any foreign matter should become in the process a portion of its substance; and the utmost care was taken, as had indeed been taken all along, that no bone of it should be broken (Exod. xii. 46). The supper itself it is unnecessary to describe. Whatever was left over was consumed by fire next morning.

We pass to the question, What was the meaning of these services? What the object in the national and religious life of Israel which the various arrangements of the season served?

We know, in the first place, that the Passover commemorated the past; but mere commemoration was far from exhausting the meaning of the rite. Had it been so, a simple symbolical representation of the incidents that occurred on the night of the Exodus would have been enough, to say nothing of the fact that in after years many of the circumstances that marked the first celebration of the supper were abandoned. It was no longer necessary to select a lamb four days before the feast. The feast itself was not eaten with loins girded, the shoes on the feet, and a staff in the hand; and, above all, the lamb was no longer slain in the house, but at the Temple; the blood was no longer sprinkled on the door-posts, but was poured out upon the altar.

In the second place, therefore, the Passover was not only a commemoration—it was at the same time a sacrificial rite. In Exod. xii. 27; xxxiv. 25, it is expressly called a "sacrifice," while the description of the qualities to be possessed by the lamb, the command to slay it at the sanctuary, the pouring out of the blood upon the altar, the burning of the fat, and the

¹ Comp. Mark xiv. 14–16.

² Comp. John ii. 13, 14.

consuming by fire of what was left until the morning, were all parts of the service establishing its sacrificial character.

It is more difficult to determine what kind of sacrifice it was. That it belonged to the bleeding sacrifices is clear, but it had features distinguishing it from each of the three great classes into which these sacrifices were divided. It was not wholly a sin-offering, for the person presenting such a sacrifice was not permitted to eat of the offering which he had made. It was not wholly a burnt-offering, for then the entire victim was consumed by fire. Nor was it wholly a peace-offering, for then the wave-breast and heave-shoulder would have been given to the priests, and the meal that followed on the part of the offerer and his friends would have taken place at the sanctuary, and not at home. It was indeed a sacrifice of an altogether peculiar kind, combining the distinguishing characteristics of the others, suggesting at once the thought of expiation by the procedure with the blood, of dedication to the Almighty by the burning of part of it in the fire, and of realised communion with him by the sacrificial meal. It reminded every Israelite who partook of it that only by atonement could he enter into the favour of God; that, entered into the covenant, his life was to be a constant sacrifice of praise; that, in fellowship with a reconciled God, he was to find ever new supplies of spiritual strength. If so, then also the unleavened bread and bitter herbs with which it was always eaten were more than a simple reminder of hardships endured in Egypt. They shadowed forth something bearing upon the higher life begun and led in communion with God.

Such was the Passover for the individual and the family. It is of importance, however, to observe that it was more than an individual and a family—it was a national rite. “The whole assembly of the congregation of Israel,” it is said, “shall slay it in the evening” (Exod. xii. 6); and this element of the service was brought out with still greater force, partly by the command that, as soon as the sanctuary should be reared, as soon as the central point of national existence should be set up, the lamb should be slain there and not in private dwellings; partly by the provision that, when a single family was too small to eat the lamb, it was, for that particular occasion, to add to its number others of the people. The paschal feast was thus designed to set forth not only individual and family communion with God, but the communion of all Israelites with one another in the same great unity. It was not enough that each should seek reconciliation and fellowship with Israel’s God; in that reconciliation and fellowship all were to feel that they were one.

From what has been said, then, we might see at once how the Feast of the Passover is fulfilled in Christ Jesus and in the experience of his people. But we have, further, the express teaching of the New Testament upon the point. “Christ, our Passover,” exclaims the Apostle Paul, “is sacrificed for us” (1 Cor. v.

); and the same reference is urged by the Evangelist John when he says, “For these things were done that the Scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken” (John xix. 36). The Lord Jesus Christ himself, then, is the true paschal lamb—“the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world;” and every time we enter by Him as the new and living way into the holiest of all—every time we cast ourselves upon Him as the only Mediator between God and man, and learn to cry “Return unto thy rest, O my soul”—we are keeping in part our Christian paschal feast.

Much more, however, is implied in the complete fulfilment in the members of Christ’s body of the ancient Passover; and the same St. John, who joined St. Paul in presenting the Passover to us in this first view, presents it also in another and not less important one, when he records—and he is the only Evangelist to do it—in the 6th chapter of his Gospel, the discourse of our Lord, in the synagogue at Capernaum, to those who had sought him out there after the miracle of the multiplying of the bread. In that discourse the following words occur, “Then Jesus said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed” (John vi. 53–55).

The question is, to what eating and drinking do these words in the first instance refer? We reply, certainly not to the eating and drinking of that sacrament of the Supper which our Lord knew that He was to institute before his death. Often as such an idea is entertained, we must regard it as on many grounds utterly untenable; but we shall content ourselves with the mention of one proof that the discourse was not so understood by the Evangelist who has preserved it for us. In the fourth verse of the chapter containing it, and when about to relate the miracle that preceded and led to it, St. John remarks, “And the Passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh” (vi. 4). The words are abruptly introduced, and it is difficult to account for them; but we are satisfied that the only true explanation of them is, that St. John beheld in the meal with which Jesus was immediately to feed his disciples and the multitude, a substitute for the Passover to be about that very time partaken of at Jerusalem, and from which the most at least of those now following Jesus in Galilee would be absent. Not, indeed, that the Evangelist regards our Lord as undervaluing God’s ordinance in Israel. It is not necessary to think so. The simple fact was that these Galileans could not partake of that ordinance at this time, and St. John merely sees in this banquet, so richly provided in a desert place, what the Lord would give as his Passover meal, in lieu of that which the Jews in the holy city were then about to eat. Hence, accordingly, he understands our Lord in the discourse immediately following the miracle, and evidently referring to it, to

have in view not a sacrament not yet instituted, but a festival well known to all. He understands him to refer to the truths which had been imperfectly shadowed forth in the Passover, but which were to be unfolded now in all their spirituality and depth of meaning.

What these truths are is then fully stated in the discourse in question. They relate neither to the sacrament of the Supper nor immediately to the work of atonement, but to a spiritual fellowship with Jesus, enjoyed through the constant exercise of faith, and by which Jesus himself becomes the nourishment of the new life within us. He that "eateth his flesh and drinketh his blood" in this sense—he that has Him formed in the soul; he that is engrafted into Him as a branch is engrafted into the stem; he of whose life it can be said, "It is not I that live, but Christ liveth in me"—he has "eternal life," and the Lord "will raise him up at the last day." This is what the Passover mainly shadowed forth, not merely atonement on the part of Christ, but a work to be done within the members of his body, in which, more than in all else, "he sees of the travail of his soul," when he gives them "power to become sons of God," marked by the features of their Father's character, and introduced into the full enjoyment of the privileges of their Father's house. These are the truths unfolded by our Lord in that discourse in which he explains the deep meaning of that miracle of the multiplying of the bread in which the beloved disciple beheld the New Testament paschal feast.

We certainly err, therefore, if we think that the Passover of the Jews is fulfilled in the Lord's Supper of the Christian Church. The latter, indeed, may be said to take the place of the former, but only inasmuch as the more imperfect expression of Divine truths naturally disappears in the presence of a more perfect expression of them. There is no clear proof even that the Lord abrogated the one that he might institute the other. He left it, like all the other ordinances of Israel, to fall away before that ordinance of his own, in which he more fully and perfectly symbolised the particulars of his redemption. The Passover does not point to the Supper, but both point, though with different degrees of impressiveness and force, to the same great truths.

Again, we err, if we think that the Passover is fulfilled in the shedding of "the precious blood of Christ as of a lamb without blemish and without spot." It is partly, no doubt, fulfilled in that, inasmuch as the sacred writers teach us that in Jesus we have the true Paschal Lamb. But the Passover consisted not in the mere slaying and roasting of the lamb; it consisted in the thankful eating of it by the families of

Israel.¹ It is fulfilled, therefore, not in the simple offering of Jesus on the cross, but in the thankful appropriation of that offering by us, in that Christian life which springs into existence when the work of the Saviour on our behalf is realised by faith; and when, through the continued exercise of that faith, the life of a living sonship is formed in the soul.

Hence also we see the fulfilment of the Passover's bitter herbs, and of its national as well as family character. For, as to the one, the life of Divine sonship is a struggle, and must always be a struggle here below. "Whoso," says the Saviour, "taketh not up his cross and followeth me, cannot be my disciple;" "In the world ye shall have tribulation;" "He that saveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." Trials such as these it is impossible to escape. They lie in the very necessity of the case, in the fact that there is in every follower of Christ a "company of two armies," the flesh lusting against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. We may partake of ordinances in peace, taking sweet counsel together, and going up to the house of God in company. In the stillness of the sanctuary we may gather ourselves about the table of communion, and all around may instil into our hearts a holy calm. It is not there that the bitter herbs are to be found. They are within the breast, in the race, in the struggle, in the warfare, in the dying, that must be met by every one who would fight the good fight of faith, and finish his course with joy. The bitter herbs are indeed accompanied by bread dipped in a sweet broth, but they are bitter.

Finally, as to the national character of the Passover, we see, too, where its fulfilment is to be found. It lies in this, that *in the life of communion and fellowship with their Father in heaven* all Christians are one. Not in the fact that they worship in the same church, that they partake of the same sacrament of the Supper, that they inherit the same history, or that they dwell on the same great deeds done in fields, both of thought and action, by the fathers who have gone before them, are we to trace the bond of love that unites them to one another, but in the fact that they have the same spiritual affections, emotions, purposes, and hopes. They are one with Christ, and they can only be one with Him in spirit. In being one with Him they are one with the Father, and in that unity they are one among themselves.

¹ "It was in this personal eating of the flesh by each household, rather than the killing of the victim, that the people exercised a priestly dignity at the annual celebration of the Passover. At the original celebration, a separate priesthood had not yet been appointed, and so each head of a household did the whole. But afterwards the priests alone could sprinkle the blood, though the households still ate the flesh of the sacrifice." (Fairbairn, *Typology of Scripture*, ii. 440.)

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—XIX.

THE PATRIARCHS.

JOSEPH.

BY THE REV. J. P. NORRIS, M.A., CANON OF BRISTOL.

FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS PROMOTION IN EGYPT
(THIRTY YEARS).

THERE is a threefold interest in the life of Joseph. First, the moral interest: a more attractive character can hardly be conceived, combining as it does so wonderfully the robust virtues of a heroic age with the tender graces of a devotional life. Then there is the historical interest, greater than in the case of the earlier patriarchs, for in Joseph sacred and profane history for the first time mingle; he finds more than a passing notice in the pages of Justin, and he has left his mark on the Egyptian annals as deeply as on the Hebrew. Lastly, the theological interest of his life can hardly be overrated; in him the Messianic promise made to Abraham first begins to unfold itself, while in his own career the foreshadowing of the Messiah himself is unmistakable.

But while his life has all this serious interest for the student, it fascinates the child no less; no tale of Eastern fiction could be more full of picturesque detail or striking adventure; no hero of romance could move our sympathy more powerfully.

Born in the far East, in the old Mesopotamian home of his mother, towards the end of his father Jacob's twenty years of servitude, he might in after years just remember the hurried flight, the discomforts of the journey, the long droves of cattle, the stride of the camels, the cool breezes of Mount Gilead, and his father's joy when the blue hills of the Promised Land were seen once more against the setting sun.

Nor would he forget his father's anxious look when his uncle Laban overtook the fugitives, or the deeper anxiety when Jacob's revengeful brother, the red-handed huntsman of the desert, was reported to be approaching.

His boyhood was spent first in the corn-fields of Shechem, Jacob's first purchase in the Promised Land, and then further south in "the vale of Hebron," where the aged Isaac was yet living.

It was in their journey from Shechem to Hebron that he knew his first sorrow. As they neared that spot round which so many later memories linger, where Ruth gleaned, where David tended his father's sheep, where other shepherds heard the world's first Christmas carol—there, within sight of Bethlehem, Rachel travailed, and died in giving birth to Benjamin. Joseph saw them dig his mother's grave, and rear the pillar to mark 'tho spot, and heard with wondering grief the order to move onward. But all the more he was folded in his father's love; and the babe lived, and was his playmate in their new home at Hebron.

It must have been a happy home to Joseph. The memory of his mother, the charge of that motherless child whom he loved with more than a brother's love, and, above all, the influence of his father ever growing in spirituality—all this served to keep Joseph pure amid the evil examples of his elder brothers.

But these elder brothers were but little at home. The flocks and herds of the wealthy patriarch must be pastured where pasture could be found, and the harvest of his Shechem fields must be gathered.

In these excursions the lad Joseph now and then accompanied them; but they disliked him. He was their father's favourite; he told tales of their wrong-doings; he dreamed dreams, and in the simplicity of his heart related them to his brothers—how they were in the field binding sheaves, and while his sheaf stood erect all their sheaves bowed down to it; and again, how the sun and moon and eleven stars made obeisance to him. For this last dream his father reproved the youth, saying, "Shall I and thy mother, and thy brethren, indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee?" But it is added that, while his brethren envied and hated him, his father treasured these sayings in his memory.

It is worth observing how Jacob on this occasion spoke of Rachel as still *living*, though in Hades, and seemed to believe in a future reunion of all the covenanted family.¹ The same belief is implied in his lament over Joseph in the sequel.

It was more than mere partiality of affection on the father's part that provoked the jealousy of Joseph's brethren. The careful notice of the long tunic of coloured stripes which Jacob gave to Joseph, corresponding to the garment prescribed for the priests in after years, has been thought² to indicate that Jacob meant to give Joseph, as the eldest born of Rachel, the priestly rights of primogeniture; and with this agrees the bequest to him of the "one portion above his brethren" mentioned at the end of the 48th chapter.³ Be this as it may, "they hated him, and could not speak peaceably unto him." And on the occasion of one of these visits it broke forth.

Jacob had sent the lad, now seventeen, "to see whether it were well with his brethren, and with the flocks, and bring him word again." Not finding them at Shechem, Joseph went on some ten miles further north to Dothan, and there he found them. Seeing him afar off—for the bright colours of his dress would be at once recog-

¹ The *Speaker's Commentary* infers that the dream must have occurred before Rachel's death, forgetting that Benjamin would be then unborn, and the brethren ten in number, not eleven.

² See Blunt's *Scripture Coincidences*.

³ The first-born had a double portion under the Law (Deut. xxi. 17).

nised by the watchful eyes of the shepherds in that plain of Esdraelon—his brethren conspired to kill him. "Behold, this dreamer cometh," they said: "come, let us slay him, and cast him into some pit, and we will say, Some evil beast hath devoured him: and we shall see what will become of his dreams." As it was said in parable¹ of Him whom the Father sent, "This is the heir: come, let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours." And, as in the case of that greater One, they stripped him of his raiment. But Reuben, anxious to save the lad's life, persuaded them to lower him alive into the pit, meaning to rescue him when the rest were gone. But ere he could fulfil his purpose, Judah had suggested his sale to a caravan of Midianite merchants on their way to Egypt with the spices of Mount Gilead, for which the Egyptian custom of embalming created, doubtless, a large demand. So Joseph was again lifted from the pit, and, in Reuben's absence, sold for twenty pieces of silver to the merchants, who on reaching Egypt sold him as a slave to Potiphar, chamberlain and commander of the king's executioners.

Meanwhile the cruel brethren, with the cry of his soul's anguish² in their ears, and the hated robe of many colours in their hands, returned to Jacob and told their false tale. "And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days. And all his sons and daughters rose up to comfort him: but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will go down into Hades³ unto my son mourning. Thus his father wept for him."

We now enter on a new scene, far removed from the roving shepherd life of the patriarchs: we are in the bustle and stir of a highly-civilised settled people, in the city of On, the Heliopolis of Herodotus, a city of priestly learning where Plato came to study, where the Sun-god (Ra) had his temple. The sculptures and pictures of Egypt enable us to picture to ourselves the well-ordered household in which the Hebrew slave now found himself. His quickness of parts and knowledge of affairs ensured him his master's favour and promotion; everything prospered under his hand, until in an evil hour his beauty caught the eye of his master's wife, and led to the first temptation of his new home. But what might well have been a trial to a youth who had no deep religious convictions, far away from home restraints, was no trial to Joseph, reared as he had been in the consciousness that wherever he was the eye of God was upon him. "How can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?" was his noble answer.

And when cast into prison on the false charge of the unprincipled woman, God forsook him not. The prison was probably a part of the great establishment, for Potiphar was captain of the executioners. Everything was overruled for his good to work out the designs of

Providence. Among his fellow-prisoners were two servants of the royal household, and through them he came to be commended to Pharaoh's notice.

It happened thus. These servants of the palace were entrusted to Joseph's care within the prison; and to him they told their dreams. The chief butler dreamed of a vine with three branches, whose clusters he was pressing into Pharaoh's cup; the chief baker dreamed of three baskets of white loaves upon his head, which birds of prey were devouring.

Joseph then told them that the interpretation of the dreams belonged to God, and had been revealed to him. The butler's dream portended that within three days he would be again serving wine to Pharaoh; the baker's dream, that within three days he would be hanging on a gibbet, a prey to the birds. And so it came to pass.

Two years afterwards the Pharaoh was troubled by dreams, and none of the court scribes could interpret them. Then the chief butler mentioned Joseph's wonderful gift of divination, and the Hebrew captive (now thirty years of age) was sent for to the palace. Assuming the garb of an Egyptian, with shaven beard,⁴ he stands before the king. Again, in reply to Pharaoh, he ascribes the gift of interpretation to God alone. "It is not in me: God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace."

The dreams are told. Pharaoh had seemed to see, what may so often be yet seen in Egypt, the buffaloes swimming in the Nile, and coming up on to the green strip of meadow-land that borders it. First came seven fat heifers, and they browsed in the meadow; then seven lean heifers, and they devoured the fat ones, and were themselves as lean as ever. In the second dream there was a stalk of maize with seven ears full and good; and then another plant of seven ears, withered and blighted by the scorching wind from Arabia.

Then followed Joseph's inspired interpretation: both cattle and corn-stalks signified years, first seven years of plenty and then seven years of famine, and the superabundance of the former years would be consumed in the latter.

Then Joseph advised the king to appoint a commissioner, who should, during the seven years of plenty, make the people pay a fifth part of the produce into public granaries, to serve when the famine came. The counsel seemed so good that Pharaoh at once made Joseph his viceroy, or grand vizier, taking the ring from his hand and placing it on Joseph's, and a gold chain round his neck, giving him the second place in all the kingdom, with footmen to run before his chariot, crying, "Bow the knee," as he approached.

The daughter of another Potiphar or Poti-pherah, priest of the sun-god at Heliopolis, was given him as wife, and received, from her husband apparently, the Hebrew name of Asenath,⁵ implying, perhaps, her con-

¹ Luke xx. 14.

² Compare Gen. xlii. 21.

³ So, clearly, the *sheol* of the original should be translated. Jacob, believing that his son had been devoured by a wild beast, would not speak of him as in a grave. Again, therefore, his belief in life beyond death is implied.

⁴ Herodotus says that the Egyptians all shaved, unless in times of mourning (ii. 36).

⁵ Derived conjecturally from אסנת *asam*, or אסן *asan*, "to store," in allusion to the storehouses which Joseph was establishing at the time of his marriage.

version to faith in the true God. She was the mother of Manasseh and Ephraim.

The new name now given to Joseph by Pharaoh, Zaphnath-paaneah, literally rendered in Egyptian letters, is said to mean, "food of the living;" but

Jerome and others interpreted it "saviour of the world," following its form in the LXX., *Υποβοηθήχ*. The Seventy living in Egypt would be likely to be correct in their interpretation. But the matter is of little or no importance.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.—VIII.

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XIII.

THE author of the Second Book of Kings concludes his account of Sennacherib with the following passage:—"So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh. And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god" (or "as he was worshipping his god in the house, called Nisroch"), "that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword: and they escaped into the land of Armenia. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead." There are several points in this short narrative which the Assyrian inscriptions confirm, or with which they harmonise in a remarkable way.

I. Sennacherib, we are told, on his return from his disastrous expedition, proceeded to take up his abode at *Nineveh*. We are so much in the habit of regarding Nineveh as the regular Assyrian capital, that the phrase here used falls flat upon us and seems little more than a truism. But the recent discoveries have made it clear that Nineveh only became the capital of Assyria about B.C. 800. The principal residence of the monarchs up to that date¹ was Calah (Gen. x. 11), twenty miles south of Nineveh, which was most certainly a distinct town, and not (as Mr. Layard has argued) a mere "quarter" of Nineveh.² Even after Nineveh became the capital, it was not always the constant, or so much as the ordinary, residence of the monarch. Sargon, for instance, the father of Sennacherib, resided commonly at his own city of Dur-Sargina, or Bit-Sargina, ten miles from Nineveh, towards the north-east; and Esarhaddon, Sennacherib's son and successor, resided not unfrequently at Babylon. Sennacherib was, in fact, "the first Assyrian king who made Nineveh his permanent residence."³ What is stated, then, of Sennacherib in the phrase, "Sennacherib . . . dwelt at Nineveh," is shown by the Assyrian remains to be perfectly true of him; but the assertion

would not have been true of his father, his son, or of the great majority of the Assyrian monarchs.

2. "Sennacherib," it is said, "*dwelt* at Nineveh." The word "*dwelt*" is apparently emphatic. Of course, we are not to understand that he never left the town; we must not even conclude that he abstained wholly from military expeditions. But the expression used seems intended to imply that he became less warlike than he had been before, and at any rate that he abstained from distant and dangerous expeditions. And this conclusion is exactly borne out by the Assyrian records, which show us that after his early years he made no further effort in the direction of Egypt or Palestine, but contented himself with raids into Armenia, Mount Zagros, and Babylonia, and with waging a war against the fairly powerful but certainly not remote country of Susiana.⁴ The countries bordering the Mediterranean were quit of their dangerous assailant for above twenty years after the destruction of Sennacherib's army, and remained tranquil during the interval, unmolested by any foreign foe.

3. The murder of Sennacherib by two of his sons, their flight into Armenia, and the establishment upon the vacant throne of another son, Esarhaddon, who had taken no part in the conspiracy, are not distinctly recorded in the Assyrian inscriptions, which for this period are scanty; but those inscriptions relate facts which harmonise very strikingly with the Biblical narrative, and form its natural complement. The circumstances narrated in Scripture would naturally have led to a disputed succession, and to a civil war between the conspirators and those opposed to them, whereof the scene might be expected to be Armenia, or its immediate neighbourhood, since that is mentioned as the country where the assassins ultimately found a refuge. Now the earliest records of Esarhaddon represent him as engaged in a civil war with some half-brothers; the scene of the conflict is the country immediately south of Armenia; and the result is the defeat of Esarhaddon's antagonists and his own establishment upon the Ninevite throne amid the acclamations of his subjects.⁵ The state of things revealed in

¹ The primeval capital was Asshur, forty miles further down the course of the Tigris (*Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii., p. 56, second edition). Calah became the capital about B.C. 880.

² See *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. ii., p. 247, and the article on "Nineveh" in *Smith's Biblical Dictionary*. The fact that Calah and Nineveh were distinct towns may be proved (1) from Gen. x. 11, 12; (2) from the inscriptions constantly distinguishing between them; (3) from the absence of ruins, except in one place, throughout the intervening country. They were certainly no more one town than are Paris and Versailles, or London and Windsor.

³ *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iii., p. 113.

⁴ See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii., pp. 163-177.

⁵ For an account of this inscription, see an article by Mr. George Smith in the *North British Review* for July, 1870; and compare *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii., p. 186, second edition.



SARGON RECEIVING PRISONERS, AND HOLDING THEM BY MEANS OF STRINGS ATTACHED TO RINGS IN THEIR LIPS.

the inscription is thus exactly what we should naturally have expected to follow on the events recorded in Scripture; the scene of conflict is in the quarter to which Scripture points; and the final result is precisely that which Scripture mentions. Esarhaddon's triumph is so rapid and so complete that he is reckoned in the Assyrian canon, just as in Scripture, the immediate successor of Sennacherib. The classical writers interposed between him and his father a Nergilus and an Adrammeles¹ (evidently Adrammelech of 2 Kings xix. 37). But the Assyrians held that these were mere pretenders, not monarchs, and agreed, with Scripture, that Sennacherib died, "and Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead."

XIV.

We read in the Second Book of Chronicles that Manasseh, the son and successor of Hezekiah, "did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord" (2 Chron. xxxiii. 2), causing "Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to err, and to do worse than the heathen, whom the Lord had destroyed before the children of Israel" (ver. 2), whereupon "the Lord spake to Manasseh, and

to his people: but they would not hearken" (ver. 10). Then we are told, that for this "the Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh among the thorns (P), and bound him with fetters, and carried him to *Babylon*" (ver. 11). Now here the attentive reader necessarily remarks, as strange, the statement that a captive monarch is brought by his captors into the presence of a king of Assyria, not at Nineveh, his own capital, or even at any other Assyrian town, but at Babylon, the capital of a neighbouring country. Babylon, when last heard of, was the city of Merodach-baladan, an independent prince, who was not afraid to take up an attitude of hostility towards Assyria.² It is evident that some great change in the relations of the Asiatic monarchies, one to another, has taken place, that a new king of Assyria has adopted new habits, and that a state of things has been brought about quite unlike that which formerly prevailed in this part of Asia.

Now here the inscriptions of Assyria, and especially those of Esarhaddon and his son Asshur-bani-pal

¹ See Abydenus, ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 9.

² See 2 Kings xx. 12, 13; 2 Chron. xxxii. 31; and compare above, p. 187.

(Sardanapalus), make what was otherwise obscure perfectly plain. Sennacherib tells us that he conquered Babylon, and established a son as viceroy there. Esarhaddon takes from the very beginning of his reign the double title, "king of Assyria and king of Babylon." Bricks bearing his name have been found at Babylon, and indicate that he built himself a palace there. Asshur-bani-pal, his son, tells us that Esarhaddon, towards the close of his life, having become infirm, relinquished the government of Assyria altogether, and retiring to Babylon made it his constant residence, and contented himself with ruling that portion of his dominions.¹ Thus the presentation of a captive prince to an Assyrian monarch at Babylon, which would have been strange and inexplicable at any earlier period, is natural in the time of Esarhaddon, with whom Manasseh was contemporary.² Manasseh might without any strangeness have been brought to Esarhaddon at the southern capital during any period of his reign. If his capture fell, as it probably did,³ late in Esarhaddon's reign, Babylon, which had then become that monarch's permanent residence, would necessarily be the scene of the interview.

Another obscure point in the narrative receives illustration from the sculptures and inscriptions of a somewhat earlier date. According to our version, "the captains of the king of Assyria took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon." What this meant, or why it should be noted if it meant simply that the monarch had tried to hide himself in a thicket, but was discovered and taken,⁴ was a puzzle to the Biblical student of former times; but the difficulty has now disappeared. The Hebrew word translated "thorns," though it has sometimes that meaning,⁵ is also used for a "hook" or "ring," such as it was usual to put through the jaws of a fish, and to attach by a string to the shore, in order that the fish might so be kept alive captive in the

water.⁶ The Assyrian kings of the Sargonid dynasty were in the habit of thus treating their more important prisoners. A bas-relief in the palace of Sargon at Khorsabad⁷ represents that monarch in the act of receiving from one of his great officers three prisoners who have been the victims of this practice. Two of them stand before the great king, with hands upraised, beseeching his mercy; the other has thrown himself on his knees at the king's feet, in abject entreaty, while the stern victor threatens him with a spear (page 312). All these captives have rings passed through their under-lips, to which strings or thongs are attached, and Sargon is represented with one end of the thongs in his left hand. There can thus be little doubt that what the writer of Chronicles intended to state was that the captains of the king of Assyria, when they had taken Manasseh prisoner, placed "hooks" or "rings"—perhaps two, for greater security—in his mouth, and thus led him before their master. The cruel practice, of which we have evidence as prevailing



ENLARGED VIEW OF THE HEADS OF THE TWO STANDING PRISONERS, SHOWING THE RINGS IN THEIR UNDER-LIPS.

under the grandfather, was revived in the time of the grandson; and the wicked monarch who "had made Judah and Jerusalem to do worse than the heathen" (2 Chron. xxxiii. 9) was punished in this painful and ignominious fashion.

It may be added, that the same practice is alluded to in the history of Hezekiah's

dealings with Sennacherib, as recorded in the 19th chapter of the Second Book of Kings.⁸ Among the threats uttered against Sennacherib by Jehovah through the mouth of the prophet Isaiah is the following:—"Because thy rage against me and thy tumult is come up into mine ears, therefore I will put my hook (חֹק) in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest" (ver. 28). Here the words are used metaphorically; but the metaphor is taken from the practice of the times, when defeated kings were actually led from place to place by means of real hooks (or rings) and real bridles. In this passage the hook is threatened to be put into the nose, which is unusual; but a Babylonian sculpture of an ancient date shows us that this was sometimes done by the Mesopotamian monarchs. On a rock-tablet, near Sir-i-Zohab, two prisoners are represented as brought before the king of Babylon with rings passed through the membranes of their noses. (See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii., p. 436; 1st edition.)

⁶ See especially Job xli. 1, 2—"Canst thou draw out leviathan with an hook? or his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down? Canst thou put an hook into his nose? or bore his jaw through with a thorn (חֹק)?"

⁷ See Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, pl. 83.

⁸ For another Scriptural allusion to the practice, see Amos iv. 2.

¹ See *North British Review* for July, 1870, pp. 325-335, and compare *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii., p. 195.

² Esarhaddon states in one inscription that Manasseh, king of Judah, sent him materials for the construction of his palace at Nineveh (*Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii., p. 200, note 8).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁴ So the older commentators, Pool, Patrick, &c., who appear to have been quite content with their explanation. When a more critical spirit arose, it was suggested, (1) that the word might be translated "chains" (Houbigant); (2) that the expression was a figure of speech, and the meaning, that Manasseh was taken by guile; (3) that the reading was wrong, and that a slight correction would give the sense, "who took Manasseh alive" (Dathé). Gesenius was the first to hint at the explanation which is now generally adopted.

⁵ The Hebrew word חֹק, plural חֻקִּים, has the meaning of "thorn" in Job xxxi. 40; Prov. xxvi. 9; Cant. ii. 2; Isa. xxiv. 13; and Hos. ix. 6.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE GOSPELS.—V.

THE MESSIANIC PROPHECIES OF ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS.

"And leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea-coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying, The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles; the people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up."—*ST. MATT. iv. 13–16.*

THESE words belong to that group of Messianic prophecies of which St. Matthew, in the early chapters of his Gospel, delights to trace the accomplishment. They also carry us back to another group of Messianic prophecies of which Isaiah, the evangelical prophet, was the channel of communication to the Church.

Our first object must be in this, as in the case of those prophecies which have already been treated in this series of papers, to compare the citation of the Evangelist with the original words of the Prophet.

"The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles; the people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up."—*ST. MATT. iv. 15, 16.*

"At the first time he brought into contempt (or lightly esteemed) the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali; and at the last he brought (it) to honour, by the way of the sea, across (or alongside of) the Jordan, the circle of the Gentiles.¹ The people that walked in darkness saw a great light; (as for) those sitting in the land of the shadow of death, upon them light shines."—*ISA. ix. 1, 2.*

The quotation of the Evangelist accords, as it will be seen, nearly with the original Hebrew. The LXX. is somewhat different: "O people, walking in darkness, behold a great light! ye who dwell in the region and shadow of death, a light shall shine upon you."

The Messianic reference of the passage, independently of its citation by the Evangelist, is clearly marked by the immediate context, which is familiar to the ear as occurring in one of the Christmas-day lessons:—"Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast increased its joy;² they joy before thee as the joy in harvest, and as men rejoice when they divide the spoil. For the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder" (*i.e.*, as the words which follow show, the staff with which the people were oppressed by their enemies), "the rod of his oppressor, thou hast broken in pieces, as in the day of Midian. For as to every war-boot of the greaved warrior in the din of battle, and every garment

rolled in blood, it shall even be for burning, as fuel for the fire. For unto us a child is born," &c. &c. The general drift of the prophecy appears to be as follows. The 8th chapter begins with a repetition of the assurance already given in chap. vii. 16, that before a child, conceived at the time of the witnessed writing concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz, should be of age to cry "My father, and my mother," the lands of Syria and of Israel should be despoiled by the king of Assyria. With an obvious reference to chap. vii. 14, the land of Judah is claimed, in ver. 8, as the land of "Immanuel." Then follows a description of the heavy judgments which should overtake the land, as the result of the refusal of Ahaz to accept a sign of deliverance from Jehovah; which judgments should proceed from the very quarter to which Ahaz had vainly and impiously had recourse for succour. The curtain which is thus drawn upon a scene of darkness and of desolation, is raised in the beginning of chap. ix. upon a scene of joy and gladness. This joy and gladness are not restricted to the land of Judah. On the contrary, as the northern kingdom suffered most severely from the iron yoke of the invader, so the same country became the theatre of the largest and most shining manifestation of the majesty and the mercy of Immanuel.

As it was "Galilee and all the land of Naphtali" (as we learn from 2 Kings xv. 29), which suffered so severely, first from the invasion of Tiglath-pileser, and then from that of Shalmaneser; and as it was the inhabitants both of the cis-Jordanic and the trans-Jordanic cities (1 Chron. v. 26) who were carried captive into Assyria; so it was upon the banks of the same river which divided those tribes that the light of Israel was manifested—in Nazareth, of the tribe of Zabulon, that He dwelt, who condescended to be called "a Nazarene;" and in Capernaum, a city within the tribe of Naphtali, that so many of his works of majesty and of mercy were wrought.

The fact that the inhabitants of the eastern as well as of the western districts of the land of Canaan suffered so severely from the Assyrian invasion, coupled with the occasional mention of the mighty works of Christ which were wrought on the eastern bank of the Galilean sea—as, *e.g.*, in the case of the demoniacs of Gadara, and the feeding of the five thousand in the neighbourhood of Bethsaida—may be fairly adduced in support of the interpretation of the words both of the Prophet and of the Evangelist, "beyond the sea," as having reference to a country on the east of the Sea of Galilee and of the Jordan. On the other hand, it has been urged that the Hebrew phrases, which are rendered in the Authorised Version, both "on this side" and also "on the other side Jordan," like *Gallia citerior* and *ulterior*, or the Cispadine and Transpadine republics, are used, not only with

¹ If the accentuation of the Hebrew text be disregarded (as by Delitzsch), the words may be rendered thus: "And at the last he made honourable (or glorious) the way of the sea (or the road by the sea), across (or alongside of) Jordan, the circle of the Gentiles."

² This rendering is in accordance with the *keri*, *i.e.*, the Masoretic marginal reading, or foot-note. The words may, however, be rendered thus: "Thou hast multiplied the nation whose joy thou hadst not (*i.e.*, in time past) increased." The rendering of the Authorised Version appears to be altogether inadmissible, when taken in connection with the context.

reference to the writer, but also as well-known and, so to speak, stereotyped geographical descriptions. And, further, the following passage, if it stood alone, would be conclusive on this point, inasmuch as in it the trans-Jordanic tribes are represented as employing the very same phrase as descriptive of the country on both sides: "We will not inherit with them *across the Jordan* and farther away, because an inheritance has fallen to us *across the Jordan*, eastward" (Numb. xxxii. 19). Still, it can scarcely be denied that, subsequently to the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Canaan, unless the context determine the meaning otherwise, the presumptive evidence is in favour of the application of the phrase, when used in the sense of *across*, to the side of the river opposite to that on which the writer lived.¹

It seems more reasonable, therefore, inasmuch as all Galilee was on the western side of the river, to have recourse to another alleged signification, viz., *along the side*, and to regard the words, in this place, as denoting the land by the side of the Jordan, which formed an eastern boundary to the tribes both of Zebulun and Naphtali.

When thus regarded, the Messianic application of the prophecy is clear and explicit. It was upon the darkness which brooded over that same land, which had been brought low by the Assyrian invasion, that the Sun of Righteousness arose with healing in his wings. "Leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea-coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim." It was in Galilee, in accordance with Jewish expectation, that the Messiah was to arise;

"Revelabitur Messias in terrâ Galilææ."² The selection of Safed and Tiberias as the "holy places" was dictated (says Dean Stanley)³ by "the thought that they were both within sight of the lake from whose waters the Messiah would rise," that lake of which it has been remarked by the same writer, that "if the southern lake is the Sea of Death, the northern is emphatically the Sea of Life." The plain of Gennesareth was the chief centre of the activity of the Holy Land. It was, to adopt once more the language of Dean Stanley, "to the Roman Palestine almost what the manufacturing districts are to England."

It was in this Galilee of the nations, where the Jewish race was largely mixed with Gentiles, that the veil of Jewish prejudice and the darkness of heathen idolatry gave place to the light of "the day-spring from on high." It was here that those mighty works were wrought which would have led the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon to repentance. It was here that those words of mercy and of compassion were uttered, which were hidden from the Scribes and Pharisees of Jerusalem, but were made plain to the illiterate fishermen of Galilee. And, once more, it was here, through the advent and ministry of Him who was at once the "Mighty God" and the "Prince of Peace," that a day more glorious than that of the greatest monarchs of David's line arose upon the benighted land which had so long groaned beneath the iron yoke of its oppressors; and that, "as in the day of Midian" (Isa. ix. 4), the victory over foes yet more terrible and destructive was achieved, "not by might nor by power," but by the bloodless sword of the Gospel, and by the Spirit of the Living God.

¹ It is reasonable to presume in regard to the translation adopted by the authorised English version in such passages as Numb. xxii. 1, and Deut. i. 1, 5, where the reference is obviously to the eastern side of the river, but the words are rendered "on this side," that Moses is supposed to speak from his own point of view.

² *Sohar*, p. i., fol. 119. Ed. Amst. Quoted by Hengstenberg, in his *Christology*, i. 352. Alexandria, 1836.

³ *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 373.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.—X.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

CAMEL, DROMEDARY.



CAMELS and llamas are placed by zoologists amongst the *Tylopoda*, or "cushion-footed" section of the *Artiodactyle ungulates*, which group, indeed, these animals alone form. The llamas belong entirely to the New World, so with them we have no concern here. There are two species of camel, the Arabian, or one-humped (*Camelus dromedarius*, Linn.), and the Bactrian, or two-humped camel (*C. Bactrianus*). The former is spread from Arabia into all the north of Africa, Syria, Persia: the latter, originally from Central Asia, descends much less to the south than the one-humped animal; it is the only one employed in Turkestan, Tibet, and China, and sometimes is led as far north as Lake Baikal. The one-humped camel is the animal more especially known to and employed by the Jews, and alluded to so very frequently in the Bible, though perhaps the Bactrian

species was known to the Jews later on in their history, when they came in contact with the Assyrians, who received it sometimes as tribute. The camel has been domesticated from the earliest times, and there is no satisfactory evidence of its existence in an originally wild state at any period. Some ancient writers, as Diodorus and Strabo, speak of wild camels in Arabia; and Desmoulins, who has written valuably on the subject, asserts that it so existed in the time of Hadrian. The natives, too, of Central Africa maintain that the camel is found wild in mountains where Europeans have never penetrated. But it is probable that these so-called wild camels, like the wild horses of the American prairies, have descended from animals that had escaped from man's control. Pallas states, on the authority of the Bucharians and Tartars, that wild camels occur in the deserts of Central Asia; on this point Cuvier observes that the Calmucks are in the

habit of liberating all sorts of animals, from a religious principle. A fossil species (*Camelus Sivalensis*) was discovered by the late Dr. Falconer and Sir. P. Cantley, in the Miocene tertiary deposits of the Sevalik Hills of Hindustan; the crania, jaws, and teeth of this species, now in the British Museum, indicate its close affinity with the existing species, from which it differed chiefly, if not solely, in its greater size. There is reason to think "that we have here in this very ancient animal a species which saw the Miocene epoch, and which has survived all the chances and changes which have taken place since then" (Murray's *Geograph. Dist. Anim.*, p. 138). The only place in Europe where the camel is now bred is Pisa. "At San Rossora the arid plains and stunted bushes bear some distant resemblance to the Asiatic and African deserts; but most authors who understand the subject agree in considering that the race is fast degenerating" (*Engl. Cycl.*, i. 732). The time of their introduction into Tuscany, according to Van der Hoeven, dates from the middle of the seventeenth century. In America the llamas represent the camels of the Old World; but the true camels (*C. dromedarius*) were introduced into Spanish America after its conquest by the Spaniards, they having received the animals from the Moors; but they gradually, it is said, dwindled away.

The camel is perhaps the most valuable of all animals to man in the East, being the only creature able to exist on scanty food and water for days together, as it traverses arid deserts and parched sandy plains. With feet admirably formed for journeying over dry and loose sandy soil; with a hump of fat ready on emergencies to supply it with carbon, when even the prickly thorns and mimosas of the burning desert cease to afford food; with nostrils which can close, valve-like, when the sandy storm fills the air; with a stomach so organised as to retain water in its cells, with which to quench its thirst "in barren and dry lands where no water is," the camel well deserves the significant title of the "ship of the desert." The power of the camel to preserve water untainted for some time in its stomach has by some writers been denied. There seems, however, to be no doubt that the power exists, and that in severe emergencies camels have been killed and the water obtained from one of the compartments of the stomach drunk by men perishing from thirst. M. Daubenton found a considerable quantity of water in the cells of the second stomach, "though the animal had been dead ten days, and was brought from a distance of fifty leagues. The water, which was clear, almost insipid, and drinkable, issued from the cells upon compression." Dr. Patrick Russell, in a note in his brother's *History of Aleppo*, ii. 425, says: "That water in cases of emergency is taken from the stomachs of camels is a fact neither doubted in Syria nor thought strange. I never was myself in a caravan reduced to such an expedient, but I had the less reason to distrust the report of others, particularly of the Arabs, seeing that even the love of the marvellous could in such a case be no inducement to invention. It may, perhaps, be superfluous to produce the authority of an Arab his-

torian, who, in his account of the Prophet's expedition to Tabue against the Greeks, relates, among other distresses of the army, that they were reduced to the necessity of killing their camels for the sake of the water contained in their stomachs." To this testimony we may add that of Bruce: "Finding, therefore, the camels would not rise, we killed two of them, and took so much flesh as might serve for the deficiency of bread, and from the stomach of each of the camels got about four gallons of water. It was indeed rapid and of a bluish cast, but had neither taste nor smell" (*Travels*, iv., p. 596). Recently Professor Owen, speaking of the water-cells of the camel's paunch, says, "The cells are dispersed in parallel rows, separated from one another by strong muscular bundles. . . . Some of the cells are more complicated than others, being subdivided into numerous loculi by folds of the lining membrane. The largest of the reservoirs in the adult dromedary, when dilated, have a depth or width of about three inches." Of the structure of the second cavity or reticulum the Professor writes, "The muscular longitudinal fasciculi forming the principal ridges between the cells are less thick than the corresponding ones of the paunch-cells." On the whole question Professor Owen says, "The experiments of Clift proved the direct transit of water drunk by the camel into the reticulum, where it was found pure, and also into the appended cells of the rumen, where it was discoloured; while the concurrent testimonies of travellers in the arid regions traversed by this animal, establish its power of thus retaining water, as in a reservoir, for some days" (*Anatomy and Physiology of Vertebrates*, iii., pp. 469, 470).

The humps on the camel's back are simply lumps of fat. There seems to be no doubt that they serve for supplying nourishment to the animal when exposed to privation of food; at any rate, under such circumstances the humps are observed to diminish, being no doubt absorbed in the system; just as a fat man will, *cæteris paribus*, live longer than a lean one without food, or a salmon that has been long without food in fresh water (where as a rule this fish never takes nourishment) will be fed by the absorption of the fatty matter of its abdomen into the general system of the fish. The camel's hump is considered a great delicacy.

Every one who has seen a camel must have noticed some remarkable callosities or hard parts on those portions of the body and limbs which frequently come in contact with the ground. These are found on the breast and knees. They enable the animal to support its weight and that of its burden without injuring the skin.

Dr. Robinson's account of the camel and its habits will be read with interest:—"Admirably adapted to the desert regions which are their home, they yet constitute some of the evils which travelling in the desert brings with it. Their long, slow, rolling or rocking gait, although not at first very unpleasant, becomes exceedingly fatiguing, so that I have often been more exhausted in riding five-and-twenty miles upon a camel

than in travelling fifty upon horseback. Yet without them how could such journeys be performed at all? But their home is the desert, and they were made, in the wisdom of the Creator, to be the carriers of the desert. The coarse and prickly shrubs of the wastes are to them most delicious food, and even of them they eat but little. So few are the wants of their nature that their power of going without food, as well as without water, is wonderful. They never appear to tire, but commonly march as freshly at eventide as in the morning. If they once begin to fail, they soon lie down and die. Thus two camels of our train died between

drive sheep the way they do not choose to go. The cry of the camel resembles in a degree the hollow bleating of the sheep; sometimes it is like the lowing of neat cattle, or the hoarse squeal of the swine. But the Arabs heed not their cries, nor does the poor animal find much mercy at their hands. Heavy and galling loads and meagre fare are his appointed portion, and God has hardened him to them. The camels of the *Fellahin* (husbandmen) appear to have an easier lot; they are mostly large, fat, and strong, while those of the Bedouin in the deserts are comparatively thin and slender. The singular power of the animal to go without water



CAMELS, ASSYRIAN. (BRITISH MUSEUM.)

Suez and Akabah which a few hours before had been travelling with full loads. In all our journey to Wady Musa the camels fed only upon shrubs, and never tasted grain of any kind, although once we had them loaded for thirty-six hours, during all which time they browsed only for one hour. Their well-known habit of lying down upon the breast to receive their burdens. . . . is an admirable adaptation of nature to their destiny as carriers. . . . The camel in very many respects is not unlike the sheep. They are a silly, timid animal, gregarious, and when alarmed, like sheep, they run and huddle all together. They are commonly represented as patient, but if so, it is the patience of stupidity. They are, rather, exceedingly impatient, and utter loud cries of indignation when receiving their loads, and not seldom on being made to kneel down. They are also obstinate, and frequently vicious; and the attempt to urge them forward is often very much like trying to

seems also to be of the same nature as that of the sheep, at least in its manifestation, though in a far greater degree. The dew and the juice of grass and herbs are sufficient for them in ordinary cases, though when the pasturage has become dry the Arabs water their flocks every two days and their camels every three. The longest trial to which we subjected our camels with respect to water was from Cairo to Suez, four days; yet some of them did not drink even then, although they had only the driest fodder. But at all times the camel eats and drinks little; he is a cold-blooded, heavy, sullen animal, having little feeling and little susceptibility of pain. Thistles, and briars, and thorns he crops and chews with more avidity than the softest green fodder; nor does he seem to feel pain from blows or pricks unless they are very violent. There is nothing graceful or sprightly in any camel, old or young; all is misshapen, ungainly, and awkward. The young have nothing

frisky or playful, but in all their movements are as staid and sober as their dams. In this respect how unlike the lamb!

"As the carriers of the East, the 'ships of the desert,'¹ another important quality of the camel is their sure-footedness. I was surprised to find them travelling with so much ease and safety up and down the most rugged mountain passes. They do not choose their way with the like sagacity as the mule, or even as the horse, but they tread much more surely and safely, and never either slip or stumble. . . . The sounds by which the Arabs govern their camels are very few and very guttural. The signal for kneeling is not unlike a gentle snore, and is made by throwing the breath strongly against the palate, but not through the nose. That for stopping is a sort of guttural chucking which I never could master." (*Bib. Res.*, ii. 203—210.)

The Hebrew word *gāmāl*, found in all the Semitic languages, has passed thence into the numerous tongues of Western Europe; it is found also in Egypt, in the Coptic name *chamoul*, and has extended itself in a south-eastern direction to Hindostan, where it appears under the Sanscrit form of *kramēla*, and *kramēlaka*. The etymology of any word, though often doubtful, is nearly always interesting. There seems good reason to believe that the Semitic word *gāmāl* comes from the Arabic word *hamal*, "to bear a burden," "to carry," whence *jamal*, "a camel." Arabia seems to be the original home of the camel, and therefore, with reason, we seek for the meaning of the word in Arabic. The Accadian name of the camel is, as we mentioned in a former article, *a. abba*, or *ābba*, a word which means "the sea;" thus, with the determinative prefix denoting "an animal," we have "the animal from the sea;" a description which at first sight appears to be extremely unsuited to the camel of the arid desert, but it was a common thing for the ancient inhabitants of the Babylonian plains to designate animals according to the places whence they were obtained. The Persian Gulf would more especially be "the sea" to the Babylonians; and here, in the Accadian name of the camel, we learn the interesting fact that the Babylonians first became acquainted with this useful beast of burden in their commercial navigation of the Persian Gulf, this also pointing to Arabia as the ancient home of the camel. It ought to be mentioned that some writers derive the Sanscrit *kramēla*, not from a Semitic root, but from the Aryan *kram*, "to step." Since the above was written we have received a letter from Professor Max Müller, who, with his usual kindness and courtesy, replied to our inquiries on this point. He writes: "*Kramēla* is a late word in Sanskrit, formed in imitation of the Semitic word for camel, and artificially brought in connection with the Sk. root *kram*, 'to step.'"

The woodcut on page 317, from the black marble

obelisk, with inscriptions containing the annals and campaigns of Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 850), now in the British Museum, represents two Bactrian camels, part of a tribute of Sulha of the Zanians to the Assyrian monarch. The characters above the figures, *Sa kat sarri susi gammali* (i.e., "Which at the hand of the king, horses, camels"), refer to Sulha's tribute; those below to the tribute of Jehu to the same monarch. The first epigraph, for the translation of which we are indebted to Mr. Sayce, the Assyrian scholar, runs thus on the obelisk:—"The tribute of Sulha of the Zanians, silver, gold, lead, bowls of copper, wands of the hand of the king, horses, camels of which double [are] their backs I received it." The specific name of the two-humped camel seems to have been *parrāte 2 gāngulipi* (i.e., "oxen," or "beasts having two humps"). As this camel is a native of Bactria, and the great steppes inhabited by the Tartar tribes, it was probably only known to the Assyrians from their having received it as tribute from conquered northern nations. Besides *gammalu*, *anakāte* ("she-camels") also occurs on the monuments. Norris (*Assyrian Dict.*, p. 41) refers the word to the Chaldean *anaka*, Arabian *nuk*. *Nukat* in modern Arabic signifies "a she-camel."

Mention is first made of camels in Gen. xii. 16 among the presents which Pharaoh gave to Abraham when he was in Egypt; this shows that these animals were early known to the ancient Egyptians, although no figure of the camel has at present been met with in paintings or hieroglyphics, either in domestic scenes or in subjects relating to religion. The camels of the Egyptians suffered from the same "grievous murrain" which is said to have attacked their horses, asses, oxen, and sheep (Exod. ix. 3). The Ishmaelites carried on a traffic with the Egyptians, and used camels to carry their spices, balm, and myrrh (Gen. xxxvii. 25). The Ethiopians had "camels in abundance" (2 Chron. xiv. 15); the Midianites and the Amalekites possessed immense numbers of these animals, "as the sand of the sea-side for multitude" (Judg. vii. 12). Job had three thousand camels before his losses, and six thousand afterwards (Job i. 3; xlii. 12). We have the testimony of Aristotle to the great numbers of camels which the Bible states as belonging either to tribes or private individuals. Thus he says, "Some of those who live in the upper parts of Asia possess as many as three thousand camels" (*Hist. Anim.*, ix. 37. § 5).

Camels were most numerous in the regions east and south of Canaan, and are so to this day. "The Reubenites, in their wars with the Hagarites, the Arabs of the Western Belka, took of their camels fifty thousand (1 Chron. v. 21); and the powerful tribe of the Beni Sakhr, who now inhabit that region, boast of 100,000 camels" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 59). As a beast of burden generally, there are numerous references to the camel (see Gen. xxxvii. 25; 1 Kings x. 2; 2 Kings viii. 9); it was also used for riding. Rebekah rode on one when she met Isaac (Gen. xxiv. 61—64). Four hundred Amalekites rode on camels, and escaped destruction by David's army (1 Sam. xxx. 17); in this passage we

¹ Mr. R. S. Poole tells us that the expression "ship of the desert," now common in the West, has its origin in the mistranslation of the Arabic *markab*, a word also applied to a horse, and signifying a thing ridden on, or that carries, from *rakaba*, "he rode." It is used for a ship to denote that it is a carrier. (*Cycl. Bib. Lit.*, Ed. W. L. Alexander, s. v. "Camel.")

notice these animals were employed in war; see also Isa. xxi. 7, where, however, "a chariot of asses," "a chariot of camels," are faulty translations; the words mean either "teams of asses, and teams of camels," or perhaps, better still, "a troop of asses," "a troop of camels," as Mr. Cheyne translates the words¹ (*Isaiah Chronologically Arranged*, p. 133). The employment of camels in war is mentioned by various authors, and the monuments from Babylon and Assyria bear similar witness. When Cyrus made war against Croesus, he adopted a device which a certain Mede suggested to him. He brought together all the camels that had come in the train of his army to carry provisions and baggage, and took off their loads, and mounted riders dressed as horsemen upon them. These were to be put in the forefront of the army against Croesus' cavalry; foot-soldiers next, and horse last. Cyrus conjectured that his enemy's horses would take flight at the sight of the camels. The two armies joined battle, and the Lydian war-horses, seeing and smelling the camels, turned round and fled. The result was that, notwithstanding the bold resistance of the Lydians, who, leaping from their terrified steeds, fought hand to hand on foot with determined bravery, the Lydian army was driven within the walls of Sardis. Similarly, the Scythian cavalry turned and fled when the horses heard the loud brayings of the asses in the Persian army in the time of Darius Hystaspes, the Scythians being unacquainted with these animals (*Herod.*, iv. 129).

Some of the monuments from the ruins of Nimroud exhibit Assyrian horsemen pursuing men, probably Arabs, mounted on camels. Women also on camels are to be seen escaping from their enemies. Camels formed a valuable portion of the spoil of conquered enemies; in Assur-bani-pal's expedition against U-ai-teeh (Vaiteh), king of Arabia, who had thrown off the yoke of the Assyrian king's dominion, an innumerable number of camels was captured. "Asses, camels, and sheep, their plunder without number, I carried away," Assur-bani-pal records in the account of his victory: and in another place he says, "Camels like sheep I distributed, I caused to overflow to the people of Assyria in the midst of my country." We may form some idea of the enormous numbers of camels captured in this Arabian war from the fact that after the war those animals were sold in Nineveh for half a shekel of silver (between four and five drachms) a head. "A camel for half a shekel, in half shekels of silver they valued in front of the gate" (see Smith's *History of Assur-bani-pal*, pp. 274, 275; also a highly interesting article by the same author, on "Assyrian Annals, B.C. 681—625," in the *North British Review*, July, 1870).

The ordinary Semitic word for a camel is, as we have seen, *gāmāl*, the name of any camel, irrespective of age or breed; there is, however, another word, *beker*, or

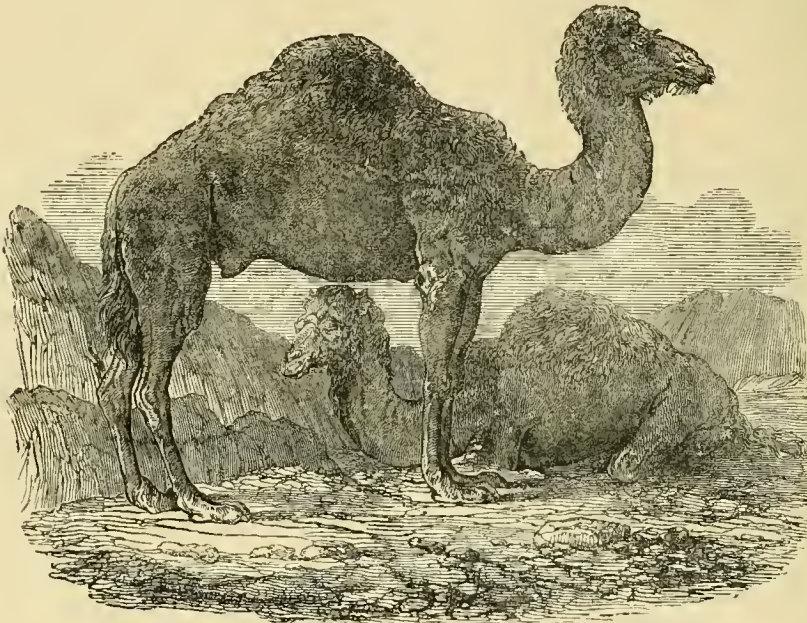
bikrah, occurring in Isa. lx. 6, "The multitude [the caravans, A. V.] of camels (*ship'ath gemallim*) shall cover thee, the young camels (*bikrei*) [dromedaries, A. V.] of Midian and Ephah;" and once again, in Jer. ii. 23, when the prophet expostulates with Israel for taking part in the idolatries of Egypt and Assyria, and exclaims, "How canst thou say, I am not polluted, I have not gone after Baalim? . . . thou art a swift young she-camel (*bikrah*) [A. V. dromedary] traversing her ways." The terms *bēker* and *bikrah* probably denote "a young male" and "a young female camel" respectively; at any rate, the apparent etymology and general meaning of the words point that way: *bākar* signifies "to be young," "to be early;" hence the Arabic *bakr* ("a young camel"), *bikr* ("a maiden"). Not, however, that the word is to be restricted to a camel's foal; it implies also a young camel fit for bearing burdens and producing: the whole context in the 2nd chapter of Jeremiah clearly refers to the wanton wickedness of the Israelites in forsaking Jehovah, and "playing the harlot upon every high hill and under every green tree" (ver. 20); and the prophet illustrates with great force and truth to nature the sins of the people by comparing them with two animals, the camel and wild ass, which at certain times are mad with desire. Mention is made in the Book of Judges (viii. 21, 26) of certain moon-shaped ornaments (*saharonim*, *μηνίσκοι*, LXX.; *lunulæ*, Vulg.) which Gideon took from the necks of the camels belonging to Zeba and Zalmunna. Modern travellers record that the practice of adorning the camel's neck is still in use. Dr. Kitto says, "The Arabs adorn the necks of their camels with a band of cloth or leather, upon which are strung small shells called cowries, in the form of half-moons;" and recently Dr. Tristram writes: "The riding camels are frequently decorated, like the horses, with fantastic trappings, and especially with cowrie-shells stitched on to the halter. These crescent-shaped ornaments are in common use to the present day, formed generally of shells on red cloth, or by the sheikhs worn made of silver, sometimes so thickly studded as to jingle at every step" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 60). These ornaments are still worn by Arabian girls, who generally have several different kinds of them; the *hilāl*, or new moon, being a symbol of increasing good fortune, and as such the most approved charm against the evil eye (see Delitzsch's *Comment. on Isaiah* iii. 18). These moon-shaped ornaments formed part of the toilet of Hebrew women, and are mentioned with ankle-clasps, head-bands (A. V. "cauls," i.e., small caps, from the Fr. *cale*), and other ornaments, by Isaiah.

The dromedary, which is merely a finer breed of Arabian camel, used when dispatch is necessary, is generally supposed to be intended by the Hebrew word *kirkārāh*, occurring only in its plural form, *kirkārōth*, in Isa. lxvi. 20: "They shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord out of all nations upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon 'swift beasts.'" It is supposed the name is derived from a root signifying "to run swiftly;" hence a

¹ In a previous article we stated that it was not the custom for any Eastern nation to yoke asses or camels in war-chariots. This statement, perhaps, requires some modification, as, according to Herodotus (viii. 83), the Indians in the Persian army provided chariots drawn by horses and asses. The Greek historian says *ὄνοι ἄγριοι*, "wild asses" (?).

"dromedary." A word of doubtful meaning, apparently in connection with two other Hebrew words, occurs in the Book of Esther (viii. 10)—viz., *achashterânîm benei hârammâkîm*, rendered in the Authorised Version "camels and young dromedaries." It seems probable that the words mean "mules, sons of mares," the "sons of mares" being merely added as explanatory; *achashterânîm* is, there is reason to believe, of Persian origin, from *astar*, "a mule," a word which Gesenius thinks the ancient Persians read as *schatar* or *khschatar*, and the Hebrews as *akhashtar*. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that there is a word of similar form, *ushtra* or *ushtri*, which in Sanskrit means "a camel." On this word Professor Max Müller writes to us: "*Ushtra* is an old word. It occurs in the Veda, but

of temperature, and cannot bear the cold of the coast. The coarser breed, or baggage camel, is not a swift animal. Dr. Tristram says, "On good ground it will keep up a pace, when laden, of three miles an hour; but its average speed, taking into consideration rough or uneven ground and hills, does not exceed two and a half miles, which is the ordinary calculation for travelling in the East. But this pace it will maintain for many consecutive hours." The same writer also tells us that the flesh of the camel, which, he says, is eaten by all Eastern nations, is coarse and dry, much inferior to beef, and that he had often dined off it when nothing better could be had; that in Syria it is less esteemed than in Arabia and Africa, and is only cooked by the poorest. By the Jews the camel was not used as food,



THE ARABIAN CAMEL, OR DROMEDARY.

its meaning there is doubtful; it may mean 'buffalo.' In later Sanskrit it certainly means 'camel.' My own opinion is that *ushtra* may be of foreign origin, possibly the Zend *ustra*, but this is problematical. I see no etymology for *ushtra* in Sanskrit, and I doubt whether the Zend *ustra* could be derived from *vaz*, Sk. *vah*, Lat. *veho*. At all events, the word has more of a Persian than a Sanskrit appearance." All this points to the Persian origin of the word; and we may safely interpret the Hebrew words to mean "mules, sons of mares." The dromedary, which in Arabia is called the *heirie*, and in the Sahara the *maharik*, is capable of going at the rate of eight or ten miles an hour for several hours together, and will even accomplish as much as 100 to 120 miles during the twenty-four hours. It is taller and longer in the leg than the other, and differs from the camel as the race-horse does from the wagon-horse. It is less endurant of change

as an animal which "did not divide the hoof" to the same extent as the ox, sheep, and goat (Lev. xi. 4). The Persians eat the flesh of the camel, and the Mohammedans are allowed to do so by the Koran. All Eastern nations, however, do not eat the flesh of the camel; the Hindoos and ancient Egyptians avoided it, so do the modern Copts, "probably," says Mr. Lane, "for no better reason than that of its being eaten by the Moslems" (*Mod. Egypt.*, p. 541, Ed. E. S. Poole). The flesh was supposed to be heating, and to create revengefulness and cruelty, the former feeling being attributed to the camel itself; indeed, some authors, as Bochart, think the etymology of the Hebrew word *gâmâl* is to be found in a root *gamal*, "to be vindictive," "to retaliate." Galen sarcastically remarks that the flesh of camels and asses is eaten by people "who, both in body and mind, are asinine and camel-like" (Kalisch, *Comm Levit.*, p. 56, Note).

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—XX.

THE PATRIARCHS:—JOSEPH (*continued*).

BY THE REV. J. P. NORRIS, M.A., CANON OF BRISTOL.

JOSEPH'S ADMINISTRATION (FOURTEEN YEARS).

THE position of Joseph under the shepherd dynasty of Phœnician Pharaohs, who, according to the view here adopted, now ruled Egypt, may be illustrated from our own history. It was as though one of the Norman kings had raised some gifted Gallican youth, an Anselm if you will, to high place in the royal court, and had made use of his persuasive influence and wisdom to introduce the feudal land system, and thereby bring the native Saxon population into dependence on the crown.

That the Pharaohs of Lower Egypt, at this epoch, were of the foreign shepherd race is most probable. No native Egyptian Pharaoh would thus have admitted a foreigner into his confidence, least of all one of the hated pastoral tribes of Palestine; for "every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians."¹ Nor would a native prince, strong in the affections of his people, have embraced Joseph's policy of making all the Egyptians serfs of the crown. But granting that the dynasty that now ruled Egypt was that of the Hyksos, or shepherd kings, of Phœnician origin, all is explained; and other striking harmonies in the sacred narrative are at once brought out, as will be seen in the life of Moses.

Adopting the views of those who seem to speak with most authority on these matters, we suppose that many of Manetho's dynasties were *cotemporary*, not *successive*; and that the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth dynasties (the two latter being of "shepherd" race) were at this time reigning side by side in different parts of Egypt. Of these by far the most powerful was the fifteenth dynasty, occupying the north-eastern corner, traversed by the eastern or Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and to this we suppose Joseph's Pharaoh to belong. The royal residence would be a city of the Delta—either the frontier fortress of Avaris, called also Tanis (the "Zoan" of Scripture), or the sacred city of Heliopolis (the "On" of Scripture), where, as we have seen, Joseph spent the earlier years of his exile.

M. Mariette's discoveries show how completely this foreign race were Egyptianised in habits and language, as happens almost always when a ruder race conquers one more civilised; according to the adage of our old Latin grammar—*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit*. But the foreign Pharaohs never won the allegiance of the native people, and hence their readiness to welcome the Hebrew settlers and give them the best of the land.

But we must return to Joseph and his statesmanlike policy, in the years of famine which God had enabled him to predict.

During the seven plenteous years Joseph seems to

have travelled as commissioner from city to city, establishing royal granaries in each, and storing therein the one-fifth of the produce which he claimed in the king's name, and in the public interest.

So superabundant were the harvests that the impost does not seem to have been felt. Though only a fifth part of the whole, the quantity was "as the sand of the sea." We know from the sculptures how carefully the Egyptian scribes registered each spring the produce of the fields. But during these years they "left numbering, for it was without number."

The seven years of plenty were succeeded, as he had foretold, by seven years of terrible famine, extending to all the neighbouring countries.

We have another record of a famine lasting for seven years in the time of Elisha (2 Kings viii. 1, 2); and another in later times, a famine of seven years which visited Egypt in the eleventh century.

Of this last we have an account by an eye-witness,² which enables us to realise the horrors of an Egyptian famine:—"Vehement drought and pestilence continued for seven consecutive years, so that the people ate corpses and animals that died of themselves; the cattle perished; a dog was sold for five *deenárs*, a cat for three *deenárs*, and an *ardebb* (five bushels) of wheat for one hundred *deenárs*, and then it failed altogether." Then instances are given of the straits to which the wretched inhabitants were driven, and of the organised bands of kidnappers who infested Cairo, and caught passengers in the streets by ropes furnished with hooks and let down from the houses.

Famines in Egypt are caused by the failure of those periodic rains of the Abyssinian highlands which swell the waters of the Blue Nile, and cause the Lower Nile to overflow and fertilise the plains of the Egyptian Delta. The rise of the water commences at midsummer, and continues for three or four months. When the water subsides they sow their corn, and reap the crop in the following spring. So it is in our day, as it was in Joseph's. And so rarely did a drought in the Levant extend to Abyssinia, that the Levantine peoples made sure of finding corn in Egypt when their own harvests failed.

This explains the concourse of foreign traders of whom we here read: "All countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn; because that the famine was so sore in all lands."

During the first year of the famine, the native Egyptians had the abundant stores of their previous harvest: "in all the land of Egypt there was bread." But they seem to have made no private provision for more than one year in advance as usual—either dis-

¹ Gen. xlv. 34.² Es-Suyootee.

believing Joseph's prediction, or tempted to part with their surplus by the high prices which it commanded.

So "when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread." It is the penalty that all despotic governments have to pay for their despotism, that in all seasons of distress the government has to bear the burden and the blame.

But for Joseph's prescient wisdom doubtless the foreign dynasty that now ruled Egypt would have succumbed under this national calamity. As it was, their power was strengthened and consolidated by it; and a new land-tenure was introduced by Joseph, which became the permanent law of the country, as Diodorus Siculus¹ and Herodotus² both testify.

Before the time of this famine every town and large village had its domain, its *ager* as a Roman would have called it, its "field" as it is termed in Genesis (xli. 48), the property of its citizens. The temples and sacred cities also had their domains, and these were assigned to the priests for their support. Other domains seem to have been assigned as a reward to meritorious soldiers. But the great majority of the domains were the property of citizens and villagers, and it was Joseph's policy to make all these last *crown-tenants* for the future. The way in which he effected this is clearly told in the 47th chapter of Genesis.

During the seven years of superabundant plenty he had confiscated in the king's name one-fifth³ of each year's produce, and stored it in granaries.⁴

From the terms in which these abundant harvests are described ("corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until they left off numbering, for it was without number"), we cannot be wrong in supposing that the yield of these seven years was four or five times as much as usual.

Suppose it was five-fold,⁵ the average yield. Then one-fifth part would be an average year's produce. And at the end of the seven years Joseph would have in his granaries enough to sustain the people at the ordinary rate of consumption during seven years of absolute barrenness.

But we need not suppose the failure of crops during the famine years to have been absolute; nor need we suppose the people to have required their full ordinary allowance; the rise in price would of course forbid it.⁶

Therefore we need not be surprised that Joseph was

able to maintain all through this period the foreign trade, on which the prosperity of the kingdom depended—checked only by the higher prices, which doubtless kept rising as the famine continued. Moreover, had this sale of corn to other nations been suspended, the special purpose of God's providence (as we shall see) could not have been fulfilled. But it is with Joseph's home-policy that we are at present concerned.

When the famine began the people came crying to Pharaoh for bread, and were referred by the king to his minister; and Joseph opened the royal store-houses and sold corn to all comers. And the famine waxed sore in the land (xli. 56). Where the narrative of Joseph's dealings with the people is resumed (xlvii. 13), some later year appears to be referred to, for it follows the arrival of Jacob, and the people's money is beginning to be exhausted.

The inspired writer is careful to tell us that Joseph himself derived no profit from his sale of corn; all the money paid for it was conveyed into Pharaoh's treasury. "And when money failed in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan"—for while there was money in Canaan it would flow into Egypt, the foreign trade being open—"all the Egyptians came unto Joseph, and said, Give us bread: for why should we die in thy presence? for the money faileth. And Joseph said, Give your cattle; and I will give you (corn) for your cattle, if money fail. And they brought their cattle unto Joseph: and Joseph gave them bread in exchange for horses, and for the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds, and for the asses: and he fed them with bread for that year" (apparently the last year but one of the famine).

"When that year was ended they came unto him the second year" (i.e., the next year), "and said unto him, We will not hide it from my lord, how that our money is spent; my lord also hath our herds of cattle; there is not ought left in the sight of my lord, but our *bodies* and our *lands*: wherefore shall we die before thine eyes, both we and our land? *Buy us and our land* for bread, and we and our land will be servants unto Pharaoh; and give us seed that we may live and not die, that the land be not desolate."

This request for *seed-corn* seems to imply that the seven years were approaching their end, and that the people had learned by bitter experience to put more faith than at the outset in Joseph's foreknowledge.

"And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh" (and with the land the people); "for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine prevailed over them: so the land became Pharaoh's. And as for the people" (now become *serfs* of the crown), "he removed them to cities from one of the borders of Egypt even to the other end thereof."

The meaning of this last verse seems to be, not that he moved people from one end of Egypt to the other, but that from one end of Egypt to the other he enforced the rule of dwelling in towns, and not upon the land. This may have been necessary for purposes of police, or it may have been necessary to the improved

¹ i. 73.

² ii. 109.

³ In the original it is "he *fished* the land," as we speak of *titling the land*.

⁴ At first sight it would appear from Gen. xli. 34—36 that Joseph confiscated a fifth, but stored the whole, of the produce. But Mr. R. S. Poole is sure that only one-fifth was stored; and Jerome's version makes plain that Jerome so understood it. Verses 36 and 56 seem to show that what was stored was not touched until the famine came.

⁵ In our Lord's parable of the sower the yield of wheat is spoken of as varying from thirty-fold to a hundred-fold, implying that sometimes it yielded only 30 per cent. of what it yielded at other times. Herodotus (i. 183) tells us that in the plain of Babylon two hundred-fold was a common yield, and sometimes three hundred-fold. Taking sixty-fold as an average yield, three hundred-fold (five times as much) would thus appear to be quite a possible increase in very plentiful years.

⁶ See Lyra and others cited in Pool's *Synopsis*.

system of agriculture which he proposed to introduce now that all the land had become crown land.

The domains of the priests were left untouched, as consecrated lands; and all through the years of famine the priests were sustained at the public expense apparently, so that they might not be constrained to sell their lands like the rest.

The result of all this was that at the close of the seven years the people and all that belonged to them were the property of the king. Egypt under its Shepherd Pharaoh was precisely in the condition England would have been in under her Norman conquerors, if we suppose the barons swept away, and no middle class left between the Norman king and the Saxon serfs, except the priests.

But Joseph was far too enlightened, and too humane, to intend to leave the whole population in a state of villenage or serfdom.

From the vantage-ground of the position in which the famine had left him he proposed to restore to the people their freedom, and restore to them their lands, only on a new tenure. They were not to have them as freeholders, but as *tenants of the crown*, paying one-fifth portion to the king as *rent* for ever.

Thus Joseph had effected two things: first, he had saved the people from starvation; and, secondly, he had consolidated the power of the Pharaohs, and secured to them an ample revenue wherewith they might effect important improvements in the agriculture of the country. For it seems that the system of artificial irrigation described upon the monuments, supplementing most beneficially the natural action of the river, dated from this epoch.

That the people thankfully accepted these changes, and fully understood that but for Joseph's measures they would have perished, is clear from their own words:—"Thou hast saved our lives: let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants." This willing acceptance of the Pharaoh as their king seems to imply a disaffection in previous years that must have been a source of continual danger to the country's peace.

All this Joseph's wisdom effected; and it had a yet further result, far more important to the world's destiny—it enabled him, under God's providence, to preserve the Chosen Family, in whose promised seed all the nations of the earth were to be blessed.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.—X.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—ST. JOHN.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

"But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with the other, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin."—1 JOHN i. 7.

THE teaching of St. John the beloved Apostle, although based upon his personal and intimate relations to the Redeemer whom his eyes had seen and his hands had handled, whose glory he had beheld, has never influenced the Church like the teaching of St. Paul. The great Gentile Apostle has found his way into the hearts and homes of all, for he grapples with men's difficulties—he discusses the great problems which puzzle and harass mankind, such as grace, predestination, free-will, bodily and spiritual temptation. These subjects form the groundwork of his most famous exhortations, of his elaborate arguments. He speaks ever, as it were, from the stand-point of a worn and harassed man. While John, less like one of us perhaps, his whole nature absorbed in the contemplation of the light of the world, grounds his arguments and his exhortations on what may be termed his conception of God.

Yet though in one sense John the "theologian" may be termed a mystic, still his teaching, when carefully examined, is no less practical than the teaching of Peter or of Paul. The hard, and often misunderstood, verse we are now going to speak of will give some insight into the tone of thought which runs like a golden thread through the writings of St. John.

The Apostle wishes to give the churches some *practical* conception of that Divine essence into the nature of which he, more than any other man, through his loving, intimate friendship with Jesus, had opportunity to gaze. Now he searches for and finds the purest, truest names for the Divine essence, which names should convey some definite idea to the mind.

These names he tells us are "Light" and "Love." God, he writes, is "light," and God is "love," and then upon his lessons in theology he grounds his lessons of life, for he goes on to say, that only if we walk in light, and continue in love, can we hope to share in the blessed fruits of the death of Christ. No Christian teacher, after all, is more practical than St. John the mystic.

The doctrine of St. John contained in the verse now under consideration teaches—

The Condition.
If we walk in the light, in which light God is—

The Result.
We enjoy communion with God and with his Church; and while enjoying this blessed communion, we are being ever purified (or cleansed) afresh from all sin and defilement by the blood of Jesus Christ.

But what are we to understand by "If we walk in the light, as he is in the light?" The expression "if we walk" includes our manner of life, all our thoughts and actions, what is termed "our conversation" (*πολίτευμα*), Phil. iii. 20 and 1 Peter ii. 12 (though in the latter

passage the Greek word is ἀναστροφή), and "the light" in which men must walk if they are to partake of the blessings of the communion of saints, and of the sanctifying power of the death of the Son of God. "The light" in which they must walk signifies a holy, though it does not necessarily mean a sinless life (else when would the necessity arise for the ever-flowing fountain of the cleansing blood of which St. John speaks?); it signifies a life true and real and earnest, hating all falsehood and sham—a life which freely confesses its faults and errors; and while confessing, bravely struggles to amend them by the aid of the grace of God. In this blessed atmosphere of truth and light undefiled God dwells. The greatest of the Hebrew prophets used almost the same imagery in his appeal to the chosen people: "O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord" (Isa. ii. 5). Light, in its glorious beauty as opposed to darkness, is chosen by John as the fittest descriptive appellation for God. He commences (ver. 5) his message with the words, "God is light," and round this declaration are grouped the various doctrinal arguments and hortatory passages of the first part of his deep and loving Epistle. Paul also speaks of light as the blessed atmosphere in which God dwells (1 Tim. vi. 15, 16): "The King of kings and Lord of lords, who only hath immortality, *dwelling in the light* which no man can approach unto." In the 104th Psalm the Lord is addressed as "*covering himself with light* as with a garment." The prophet Habakkuk writes in his vision of "his brightness *being as the light*" (Hab. iii. 4). St. John says two results will follow from this "walking in light"—one of them, "we have fellowship one with another," at first sight seems unworthy to be coupled with the other: "and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin;" and many wise and good men, to avoid this difficulty, have striven to interpret the words "fellowship one with another" (μετ' ἀλλήλων) as referring to communion or fellowship with God. So Augustine, commenting upon this passage, writes: "Let us walk in the light, as he (God) is in the light, that we may have communion with Him" (Tract. i. in Ep. Joannis). But this interpretation, which limits the fellowship of those who walk in light to communion with God only, is but half the truth. True fellowship or communion with God is necessarily a consequence of walking in the light in which God is (see vs. 3 and 5), but the passage we are now considering goes further, and unrolls before our eyes the wondrous working of this inner communion between the Eternal and his children who struggle to walk in light. The blessed fellowship, it tells us, is extended, it embraces all God's true-hearted children—all the great company who share in the benefits of the death of Christ—in a word, all the redeemed of every age and of every nation. It is a communion far more extended possibly than man with his prejudices and dim knowledge now dreams of—a communion which will one day unite in holy fellowship many a sect of earnest but narrow-minded religious

men and women, who now refuse to see anything but condemnation and exclusion from the eternal love as the future lot of all who venture to differ from themselves. How many thousand congregations are ever repeating, how few heartily accepting that article of the Belief, bright with hope and love, "*I believe in the communion of saints.*"

"And the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." This ever-flowing fountain, washing away all sin and earthly defilement contracted in the pilgrimage of life, is the glorious heritage solely of those who walk in light. It is these only that it continually purifies. The walking in light has in itself no power to wash away sin—the blood of Jesus can alone do this; but this continued washing away of sins which are being ever contracted in the journey of life, this sanctification which is ever being renewed, is the heritage alone of the saints who walk in light. Some expositors, dreading a statement even of St. John which might seem to countenance the notion of reward being in any way attached to man's own efforts after holiness, have tried to change the meaning of this great statement by translating καί, "and," as though St. John had written, γάρ, "for," and by understanding the present καθαρίζει, "cleanseth," as a perfect "hath cleansed," when the verse would run as follows: "We have fellowship one with another, *for* the blood of Jesus Christ his Son hath cleansed us from all sin." So Calovius renders it—"Sanguis enim Dei mundavit ipsos ab omni peccato." But these fears are ill-grounded, and probably rest on a misapprehension of the word καθαρίζει (cleanseth). Sanctification, the daily purification from sin, as distinct from justification, is here the question treated of, and the necessary condition of this cleansing or purification or sanctification is a continual acknowledgment on our part of our sins and errors, a continual prayer for pardon for the past, and for strength in the future. This continual acknowledgment or confession of sin, this prayer for pardon and for strength, is a characteristic of those who strive to walk in the light, and these, and these only, the blood of Jesus Christ is purifying.

St. John, in common with St. Peter and St. Paul, considers the death of Christ from two distinct points of view. From the first the Lord's death is looked upon as an offering of expiation, as an atonement for a sinning world; his blood as the ransom for a world lost and ruined through sin. This is what is meant by justification. Compare St. John, Gospel i. 29; St. John, 1 Ep. ii. 2, iii. 5, iv. 10; and St. Paul, Rom. iii. 25, v. 9, Heb. ix. 23, and following verses; St. Peter i. 18, 19, ii. 24. But in the particular passage we are now dwelling upon, St. John is viewing the death of Christ from the second point of view. The death is the victory over sin. The blood is the fountain of purification in which the justified may ever wash away their sins, and the defilement which they contract in their journey through life; for as God is light, and in him is no darkness at all, so those who would have communion with him, those who would walk in light, must constantly purify

themselves from every defilement of sin. This is what is meant by sanctification (compare Dusterdieck's Commentary on this passage). For sin is ever defiling anew with its loathsome touch even those humble and holy men of heart who may be said to be walking in light, but whose defilement is being ever washed away, not through any effort or work of theirs, but by the blood of Jesus. Lastly, we would show *how* it is that to the blood of Christ alone men must look, as the only power which can cleanse them from sin; dismissing once for all the notion that their struggles to walk in light can ever result in their purification from defilement.

The teaching of St. John may be summed up in his estimate of love. Love, he shows us, is the spring, the source of life eternal. The end and aim of our sanctification is the perfecting us in that love which he tells us is the life of heaven. Now the Lord's death for us is the perfect manifestation of the Divine love of

the Father and the Son. From this act of sublime love, which passeth man's understanding, springs up in every believer's heart the germs of that great love of which St. John tells us (compare Lücke's Commentary on 1 St. John i.). Nor is this blessed consequence issuing from the death of Christ merely the theologian's dream, for consequent upon the "death" was the sending of the Spirit upon the children of light; nor could the Spirit (the Holy Ghost) have come *before* the Lord's death (compare St. John vii. 39: "This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given; because that Jesus was not yet glorified"). Men had no share in the Spirit of Truth until that holy blood had been poured out on Calvary for them. Thus, through the death, through the blood of Christ, do those children of men who strive to walk in light possess that Spirit of Truth which will lead them in the end to all truth and light.

THE COINCIDENCES OF SCRIPTURE.—V.

ST. MATTHEW AND ST. JAMES.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE question (1.) whether the Gospel according to St. Matthew was written originally in Hebrew is one on which the opinions of scholars have been divided, and the weight of authority is, on the whole, adverse to the theory. Still more questionable is the hypothesis which would identify it with a "Gospel according to the Hebrews," which is mentioned by many early writers as occupying a prominent place in the Evangelic literature, canonical or uncanonical, of the first two centuries. So far as we can arrive at any conclusion on so obscure a subject, that book was probably composed in accordance with the views of the heretical sect known as the Ebionites, who denied that the Christ was in any real, transcendent sense the Son of God. There is, however, little or no doubt that it was, if not for Hebrews in the more limited sense of the term, as meaning those who dwelt in Palestine and spoke the Aramaic dialect, to which the term Hebrew was then applied, yet for the sons of Abraham, the stock of Israel, as such, that the Gospel which bears the name of St. Matthew was in the first instance written. Early tradition is confirmed on this point by internal evidence. The genealogy which starts from Abraham, and is carried down not in the line of actual descent, but in that of patrimonial inheritance (Matt. i.); the stress laid in the first four chapters, and elsewhere, on the special fulfilment of older prophecies; the prominence given in his report of the Sermon on the Mount to our Lord's interpretation of the law, as contrasted with that which prevailed in the Rabbinic schools (Matt. v. 17—48; xix. 3—9), and to His work as having come "not to destroy the law, but to fulfil" (v. 17);—all this

points to its having been addressed to those to whom the Law and the Prophets were objects of profoundest reverence. It stands, in this respect, in striking contrast with the Gospels that bear the names of St. Mark and St. Luke. There are no explanations of Jewish customs to Gentile readers, as in Mark vii. 3, 4; no special stress laid, as in St. Luke, on every word and act that brought out the universality of the work of Christ. It is emphatically the Gospel of the Christ as king, setting forth, as a lawgiver, the ethical foundations of his kingdom, as in the Sermon on the Mount, and the laws of its growth and government, as in the great group of parables in Matt. xiii.

2. It follows from what has been said, that the Gospel which we know as St. Matthew's was addressed primarily to the same class of readers as the Epistle of St. James. That Epistle begins with wide words of greeting to "the twelve tribes that are scattered abroad"—the Jews of the dispersion, as they were called, and to them only. It is the only epistle which has such a narrowed scope. Those of St. Peter are indeed addressed also "to the strangers scattered"—the sojourners of the dispersion—"throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia," and he, as the Apostle of the Circumcision, would, of course, think first of those who were his especial charge; but those churches had, for the most part, been founded by St. Paul, and contained a large element of Gentile converts; and the presence of those converts is implied in the reference to the "revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries" (1 Pet. iv. 3), from which they had been delivered on their conversion to the faith of Christ. In the Epistle of St. James, however, there

is no such expansion. It was written for Jewish Christians only. The term *synagogue* ("assembly" in the Authorised Version) is used instead of *ecclesia* ("church") for the gathering of the company of believers (St. James ii. 2). The sins that are condemned are those which were specially characteristic of the Jews—bitterness of speech (iii. 1—14), greed of gain (iv. 13—17; v. 1—6), respect of persons (ii. 1—9). Even the faith of which he speaks as dead and barren, and which therefore from his point of view cannot justify, is primarily not specific, definite faith in Jesus as the Christ, but the acceptance of the monotheistic dogma which made up the creed of popular Judaism ("Thou believest that there is one God," ii. 19), the confession of which, as in the words of Deut. vi. 4, was looked upon as sufficient to ensure the salvation of any son of Abraham. And St. James, who was, we must remember, especially and exclusively, if not the Apostle, yet the Bishop of the Church of the Circumcision, seems never to have left Jerusalem, and was looked up to by those who continued to be Pharisees and zealots for the Law, even after they had become disciples (Acts xv. 5; xxi. 20). With or without his authority, his was the name they used when they wanted to narrow the freedom of the Gospel, and counteract the wider teaching of St. Paul (Gal. ii. 12). For many long years he was honoured by the whole multitude, even by the priests and scribes, of Jerusalem. They admired the Nazarite, Rechabite austerity of his life, his unceasing devotion, as seen in constant attendance at the Temple services. He came to be known even among them as "James the Just" (Hegesippus, quoted by Eusebius, *H. E.*, ii. 23). There would be an antecedent probability that an epistle written by such a teacher to his brethren of the seed of Abraham would present some points of correspondence with the Gospel which was designed primarily for the same class of readers.

3. The circumstances of the lives of the two writers must also, we may remember, have brought them into contact with each other. Of the first three Evangelists, whom we have learned to speak of as the Synoptists, from their giving a synopsis, or survey, of our Lord's ministry as a whole, he is the only one with whom St. James could have had much personal knowledge. The publican Levi, who sat at the receipt of custom near the shore of the lake at Capernaum, must have been a familiar form to the "brethren of the Lord," who seem, during part of our Lord's ministry, to have resided in, or to have been frequent visitors in, that city (St. Matt. xii. 46; Mark iii. 31). If with some early writers (Papias, Clement of Alexandria, Chrysostom), and some modern scholars (in particular Mr. F. Meyrick, in an elaborate article under "James," in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*), we were to identify the writer of the Epistle, the brother of the Lord, with the Apostle James, the son of Alphæus, we might lay stress on the fact that the two names appear in close juxtaposition in the list of the Apostles in Acts i. 13. The point is, indeed, too doubtful to be insisted on, but in

any case the brethren of the Lord, among whom James must from the first have been pre-eminent, were present with the company of the Twelve at that first gathering of the disciples after the Ascension, and in proportion as the one gave himself to the task of collecting and recording all that seemed essential of the words and acts of the Lord Jesus, for the use of the Church of the Circumcision, and the other assumed more and more definitely the position of the chief pastor of that Church, must they have been thrown together with common interests and with like thoughts. The new faith, of which both were preachers, would present itself, we might expect, under the same aspect to those who looked at it as from the same point of view.

4. Even a superficial comparison of the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Epistle of St. James brings to view some very striking instances of this resemblance. In no part of the New Testament is there so direct and obvious a reproduction of the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount as in the letter of the bishop of Jerusalem. If in the one we read the command, "Judge not that ye be not judged" (Matt. vii. 1), the other expands and enforces the precept: "Speak not evil one of another, brethren. He that speaketh evil of his brother, and judgeth his brother, speaketh evil of the law, and judgeth the law" (James iv. 11). If the one gives as a counsel of perfection, "Take therefore no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself" (Matt. vi. 34), the other is not less emphatic in its warnings, "Go to now, ye that say, To-day or to-morrow we will go into such a city, and continue there a year, and buy and sell, and get gain: whereas ye know not what shall be on the morrow" (James iv. 13, 14). If the one rebukes the casuistry that prevailed among the Rabbinic schools as to the use of oaths with the wide command, "I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; neither by the earth, for it is his footstool" (Matt. v. 34), the other with a like solemnity utters its protest against the prevailing evil, "Above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any other oath," and reproduces in almost identical words the command, "Let your communication be, Yea, yea; Nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil" (Matt. v. 37; James v. 12). So in like manner the warning against a divided, half-hearted service, "No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon" (Matt. vi. 24), has its unmistakable counterpart in St. James's warning, "A double-minded man is unstable in all his ways. . . The friendship of the world is enmity with God" (James i. 8; iv. 4).

5. These are the more striking instances, but a closer study will bring many more to light, to the full as interesting and suggestive.

(a) I note the recurrence in the Epistle of what one may call the formula of *teaching by beatitudes*, of which the Sermon on the Mount presents so striking

an example. "*Blessed* is the man that endureth temptation" (James i. 12). "Whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be *blessed* in his deed" (i. 25). And yet again, in a passage where the use of the word "happy" in the Authorised Version weakens the force of the teaching: "Behold, we count them *blessed* that endure" (v. 11).

(b) Our Lord's words pointing to the perishableness of all earthly riches, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt" (Matt. vi. 19), seem to have been fresh in the memory of the writer of the Epistle when he wrote, "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come on you. Your riches are corrupted [literally, 'decayed'], and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you" (James v. 1—3).

(c) We may well believe that the words, "Hath not God chosen the poor of this world rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom" (James ii. 5), could only have been written by one who had heard or read the beatitude, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. v. 3), connected as that beatitude doubtless was in the minds of men with the other report of it, which we find in Luke vi. 20, and in which the blessing is declared to attach to those who are "poor" in the strictest and most literal sense.

(d) The stress laid by St. James on the right government of the tongue (i. 26), on the terrible evils which flow from its unrestrained licence (iii. 1—14), while it is characteristic of the devout, subdued, recollective temper in all ages, has yet many points of unmistakable affinity with our Lord's words, "Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned" (Matt. xii. 36, 37).

(e) We may note again the almost verbal agreement of our Lord's words in Matt. x. 28, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell," with those of St. James (iv. 12), "There is one lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy."

(f) The prominence given in our Lord's teaching to the record of the two great commandments, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour" (Matt. xix. 19; xxii. 39), as one of those on which hang all the Law and the Prophets, is, of course, a feature common to all the Synoptic Gospels; but it may be noticed that when St. James cites that commandment, it is with an epithet which specially marks it as a law given by the great King, intended to secure the true freedom of the children of the kingdom (comp. Matt. xvii. 26, "Then are the children free"). With him it is at once "the royal," the kingly law, "the perfect law of liberty" (ii. 8; i. 25).

(g) The special attribute of God as the Father of all mankind, the Giver of all good gifts, is brought

before us in both Gospel and Epistle as by those to whom it was the stay and comfort of their lives. "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father in heaven give good things to them that ask Him?" (Matt. vii. 11.) "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights" (James i. 17).

(h) St. James's solemn warning against a hollow profession of faith, hearing and not doing—"Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves" (i. 22)—presents a striking parallel to the yet more authoritative announcement, "Every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand" (Matt. vii. 26).

(i) The necessity of faith as the condition of acceptable and effective prayer is stated by St. James, "Let him ask in faith, nothing wavering" (i. 6), as one who had entered into our Lord's teaching, "All things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive" (Matt. xxi. 22).

6. These examples are enough to show that the two books which form the subject of the present paper, stood in very close connection with each other; that their writers lived as in the same atmosphere of thought, saw the same phase of truth, lived on the same memories of a higher teaching than their own, and addressed themselves mainly to the same class of readers. They will have helped to prove, in conjunction with the papers that have preceded this, that each of the four Gospels from which we learn all that can be learnt as to the life and teaching of the Son of man, bore upon it, more or less plainly, the stamp of local and individual feeling; that each was also connected with one or more of the great sections into which the Apostolic Church was divided, and of the great teachers by whom they were severally represented. It may seem, at first, that we lose something of the absolute certainty of our faith, by thus tracing, on so wide a scale, the intermixture of a human element. That loss, however (if it were right to consider the question of loss or gain at all, when we are simply called on to give a verdict according to the evidence, and say what seems to us absolutely true, or most like the truth), is more than counterbalanced by the new life and interest which are given to the books of the New Testament by this mode of study. It is something to feel that they too were written by men of like passions with ourselves, influenced by associations, determined as to their subject-matters and form by the antecedent circumstances of their lives. We have to grasp the law of unity in variety, one truth seen under many aspects, which has in all ages marked the successive revelations of the Eternal, who having "in sundry times and divers manners spoken in times past unto the fathers hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son," and has permitted that last crowning revelation to be recorded through the same human instrumentality, and with the same manifold diversity.

THE PERFUMES OF THE BIBLE.—II.

BY GEORGE C. M. BIRDWOOD, M.A. EDIN., INDIA MUSEUM.

FRANKINCENSE.

FRANKINCENSE, in Hebrew *lebonah*, in Arabic *luban*, in Greek *λίβανος*, and in modern commerce *olibanum*. There can be no possible doubt of the identity of *olibanum*, or frankincense, with the *lebonah* of the Jews,

reason that frankincense is the type and crown of all incense, it will be treated of at greater length than any other of the precious perfumes hereinbefore or after named.

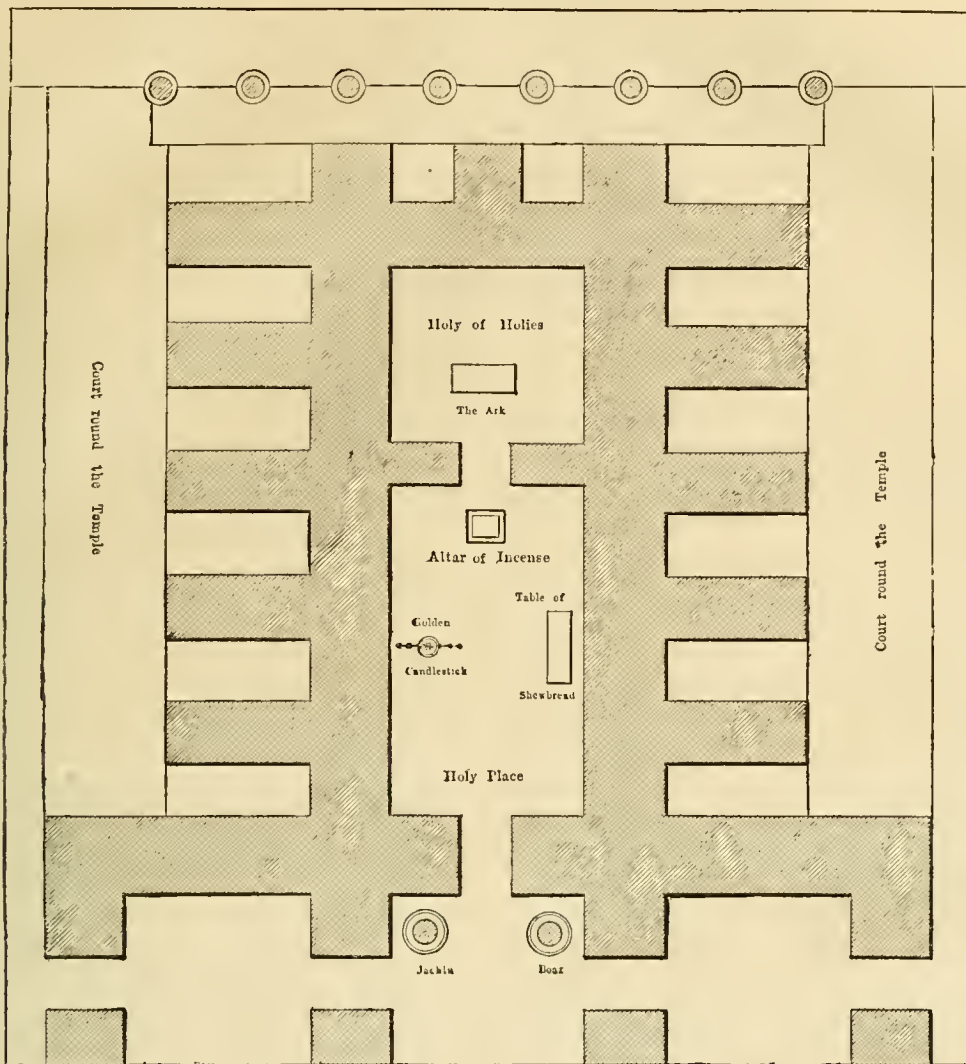
The offering of incense on altars and in cups and closed censers is represented in painting and sculpture



GATHERING FRANKINCENSE IN ARABIA (FROM A PLATE IN THEYET'S "LA COSMOGRAPHIE UNIVERSELLE," PARIS, 1575).

and *λίβανος* of the Greeks; and in a paper of mine, "On the Genus *Boswellia*, with Descriptions and Figures of Three new Species," communicated to the Linnean Society in 1869, by Mr. Daniel Hanbury, F.R.S., and published in vol. xxvii. of the Society's *Transactions*, I have, I believe, at last settled the controversy which has gone on for ages concerning frankincense—whether Arabia produced it, or India, or the Lebanon, and whether a fir-tree, or what other tree. This article, therefore, will be abstracted from the Society's paper, and for the

on the monuments of Egypt and Assyria; but although incense as a rule implies frankincense, and these representations might, with more or less plausibility, be interpreted by the Jewish ritual, in strictness they merely record the contemporaneous use of incense. We are expressly told by Herodotus that frankincense was excluded from the balsamic substances used in the preparation of the mummies of the Egyptians; but although this was probably from its being sacred to the service of their gods, still the first undoubted record of the use



PLAN OF TEMPLE, SHOWING SITUATION OF ALTAR OF INCENSE.

of frankincense, and the first mention of it (as yet known), is in the Bible.

"Stacte and onycha, and galbanum, with pure frankincense," were the "sweet spices" of which the "pure and holy perfume," or "confection," of divine prescription was made "after the art of the apothecary," which was offered every morning and evening on the "altar of incense," or "golden altar," set in the "holy place," between the "golden candlestick" and the "table of shewbread," before the "holy of holies" (Exod. xxx. 34—36). The priest took a censer "full of burning coals of fire" from off "the altar of burnt-offering," or "brazen altar," and his "hands full of the sweet incense beaten small," and entered the "holy place" from the "court of the tabernacle," and emptied his censer upon the golden altar, and "put the incense upon the fire before the Lord, that the cloud of incense may

cover the mercy-seat" (Lev. xvi. 12, 13). It was death for the priests to make the sacred incense for themselves, even "to smell thereto" (Exod. xxx. 37, 38), or for any one but the priests, "the seed of Aaron," to offer it (Numb. iii. 10; xvi.; 2 Chron. xxvi. 16—21), or to burn "strange incense" upon the golden altar (Exod. xxx. 9; Lev. x. 1—7; Numb. iii. 4; xxvi. 61). Neither was it lawful to offer burnt sacrifice, or meat-offering, or to pour drink-offering thereon (Exod. xxx. 9); but the blood of the sin-offering of atonement was once in every year sprinkled upon the horns thereof (Exod. xxx. 10; Lev. iv. 7). "Pure frankincense" was put on each of the two rows in which the twelve baked cakes of fine flour were set on the table of shewbread (Lev. xxiv. 7); it was also put upon the meat-offering (Lev. ii. 1, 2, 15, 16; vi. 15), and was expressly prohibited to be put upon the sin offering of fine flour, "for it is a sin-offering"

(Lev. v. 11), or on "the offering of jealousy" of barley-meal, "for it is an offering . . . bringing iniquity to remembrance" (Numb. v. 15). And in the service of the sanctuary certain Levites were appointed to oversee "the frankincense and the spices" (1 Chron. ix. 29), which were laid in "a great chamber" "of the house of God" (Neh. xiii. 5, 9).

Frankincense is often named in the poetical books of the Old Testament. "Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all powders of the merchant" (Song of Songs iii. 6)—an image which those only can fully appreciate who themselves have been

"Where, through the sand of morning land,
The camel bears the spice."

"A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed. Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits; camphire (*henna*), with spikenard, spikenard and saffron; calamus (*Roosa teste*, Royle) and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense; myrrh and aloes (aloes-wood), with all the chief spices: a fountain of gardens, a well of living waters, and streams from Lebanon" (Song of Songs iv. 12—15). "I have not caused thee to serve with an offering, nor wearied thee with incense (*lebonah*, i.e. frankincense). Thou hast brought me no sweet cane (*Roosa teste*, Royle) with money" (Isa. xliii. 23, 24). "The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; all they from Sheba shall come; they shall bring gold and incense (*lebonah*, frankincense)" (Isa. lx. 6). "He that offereth an oblation is as if he offered swine's blood; he that burneth incense (*lebonah*, frankincense) as if he blessed an idol" (Isa. lxvi. 3). "To what purpose cometh there to me incense (*lebonah*, frankincense) from Sheba, and the sweet-cane (*Roosa teste*, Royle) from a far country?" (Jer. vi. 20). "And they shall come from the cities, and from the plain, and from the mountains, and from the south [that is, Arabia; see Matt. xii. 42, and compare Gen. xxv. 6 with Matt. ii. 1], bringing burnt-offerings, and sacrifices, and meat-offerings, and incense (*lebonah*, frankincense), and bringing sacrifices of praise, into the house of the Lord" (Jer. xvii. 26). These passages emphatically derive frankincense from Sheba.

"See a long race thy spacious courts adorn,
See future sons and daughters yet unborn,
In crowding ranks on every side arise,
Demanding life—impatient for the skies!
See barbarous nations at thy gates attend,
Walk in thy light, and in thy temple bend!
See thy bright altars throng'd with prostrate kings,
And heaped with products of Sabeen springs!
For thee Idume's spicy forests blow,
And seeds of gold in Ophir's mountains glow!"

The Hebrew words for incense are quite different from the Hebrew word (*lebonah*) for frankincense. These words for incense are *miktar*, *kitter*, and *keturoth*, but in most of the passages in which they are found frankincense may be understood as necessarily a constituent of the sacred incense of the Jewish ritual. Kitto says that these words for incense (*miktar*, *kitter*, and *keturoth*) all signify to raise an odour by burning, and are

applied not only to the offering of incense, but of sacrifices, and he points out that the word which denotes the incense of sweet spices, in Exod. xxx. 1—"And thou shalt make an altar to burn incense upon: of shittim wood shalt thou make it"—describes an incense of fat in Ps. lxi. 15: "I will offer unto thee burnt sacrifices of fatlings, with the incense of rams; I will offer bullocks with goats." But the word may be used to give poetic expression to the passage, as the thing itself was used to give a sweet savour to the burnt sacrifices. In 1 Chron. vi. 49 the word for incense is also used, according to Calmet, for the fat of victims offered on the altar of burnt-offerings, but here, it may be supposed, without poetical licence. Gradually, as the spiritual discernment of the Jews grew into light and life, the offering of incense sublimed itself away in prayer, as indicated in the figurative language of David, in Ps. cxli. 2—"Let my prayer be set before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice." And the same figure is used in the magnificent imagery of the Apocalypse:—"And the four-and-twenty elders . . . having every one of them harps and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints" (Rev. v. 8). "And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand" (Rev. viii. 3, 4).

The Jews buried their dead, the burning of the bodies of Saul and his sons (1 Sam. xxxi. 12, 13) being quite exceptional; but still they largely used unguents and spices, possibly including frankincense in their sepulchral rites. The dead body was anointed with spikenard (John xii. 3, 7), and they "wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury" (John xix. 39, 40). And of the burial of Asa it is written, "And they buried him in his own sepulchres, which he had made for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which was filled with sweet odours and divers kinds prepared by the apothecaries' art: and they made a very great burning for him."¹ The account in the *Iliad* of the burning of the dead body of Patroclus, by substituting the presentation of cows to Brahmins for the sacrifice of horses at the pyre, and milk for wine to quench its embers, would serve to describe the funeral rites of a wealthy high-caste Hindoo of Bombay, in which frankincense, with all manner of balsamic substances and fragrant woods and oils, is largely used; and we know that in the burning of the dead the Greeks, like the Romans, used frankincense extravagantly; but yet frankincense is not anywhere named in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, and it is said that it was unknown to the Greeks at the time when they were first sung.²

But from about 400 B.C., and probably as the result of the opening of the Egyptian ports by Psammetichus,

¹ 2 Chron. xvi. 14. Pet. Cunæus, *De Repub. Hebræorum*, Leyden, 1631.

² Crusius, *Homeric Lexicon*, trans. Smith; ed. Arnold.

B.C. 670, and the destruction of Tyre, B.C. 573—most important dates in the history of Eastern products—frankincense is commonly and unceasingly mentioned by classical writers. Herodotus (B.C. 484) mentions it frequently,¹ and that Arabia is the only country which produces it; and all that he says of it is peculiarly significant and valuable. Theophrastus (B.C. 394—287) gives (Paris edition of Didot, pp. 143—145) the fullest and most accurate account of its natural history of all writers, and he very precisely limits the region of its production to a narrow strip of the south coast of Arabia or Hadramaut. Agatharchides (B.C. 200) mentions it as a product of Arabia. Pliny (A.D. 23—79) says that no country produces it but Arabia;² and Ptolemy places the thuriferous or Libanophorus region (*Geographia Ptolemæi*; Basilæ, 1542; and *Orbis Antiquitat. Geograph. secundum Ptolemæum*; Amstelodami, 1730) between Makalla and Muscat, placing the Smyrnophorus to its west, behind Makalla. Diodorus³ (B.C. 50), Strabo⁴ (B.C. 54 to A.D. 24), and Arrian⁵ (about A.D. 90) say that it is produced both in Southern Arabia and in the parts of Africa opposite—the Soumali country. Dioscorides⁶ (first century after Christ), who describes drugs merely apart from their natural history, says that frankincense is produced in that part of Arabia called Libanophorus, but goes on to say that there is also an Indian kind—the source of all the controversy as to the true habitat of frankincense; for all the great Arabian writers mislead themselves by this statement of Dioscorides, so much in those days did men set up the authority of a book, themselves misinterpreted, against observation and reason.

The casual notices of the Latin poets and historians of the empire are very valuable in the present argument. The most pertinent of them are quoted by Stuckius in his *Sacrorum Sacrificiorumque Gentilium Descriptio*, and in the *Hierobotanicon* of Celsius. In the case of some of the Latin poets—Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Martial, and Statius—the word for frankincense (*thus*) is always catching the eye on the look-out for it. It occurs frequently in Tibullus, Claudian, and Apuleius, once or twice in Plautus, Juvenal, and Lucretius, once in Persius, and nowhere, so far as I have searched, in Terence. The single quotations, from Ausonius and Florus, which name the Lebanon as the habitat of the frankincense-tree, are quite hackneyed. It is continually occurring in the Christian Latin poet Prudentius, whom I have never found quoted on the subject. This mass of quotations is direct evidence of the universal use of frankincense throughout the ancient world in the worship of the gods, and of the complete communion of the nations under Rome—such a community as steam and electricity are now once again bringing about for the

whole habitable world, and which, since the decline of Rome's empire, has survived alone in the spiritual dominion of the Roman Catholic Church. These passages, taken together, prove the universal trade of the nations of antiquity for centuries in frankincense. In the way of this trade, however much its monopolists may have desired to make a mystery about it, the country from which it was produced must have become known to thousands of persons; and therefore great weight is to be given to the universal consent which these passages prove, that frankincense was procured from "Arabia," "the Arabians," "Sabæa," and "the Sabæans," "Panchaia."

"I know where the Isles of Perfume are—
Many a fathom down in the sea,
To the south of sun-bright Araby!"

As, however, in ancient times the whole commerce of the East and West was for centuries poured into and exchanged in the coast-cities of Arabia—a trade so rich and rare, and which so charmed the imaginations of men, that some of the sublimest allusions of the Hebrew prophets are derived from it, and its fame "vibrates in the memory yet" of all the countries of the Mediterranean and Arabian Seas—many products of countries further east than Arabia may have been, and indeed were, received in the countries of the Mediterranean basin as products of Arabia; but as to frankincense, it is only necessary to reply here that it is always mentioned as a foreign production in ancient Hindoo books, and that to this day the people in the bazaars of Western India tell you that it comes from Arabia, and that not so much, I believe, because it is simply a fact of their present dealings with Arabia, but because of the wide tradition of the ancient commerce of the Sabæans which still lingers in the East.

The high honour in which the offering of frankincense was held is shown by its being named as one of the three gifts of "the wise men from the East" (Matt. ii. 11), the significance of which is well illustrated by the passages in Claudian and Prudentius, to which I have above alluded.⁷ In the Revelation (xviii. 11—13) we have another confirmation of the importance of the trade in it, whenever that book was written: "And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her (Babylon); for no man buyeth their merchandise any more: the merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men."

Coming to a later time, Avicenna, Serapion, Edresi, Abulfeda, and Ibn Baluta all agree that frankincense is produced in the Hadramaut, behind Merbat and Sheba.⁸ Serapion and Avicenna, misleading themselves

¹ Schweighæuser's *Lexicon Herodoteum*; and see *Clio*, 183; *Euterpe* 8 and 96; *Thalia*, 97 and 107; and *Melpomene*, 75; Rawlinson's trans.

² Book xii., chap. 14, Holland trans.

³ Book v., chap. iiii.

⁴ Book xvi., chap. iv.; Bohn's trans.

⁵ Vincent's trans. *Periplus, or Voyage of Nearchus*. Oxford, 1809.

⁶ *Διοσκορίδης*, *Euterpe* Marcelle Vergilio, Colonia, 1529; et ex nova interpretatione J. A. Sarraconi. Lugdunæ, 1598.

⁷ *Miracula Christi*; *Passio Eulaliæ*. P. S. Vincentii: "Magorum muera."

⁸ Bechart, *Geographia Sacra*. Traj. ad Rhenum, 1674; Lugd. Bat., 1692, lib. ii., ch. 18.

by Dioscorides, say that it is produced in India also.¹ Abulfeda says that frankincense is found nowhere else but in Yemen. Ibn Baluta would appear to have seen the very tree at Hafek, or Hasek.² Marco Polo, writing of Escier (Sheher), says that the frankincense here distils from a certain small tree that resembles a fir.³ Thevet, in his celebrated *Cosmographie Universelle* (Paris, 1575), in describing the country about Peeher (Shelher) and Fartack, cities of Aden, says that the frankincense-tree resembles the firs. He figures a true *Boswellia*, however; but in the background, it is most important to observe, are clumps of firs, not sketched on the spot, of

¹ Bochart, loc. cit.; Garcia ab Horto, *Aromat. et Simp. Hist.*, Ant. 1579; lib. i., ch. 6.

² *Travels*, trans. by Lee.

³ *Travels*, Bohn's trans., book iii., ch. xl.

course, like the *Boswellia*, but put in on the authority of Marco Polo and the hackneyed quotations from Ausonius and Florus. Hence evidently the origin of the obstinate error that the frankincense-tree is a fir.

Garcia ab Horto⁴ for a time exploded the error that India produced frankincense, and in his figure of the tree copies Thevet's without the background of firs. Gerard, in his *Herbal* (London, 1597), merely copies Garcia. Clusius (*Exoticarum*, 1605) merely notes on Garcia ab Horto the invention by Gerard, in his translation of Avicenna (Venice, 1490), of the synonym "olibanum" for frankincense. But in fact this synonym is used so early as 1033, by Pope Benedict IX.⁵

⁴ *Aromatum et Simplicium Historia*, Ant. 1579, loc. supra cit.

⁵ In a bull, quoted by Du Cange, "Glossarium Manuale Scrip. Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis." Halle, 1778.

THE INSPIRATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.—IV.

BY THE REV. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., MASTER OF MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE QUEEN.

BUT, further (14), it is a consideration which we should ponder with the deepest care and reverence, for it was stated and revealed by Christ that the constitutions of the Mosaic law were in themselves imperfect; that the morality which they sanctioned was guided by a spirit of gracious accommodation to the needs and shortcomings of a stiff-necked race.¹ If, as our Saviour taught in the Sermon on the Mount, even that law which was delivered to Moses on Sinai, and of which the immediate and absolute inspiration is more thoroughly and distinctly attested than that of any other portion of the Old Testament, was yet designedly suffered to be weakened by human imperfections, it is more than obvious that we have the highest sanction for admitting the possibility of the same and similar imperfections in other parts of the sacred record. Looking at the Old Testament as a whole, we find ample proofs that it records a revelation of God to man such as is not accorded by any other literature; but when we find also that it did not formally condemn polygamy and slavery—that it records with no apparent condemnation, at times even with a semblance of approbation, acts of national cruelty, of individual treachery, of indiscriminate extirpation, which the principles of Christ's Gospel teach us to repudiate—when we see in it no *specific* revelation of Christ's redemption, of universal charity, of an immortality beyond the grave—we are surely driven to the conclusion that, as a whole, it stands on a lower and more imperfect level than that to which Christ's Gospel has lifted us, and that, apart from its relativity, we are not warranted in accepting its every word and narrative as infallibly and in the same degree Divine.

¹ Cf. Matt. v. 43; xix. 8; Mark x. 5; 2 Cor. iii. 6; Gal. iii. 13—19; Acts xv. 10. In this last passage one of the most essential ordinances of the Mosaic law is referred to as forming part of "a yoke which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear." St. Paul also calls it a "yoke of bondage" (Gal. v. 1), and "weak and beggarly elements" (iv. 9).

15. Turning from the phenomena of the structure of Holy Scripture to the facts of its preservation, and regarding such facts as in themselves significant indications of what God would have us to believe, we shall find that many circumstances tend to confirm the general conclusions to which it is evident that our previous inquiries tend.

a. The Scriptures are not written in any universal language. Even if they were, all language is inadequate to the full expression of the human mind; it is at best but an asymptote to thought. But much more is it certain, that although the Bible admits of translation far better than any other book, yet when its thoughts are transferred from one language to another, much of their beauty and delicacy may be lost, something of their meaning and accuracy must be evaporated, in the process. The translator of *Ecclesiasticus* apologises for seeming to come short of some words which he had laboured to interpret, for, he wisely adds, "the same things uttered in Hebrew, and translated into another tongue, have not the same force in them."² Yet it is from translations alone that the Word of God can be known to all but an insignificant fraction of the human race.

β. Nor is it from translations only, but from translations which, as a matter of fact, are often exceedingly imperfect. That this was the case with the LXX. we have already seen; it was even more so with the *Vetus Italica* so universally used in the Western Church; it is so with the Vulgate; it is so with every version, ancient or modern, which has been made during the course of 2,000 years, not excluding our own. Most of those who believe the Holy Scriptures to be infallibly dictated attach their reverence to the words of their English Bible, which, great as it is, and admirable, and well de-

² He adds, "And not only these things, but the law itself, and the prophets, and the rest of the books, have no small difference, when they are spoken in their own language." (*Prologue to Ecclesiasticus*.)

serving of our reverence, is yet, in many instances, seriously imperfect. Had it been the fact, that the original was free from every, even the most unimportant, error, or had it been of any importance to mankind that such should be the case, would its translation have thus been left to the inevitable errors of the uninspired intelligence, or its original text to the inevitable imperfections of human care?

γ. For even the original text is by no means assured to us. That errors have crept into the numbers of the Old Testament has long been evident, and is admitted by the Jews themselves. Both in the Hebrew and in the Greek manuscripts, none of which are autographs—nay, the very oldest of which are centuries younger than the original ones—there are thousands of various readings, which, although for the most part of the most trivial and insignificant description, and although they by no means affect the general sense and tenor of the revelation delivered, are yet sometimes of extreme interest and importance. It is certain that many glosses have crept into the text.¹ There are even passages, now acknowledged to be spurious,² which have yet been accepted for centuries as integral portions, even as peculiarly sacred portions, of the inspired books. Is not this sufficient to show that what was really important was the Divine message and revelation, not the form in which it was delivered—the sacred treasure, not the vessel in which it was conveyed?

16. We have thus surveyed with a rapid glance the broad and obvious phenomena of Scripture, and it might be supposed that there was nothing further which could guide us in our conclusion. But Scripture is not God's only revelation to mankind; on the contrary, it is one of the priceless blessings which Scripture bestows upon our race that it both refers us to other sources of revelation and alone teaches us to interpret them. "In the deepest meaning of the essential and only truth," says Stier, "all things in the world are only variously embodied words of the Creator, inasmuch as by His mighty word alone they are upheld in being: hence the same words in Scripture signify both 'word' and 'thing.'" "God does not," says Luther, "speak grammatical vocables, but true essential things. Thus sun and moon, Peter and Paul, thou and I are nothing but words of God."

α. For instance, God is revealed to us in HISTORY. With God facts are lessons. Amid the wildest tumults of national confusion His voice is heard. Amid the most intricate perplexities of human designs His hand guides the crashing wheelwork of human destiny. His Spirit is in the wheels, and unless the Spirit moves, the wheels move not. No man can study the history of any nation without hearing a great voice rolling across

the centuries which proclaims a law older and more majestic than any human legislation. Such psalms as the 105th, the 106th, the 135th, the 136th, and indeed many others, are all but comments on that one Divine truth which is the only real philosophy of history, that "He is the Lord our God, His judgments are in all the earth." They are, in fact, interpretations of Jewish history, which reveal to us the eternal principles by which all history may be judged and understood.

β. Again, Scripture constantly refers us to NATURE, by which word we mean no mysterious entity endowed by the imagination with independent power, but solely the sum total of those laws which God has impressed upon, and whereby He governs, the material universe. "Duo sunt," says St. Augustine, "quæ in cognitionem Dei ducunt Creatio et Scriptura." Here again such glorious psalms as the 19th and the 104th, together with the whole concluding section of the Book of Job, lead us to see in nature God's revelation of his omnipotence, his unchangeableness, his infinite majesty, the awfulness of his judgments, and the tenderness of his love. We are distinctly taught, indeed, that this was the main, and, for the essentials of man's eternal safety, the adequate revelation of God to the heathen world. It was hereby that "He left not himself without witness, in that He did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness."³ It was herein that "they could seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him, though He be not far from every one of us; for in Him we live, and move, and have our being."⁴ It was herewith that God made manifest to them what may be known of Him, "for the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead."⁵

γ. Once more, God makes himself known by inward intuition, and above all by the voice of CONSCIENCE to the mind of man. This is clearly and emphatically stated by the sacred writers in all ages. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding."⁶ "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord."⁷ This, too, is referred to by St. Paul as a direct source of inspiration. "For," he says, "when the Gentiles, who have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness."⁸

The fact, then, that Scripture recognises apart from itself three great and separate sources of revelation—the fact that it recognises a Divine light in the spirit of man, and a Divine providence in his history—may serve to account for the otherwise perplexing phenomena of pagan wisdom. It has been often urged as a sneer by sceptical writers, that there is scarcely a single moral truth or precept of Christianity which may not be paralleled from pagan writers. This is undoubtedly

¹ These glosses, it is true, are mostly of a merely exegetical character, but this does not affect the position here maintained. Though, says Bishop Wordsworth (on 2 Cor. iii. 3), "the theory of explanatory interpolations of marginal glosses into the text of the N. T. has been sometimes carried too far, yet probably this has been the most fertile source of error in some MSS. of the sacred volume."

² e.g. Matt. vi. 13; Acts viii. 37; 1 John v. 7. Many would add Mark xvi. 9–20; John v. 3, 4 (from ἐκδοθέντων); viii. 1–11.

³ Acts xiv. 17.

⁴ Acts xvii. 27, 28.

⁵ Rom. i. 19, 20.

⁶ Job xxxii. 8. ⁷ Prov. xx. 27. ⁸ Rom. ii. 14, 15; 2 Cor. i. 12.

true, but so far from involving any discredit to the grandeur and sufficiency of Scripture, it is exactly what Scripture has taught us to expect, and we should rejoice with all our hearts to know that the Divine glory, which has shone like the noonday in our present dispensation, shot many a gleam of enlightenment upon heathen countries and ancient times. Nature, and History, and Conscience were to the heathen "oracles of God;" they suggested thoughts

"At which high spirits of old would start
Even from their pagan sleep.

"Just guessing thro' their murky blind,
Few, faint, and baffling sight,
Streaks of a brighter heaven behind,
A cloudless depth of light,

"Such thoughts, the wreck of Paradise,
Through many a dreary age,
Uphore whate'er of good and wise
Yet lived in bard or sage."¹

But is not the revelation given us by Nature, Conscience, and History exactly *analogous* to the fuller, freer, deeper revelation which we obtain from Scripture? It is not vouchsafed to us by miraculous interventions, but by natural processes; it is not portentous, but normal; it is not absolute, but partial; it is not final, but progressive; it is not perfectly intelligible, but in parts obscure. It comes not in one continuous blaze of brightness, but in scattered gleams of light, shining amid interspaces of darkness. Much of it belongs not to knowledge, but to faith; it grants not clearness of vision, but certainty of hope. There is no shock of overwhelming conviction, no direct uplifting of the veil. After all that we have been taught of God, it still remains a part of his nature that "clouds and darkness are round about him," though "righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his seat."²

17. "By their fruits," said Christ, "ye shall know them. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"³ The remark is no less true of doctrines than it is of men. And what, we may proceed to ask, have been the fruits of those theories which identified inspiration with dictation or infallibility?

i. Now, first, it is clear that a belief that the Holy Scriptures have been infallibly dictated, and are free from every error in even the minutest particular, has not given the slightest aid to those who desired to attain to an infallible standard. It has not tended in the slightest degree to save them from a multitude of aberrations, not only historical, political, social, and scientific, but even theological and moral. Nay more, it has in some respects had a direct tendency to increase and multiply those errors, by fostering that style of dogma which, disregarding the analogy of faith, and the necessary limitations of human thought and language, has built inverted pyramids of argument on isolated expressions, and drawn out many an "ever-widening spiral *ergo* from the narrow aperture of single texts." The divergences of doctrine drawn from the same document have been infinite in scope; and however infallible the text, the fallibilities of

exegesis have robbed it of all decisiveness in many controverted points. Take but one single point, the long, dangerous, discreditable antagonism between Science and Theology, the obstinate opposition to new discoveries because they seemed to contradict the apparent meaning of isolated texts. The fierce and bloody persecutions of sectarian hatred, the ruinous aberrations of heretical fanaticism, the reluctant abandonment of obsolete tyrannies, and the violent defence of unjustifiable institutions, have all been due—have been due, as an historic fact incapable of refutation—to that view of inspiration which held that every word and letter of Holy Scripture came direct from God, and needed no modification from the analogy of faith. Oracles of God, the Holy Scriptures have over and over again been perverted by infatuated interpreters to their own destruction.⁴ Hence it is that the Gospel of Peace, the Gospel of Knowledge, the Gospel of Progress, has been desecrated into an armoury of fanaticism, an obstacle to progress, and a stumbling-block of science; the Gospel of Light, the Gospel of Love, the Gospel of Liberty, has been perverted to stifle the lamp of the philosopher, to kindle the fagot of the inquisitor, and to rivet the fetters of the slave.

ii. Again, these harder and more mechanical views of inspiration have caused a burden of incessant terror to the Churches and the theologians that have maintained them. They have led to all kinds of subterfuges, evasions, harmonies, distortions of plain language, avoidance of clear inferences, suppositions of impossible ellipse and impossible construction, tamperings with simple fact and simple record, which in any other criticism would be branded with dishonesty. As there is hardly a single folly of the human mind which has not sheltered itself behind some phrase of Scripture torn away from its context, and interpreted with a hard literalism which ignores every true canon of interpretation, so there is hardly a great thought or a great movement or a great discovery inspired or sanctioned by the inmost spirit of Christianity, which has not at some period or other caused alarm and agitation to those who have persistently forgotten that the letter killeth, and that it is the spirit only which giveth life.

iii. Once more, such views, from which, as we have seen, nothing can be gained, are the sad cause of much being lost. This hard denunciative literalism repels many from that which they would otherwise reverence; it disgusts many with that in which they would otherwise delight. It destroys sympathy; it consecrates error; it invites attack; it confuses all clearness of moral vision; it blunts all delicacy of spiritual perception; it provokes controversies which it is powerless to silence; it accumulates difficulties which it is ineffectual to remove; it changes a rejoicing reverence into a burdensome superstition, and transforms into a mechanical and unreasoning acceptance a free and fearless faith.

⁴ A possibility of which we are warned in Scripture itself, 2 Peter iii. 16.

¹ Keble, *Christian Year*. ² Ps. xcvi. 2. ³ Matt. vii. 16.

18. We believe, then, with an unfeigned heart fervently that Holy Scripture was given by inspiration of God; that in it is contained all that is necessary for salvation; that it is the most priceless boon which God has accorded to us, because in it is the fullest and clearest revelation of His will and purpose towards us and towards our race—of the duties of our life here, and our hopes in the life hereafter. We believe that more clearly than in History, more loudly than in Nature, more thrillingly than in Conscience itself, we hear therein the voice of God, and that if its accents had not been vouchsafed to us, those other voices would have sunk, first into lamentable uncertainty, finally into absolute silence. And as regards the method of its deliverance, we have seen a multitude of facts both external and internal which lead us to believe that it was *analogous* to the deliverance of those truths which are vouchsafed

to us from other sources; *i.e.* that it was only supernatural as the deepest facts of our spiritual experience are supernatural, and only miraculous as any communications must be miraculous whereby the finite is enabled to comprehend the teaching and will of the Infinite. We believe that in reading it we are reading the will, the message, the dealings of God as they were made manifest by the light of His Spirit to the minds of the messengers whom He selected; but that these messages were not, for the most part, revealed by openings of the heaven, and unearthly voices in the air—not by signs and wonders to startle and overwhelm—not by shocks of visible manifestations sudden and violent—but by spiritual agencies analogous to, though far intenser than, those whereby, in all ages, God—who is the God not of churches only, but of all mankind—has inspired and illuminated the hearts of men.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.—IX.

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XV.

N inscription found by Mr. Consul Taylor, at Mugheir, in Lower Babylonia, during the early part of the year 1854, is extremely important and valuable, as throwing light on the 5th chapter of Daniel, and explaining what had long seemed to be a remarkable discrepancy between Scripture and profane history. According to Daniel, the Babylonian monarch present in Babylon at the time of its capture by the Medes and Persians was a certain Belshazzar, a son (or descendant) of Nebuchadnezzar. He was present in the city at the time of the last assault, and was slain in the confusion of the sack and pillage (Dan. v. 30). Now, according to Berosus, Herodotus, and Abydenus, the name of the last king was not Belshazzar, but Nabonnedus (or Labynetus); he was absent from the city at the time of its capture; and, when, at a later date, he surrendered himself, was not slain, but treated kindly by the conqueror, who assigned him estates in Carmania. Moreover, this Nabonnedus was not of the royal stock of Nebuchadnezzar, but was the son of a Babylonian of no very high rank, and quite unconnected with the previous monarchs. Here, it is plain, was a real historical difficulty, which till recently believers could only explain conjecturally, and which Rationalists were never tired of urging as decisive against the authenticity of Daniel.

But the inscription of Nabonnedus makes all perfectly clear and intelligible. This monarch tells us that "his eldest son, the joy of his heart," was named Bel-shar-uzur, or Belshazzar, and associates him with himself in a way that implies his having been raised to the dignity of co-regent of the empire. The fact thus made known to us removes all contradiction between the sacred and the profane in this matter. Though Nabonnedus

was by birth in no way connected with the stock of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar may well have been his grandson, for in the East the founders of new dynasties almost always endeavour to strengthen their hold on the throne by allying themselves with the royal house which they have dispossessed. That Nabonnedus followed the usual practice is strongly indicated by the fact that two pretenders to the Babylonian crown in the reign of Darius Hystaspis came forward under the name of "Nabuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonnedus."¹ Again, though Nabonnedus, the father, did not shut himself up in Babylon, but kept the open field, and at last threw himself into Borsippa, it is evident that Bel-shar-uzur, the son, may have been entrusted with the defence of the capital, and may have perished in the night attack² which carried the town. That Bel-shar-uzur died young is implied in the claims of the impostors above referred to, who would have assumed the name of the eldest son had it not been well known that he was no longer living.

If it be objected that association was not a practice of the early Oriental governments, and that the inscription of Nabonnedus does not state in so many words that Bel-shar-uzur was co-regent, we may reply, first, that though association was not customary, either in Babylonia or in Assyria, as it was in Egypt, yet that there are other instances of it besides the present. Esarhaddon certainly associated his son, Asshur-bani-pal, in the government of Assyria a year or two before his death;³ and when we hear of "Chinzinus and Porus" as joint kings of Babylon, we have probably an instance of association.

¹ Behistun Inscription, col. i., par. 16, § 10, and col. iii., par. 13, § 6.

² Xen. Cyrop. vii. 5, § 15. Compare "In that night was Belshazzar slain" (Dan. v. 30).

³ See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii., p. 348, 2nd edit.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE BIBLE.—I.

PALESTINE:—(1) ITS PRIMITIVE INHABITANTS.

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THE following notices of the races by which Palestine was inhabited at different periods embraced in the Bible history may conveniently be prefaced by some account of the boundaries of the land itself.

These boundaries, like the names of the country, have undergone frequent changes in the course of the 2,000 years over which our survey will extend. Thus, it is well known that, as the Land of Israel, Palestine included within its area considerable territories to the east of the Jordan, comprehending, even in the times of Joshua, all Gilead and the ancient kingdom of Bashan, or the whole of that fertile country which, towards the east, reaches to the Arabian desert, and is bounded on the south by the river Arnon, and on the north by Mount Hermon. Now, no part of these territories belonged to the Land of Canaan; that land lay wholly to the west of Jordan. It is true that, before the date of the Exodus, the Canaanites themselves had been accustomed to overstep the limits of their land in this direction, and were found in considerable numbers in Gilead and Bashan, as well as in lands further south (Numb. xxi. 1); but, as has been abundantly proved by Reland (*Palestina*, i. 4), no part of the trans-Jordanic possessions, either of the Amorites or of the people of Israel, was ever known as the Land of Canaan.

Taking the name, then, in its widest acceptance, Palestine may be described as bounded on the east by the Great Desert; on the west by the Mediterranean; on the south (including the south-western coast, to which it afterwards owed its most familiar name among foreigners) by the desert separating Syria from Egypt; and on the north by an uncertain, and probably never at any time very clearly defined, line between Lebanon and the coast.

That some difficulty is found in determining the northern boundary must be admitted. There can hardly be any question, however, that a large portion at least of the country at first known as Sidon, or Sidonia, and afterwards by its Grecian name, Phœnicia, was included in the Land of Canaan, and also in the land claimed, if never actually possessed, by Israel.¹ In the "Book of the generations of the sons of Noah" (Gen. x.), the borders of the Canaanites are, on the sea-coast, said to be "from Sidon unto Gaza;" but in the same important genealogical, or rather ethnological table, not only Sidon itself, but five other cities,

all of them to the north of that capital, are represented by tribes with which the Hittite, the Amorite, and the Jebusite could boast a common descent. It is chiefly on the authority of Gen. x. that Phœnicia must be claimed as a part of Canaan. But there is corroborative evidence to the same effect from many other sources. That the Septuagint frequently renders Canaan and Canaanite, when the names occur in the Hebrew Bible, by Phœnicia and Phœnician (*e.g.*, Exod. vi. 15; xvi. 35; Josh. v. 1, 12; Job xli. 6), may not be a fact of much importance. But Acco, Sidon, Tyre, and other towns in Phœnicia, were expressly apportioned by Joshua to the tribe of Asher, as part of their inheritance (Josh. xix. 24; Judg. i. 31). Then "ChNA," sometimes "ChNAN," the Old Testament form of "Canaan," was for long occasionally used by the Phœnicians themselves, both at home and in their colonies (as at Carthage),² to denote the mother country. Thus, among the Phœnician coins which have come down to us is one of Laodicea, with the legend, in the Phœnician language, "Of Laodicea, a metropolis in Canaan" (Gesenius, *Monumenta Phœnicia*, tab. 35). Again, in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6, 7, Sidon and Tyre are "cities of the Canaanites;" and the "Syro-Phœnician woman" of St. Mark (vii. 26) is in St. Matthew (xv. 22) called "a woman of Canaan." The Phœnicians, indeed, appear at one time to have given even their Greek name to the whole country. Eusebius at least speaks of "the region formerly called Phœnicia, afterwards Judea, now Palestine." (Ensch., *Præp. Evang.* i. 10. See Reland, *Palestina*, i. 49; Bochart, *Geogr. Sacra*, pp. 340 sq.; Movers, *Phön.*, ii. (1) 5 sq.)

It is proposed in the present paper to attempt to identify the principal peoples among whom, previous to the conquest under Joshua, the land thus briefly described was distributed. We shall afterwards refer to those points in their history and character which are common, more or less, to them all.

I. (1.) That at the time at which we first become most intimately acquainted with the primitive inhabitants of Palestine, they were composed of various races, need hardly be said. It is not improbable, certainly, that at some remote period a people of common origin were in possession of the whole land. But we have no express information to this effect; and if the existence of a homogeneous race be assumed, no means are afforded us of determining, with any certainty, to which, if any, of the peoples whom we find in the country in historical times, the distinction must have belonged. On this last point, perhaps, the most natural

¹ According to Eusebius and Jerome, the city of Sidon was the actual boundary towards the north, formerly of Canaan, and afterwards of the land of Judea. Jerome's words are, "Sidon, urbs Phœnicis insignis, olim terminus Chananeorum ad aquilonem respiciens, et postea regionis Judææ: cecidit autem in sortem tribus Aser, sed non eam possedit quia hostes nequaquam valuit expellere." (*Onomasticon*, Berl., 1862, p. 339.)

² "Interrogati rustici nostri, quid sint, Punice respondentes, Chanani."—*Augustini Opera*, t. iv., p. 1235, apud Movers, *Die Phönizier*, ii. (1), 5.

conclusion, when we take into view the whole tenor of the Biblical history, is, that the aborigines were the Canaanites. Ewald imagines a pre-historic war of conquest and extermination by which the Canaanites, in gaining possession of the land, had inflicted the same fate on an earlier, as they themselves afterwards suffered from a later race of its inhabitants (*Hist. of Israel*, vol. i., p. 226 sq., E. T.). It is impossible to go into this question here; but that the people from whom the land derived its name formed its earliest population, is likely in itself, and the more likely that no intimation is to be found in the Bible, or elsewhere, of the existence of pre-Canaanite inhabitants.

The strongest evidence in support of the presumption that at one time, and for a considerable period, a single people, or a people of common origin, did occupy the country, is connected with a subject of great interest, to which reference will afterwards be made. The fact that from the earliest period there appears to have been a "language of Canaan," common to all the population, can hardly otherwise be accounted for than by supposing that the original inhabitants were homogeneous, and before being encroached upon by other peoples, had been long enough in the land, and had gained there sufficient stability, to be enabled to impose their native tongue on all succeeding immigrants.

Whatever, then, may have been the case in the dawn of its history, Canaan, at the time of the Exodus, was inhabited by a mixture of nationalities. Even in the days of Abraham, various distinct tribes of the descendants of Canaan were found within its confines. In the inroads, too, of the confederate kings from beyond the Euphrates, on the territories of the cities of the plain, at the same period (Gen. xiv. 1), we find traces of the progress of events by which the integrity of the original nation was certain to be more and more broken up.

But it is of the times of the Exodus that we have the most complete information, and then at least the mixture of races is no longer doubtful. "Seven nations" are sometimes spoken of, sometimes more, as forming the powerful body of opponents with whom Israel, in taking possession of Canaan, would have to contend. Elsewhere, we read of minor distinctions by which the country was still further subdivided into petty sovereignties, of which in one case thirty-one, in another seventy, are specially noticed. The want of concert amongst the people of the land in resisting the army of Joshua, when he first crossed the Jordan, and attacked Jericho, the key of Western Palestine, and the nature of the defensive confederations afterwards formed by them, alike confirm the otherwise abundantly established view now referred to.

(2.) Among the alien races thus at this time united by hardly any other bond but a common territory, the chief place is due to the *Sidonians*, "the first-born of Canaan" (Gen. x. 15); first, perhaps, in antiquity, as well as, both then and afterwards, in power and influence (Movers, *Die Phönizier*, ii. (part i.) 9). This people, indeed, are sometimes described as "the Canaanites"

by way of eminence, and to distinguish them from other acknowledged descendants of Canaan (Josh. v. 1; Numb. xiii. 29). Most commonly, however, they are known in Scripture as "the Sidonians," or "the men of Sidon," and after the more southern city became the capital, as "the men of Tyre:" names also given to them in Grecian and Roman literature, along with their more distinctively foreign name.

The identity of the Canaanites of Tyre and Sidon with the Phœnician people is here assumed. With a very few exceptions this identity is recognised by those scholars who are best entitled to speak with authority on such a question, *e.g.*, by Bochart, Reland, Gesenius, Movers, Ewald, and Renan. The most important exception is Professor Rawlinson. On grounds on which it would be out of place to enter here, Professor Rawlinson distinguishes between the Phœnicians and the Canaanites "who dwelt by the sea" in the time of Joshua, maintaining that the first-named people must have taken possession of the territory which they afterwards made famous at a period subsequent to the conquest, and probably not till about the year 1300 B.C. (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, iv. 197 sq.). While, however, there is nothing in the Bible, at least, to suggest that the north-western coast of Canaan was either before or after the time of Joshua occupied by any other people, it must be stated that, according to their own traditions, the Phœnicians were no less than the Israelites originally immigrants from another country. Herodotus writes: "The Phœnicians, as they themselves say, in ancient times dwelt upon the Erythræan Sea (Persian Gulf), and crossing thence, settled on the sea-coast of Syria where they now inhabit" (Herod. vii. 89). Justin adds a statement which, if it is to be depended on, is important, as to a previous settlement of the same people in another part of Canaan before their final migration to the Mediterranean coast. The place named is supposed to be the shores of either the Sea of Galilee, or more probably the Dead Sea, and therefore in the valley of the Jordan; and the tradition is important as serving to identify the Canaanites "who dwelt by the sea," and the Canaanites "who dwelt by the coasts of Jordan:" two tribes which are sometimes spoken of in the Bible as having a special affinity to one another (*e.g.* Numb. xiii. 29). According to Justin, "the Tyrian nation was founded by the Phœnicians, who being disturbed by an earthquake, and leaving their native land, settled first of all on the Assyrian lake, and subsequently on the shore near the sea, founding there a city which they called Sidon, from the abundance of fish; for the Phœnicians call a fish *sidon*" (Justin xviii. 3, § 2, apud Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, p. 47). It may be added that these traditions are not necessarily inconsistent either with the identity of the Phœnicians and the Canaanites of Sidon, or with the hypothesis that the latter may have been among the earliest settlers in Canaan.

We have found that the northern boundary of Palestine is not very clearly determined. The same remark applies to the special territory of the Sidonians,

not only in the north, but in the south. It probably varied at different periods, and appears at one time to have included the whole of the Philistian coast.

(3.) Among the primitive inhabitants of Palestine, other nations besides the Sidonians or Phœnicians were known by the name *Canaanites*, some if not all of them tracing their descent more or less directly from the same branch of the Hamitic family. According to Gen. x., the Canaanite tribes besides the Sidonians included in their number the sons of Heth, or the Hittites, the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Hivites, and the Girgasites. How far we are to understand every one of these names as representing a distinct and separate branch of the descendants of Canaan is not perfectly clear. The term "Amorite," for instance, is sometimes supposed to be used rather as a local than a national or ethnical name, and to be applied indifferently to more than one of the peoples of ancient Canaan—*e.g.*, to the Hittites (cf. Gen. xiii. 18; xiv. 13; xxiii. 3), to the Hivites (cf. Gen. xxxiv. 2; xlviii. 22), and to the Rephaim, or sons of Anak (Josh. ix. 10). The chief basis of this hypothesis is that the name Amorite signifies a highlander, or a dweller in an elevated region (Ewald, i. 235). But Dr. Pusey disputes the correctness of the etymology, denying that the root *amar* conveys the idea either of physical height, or of "a dweller on heights," a "mountaineer," in any Semitic language (*Minor Prophets*, p. 174, note). He adds that even if the word had the meaning assigned to it, "it would not be characteristic of the Amorites . . . who did not dwell in the mountains only" (*ibid.*). There is more difficulty in regard to the Perizzites, who are not by that name mentioned in Gen. x. 15–18, and who may perhaps be "persons living in the open country"—not, therefore, a distinct or separate nation. Among the Canaanites it is probable must be classed the earliest-known inhabitants of the Shephelah, a nomadic people, who under the name of the Avim were driven out of that part of the Mediterranean coast, on the occasion of its invasion by the Philistines (Deut. ii. 23), and some of whom are found afterwards occupying the lands immediately to the north of Philistia (Josh. xviii. 23). It has been suggested that the Avim may represent a portion of the same tribe elsewhere spoken of as the Hivites (Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, s. v.); and the two names are in fact used indifferently both in the Septuagint, and by one of the early Christian fathers who had special knowledge of the topography and ancient history of Palestine, namely, Jerome. The Hittites are characterised by Ritter (*Palestine*, E. T. ii. 121) as "the oldest, and probably, at a remote period, the only inhabitants of the interior of Palestine." They played an important part at the time of Abraham, when we find them living in well-regulated communities, and they continue to be mentioned in the time of David. At that time, Uriah "the Hittite" commanded one of the thirty divisions of the army of Israel (2 Sam. xxiii. 39).

A people distinguished by their gigantic stature, and known by various names, but more commonly under the general term of "the Rephaim" (or giants), are fre-

quently referred to as forming part of the population of Canaan. They were probably a branch of the Canaanites. Ewald finds in them that aboriginal race which, as already noticed, he supposes the Canaanites had overcome, and, for the most part, destroyed at the time of their earliest settlement in the country. And an independence of the race of Canaan is attributed to this people by other writers on the ground of the absence of any allusion to them in Gen. x. 15–19. (Smith, *Dict. of Bible*, s. v. "Giants.") Pusey, however, identifies them with the Amorites (*Minor Prophets*, l. c.), and Gesenius (*Thesaurus*, s. v.) likewise holds them to be of true Canaanitish blood. Besides Rephaim, the people in question are called Anakim, or sons of Anak, Emim, Zuzim, Zamzummim, and Horites (Ewald, i. 229). Amos calls them Amorites (Amos ii. 9); and Og, king of Bashan, who was one of them, and whose land was called "the land of the Rephaim" (Deut. iii. 11, 13), is likewise said to be an Amorite (Josh. ix. 10). They are first mentioned in the time of Abraham, when we find that Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, on his way to recover his authority over the cities of the plain, "smote the Rephaim in Ashteroth-karnaim" (Gen. xiv. 5). Ashteroth-karnaim has not been identified, but it was probably east of the Jordan. In the trans-Jordanic territories, we know, the Rephaim had some of their most ancient settlements. Thus they had been in possession of the countries of Moab and Ammon, before either was occupied by the children of Lot, and from pre-historic times. As to the former, it is said, "The Emim dwelt therein, in times past, a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakim; which also were accounted giants, as the Anakim; but the Moabites call them Emim." So it was with the land of Ammon: "That also was accounted a land of giants: giants dwelt therein in old time, and the Ammonites call them Zamzummim, a people great and many, and tall, as the Anakim; but the Lord destroyed them before [the children of Lot]; and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead" (Deut. ii. 10, 20). Bashan, too, we have found, had been "a land of the Rephaim," where Og, the king of Bashan, and of "the remnant" of that people, still reigned within a year or two of the death of Moses. Whether their settlements in Canaan preceded those beyond Jordan, in point of time, is not known, but these too must have belonged to a very remote antiquity. One of the oldest cities in the world, and a place of some importance in the days of Abraham—namely Kirjath-arba, afterwards Hebron, which, with some of the neighbouring territory, continued down to the conquest to be a seat of this people—had been originally so called after Arba, "the father of Anak," and "a great man among the Anakim" (Josh. xiv. 15; xv. 13). They were found with "cities great and fenced" (Josh. xiv. 12), in the same neighbourhood, by the spies whom Moses sent to search the land forty years before the Israelites entered into its possession. Though evidently exaggerated, the report of these spies is full of interest. While the impression is conveyed that, in their apprehension at

least, the Canaanites generally were men of more than ordinary height and physical strength, a distinction is drawn between the Rephaim and the rest of the inhabitants: "We came into the land whither thou sentest us, and surely it floweth with milk and honey. . . . Nevertheless the people be strong that dwell in the land, and the cities are walled and very great; and moreover we saw the children of Anak there. . . . We be not able to go up against this people, for they are stronger than we. . . . All the people we saw in it are men of great stature. And there we saw the giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the giants: and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so were we in their sight" (Numb. xiii. 27, &c.). The Rephaim were among the tribes wholly rooted out of Canaan by the arms of Joshua, who, during the seven years' war which followed his passage of the Jordan, "cut off the Anakim from the mountains, from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab, and from all the mountains of Judah. Joshua destroyed them all with their cities; there was none of the Anakim left in the land of the children of Israel" (Josh. xi. 21, 22). Scattered remnants of the race, however, took refuge in Philistia (*ibid.*), and we find individuals among their descendants in the city of Gath (2 Sam. xxi. 18—22) down to the days of David, whose opponent in the great achievement of his youth in the valley of Elah (1 Sam. xvii. 4) was himself probably among the later representatives of this once powerful race.

(4.) If the various peoples already mentioned had a common descent from the fourth son of Ham, or were, at least, alike known, in a general sense, by the name of Canaanite, this cannot be affirmed of another section of the early inhabitants of Canaan, who, however, as already noticed, eventually gave to the whole country the name by which it is now most commonly known.

The *Philistines* occupied the Shephelah, or that portion of the Mediterranean coast which forms the south-western boundary of Palestine. Beyond the facts that they were foreigners (as their name indeed imports), and that, as may be inferred from Gen. x. 13, 14, they were of the same race with the Egyptians, we know nothing with certainty as to the earlier history of this people. In the Bible they are sometimes called "Caphtorim," and are said to have "come out of Caphtor" (Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 1, 4; Amos ix. 7). Sometimes the Cherethim are identified with the Philistines (1 Sam. xxx. 14, 16). That the Caphtorim were not the aboriginal inhabitants of the Shephelah is certain. According to Dent. ii. 23, a nomad tribe named the "Avim" occupied this territory at the time of their first appearance there, and were either destroyed, or driven further north to make room for them. Whether this immigration from Caphtor preceded the times of Abraham and Isaac, and whether the "Philistines" of the patriarchal age were Caphtorim, or Avim, or a still more ancient people, it is impossible to determine.

The most probable view is that adopted by Dr. Pusey. Like many other authorities (see Knobel, *Völkertafel*, 215 sq.), Dr. Pusey holds that there must have been different immigrations into this part of Palestine, but is, we think, alone in a suggestion which tends to solve a textual difficulty in Gen. x. 14. He thinks it probable that "the first immigration may have been from the Casluhim, 'out of whom came Philistim';" the second, and the most important, from the Caphtorim, "a kindred people, since they are named next to the Casluhim as descendants of Mizraim" (*Minor Prophets*, p. 221). He adds that another immigration of a people called Cherethim may have taken place in the latter period of the Judges, "which would account for the sudden increase of strength which the Philistines seem then to have received" (*ib.*). Dr. Pusey supposes the immigration of the Caphtorim to have preceded the time of the Exodus; a point on which, as on so many others, great difference of opinion exists. Like the inhabitants of the northern section of the same coast, though not by any means to the same degree, the Philistine people became widely known beyond their own territory. Even at the time of the Exodus they had acquired so high a reputation as a powerful and warlike nation, that, under Divine direction, Moses resolved to avoid leading the Israelites "through the way of the land of the Philistines" (Exod. xiii. 17), and to prefer a more circuitous, and by no means safe or easy route, from the dread that if their first encounter was with such disciplined forces, the people would be discouraged and return to Egypt.

(5.) No notice has been taken of many tribes whose settlements were at this time outside, but coterminous with, the confines of Palestine, as the Amalekites, spoken of by Balaam (Numb. xxiv. 20) as one of the oldest of the nations of the world; the Horites, a tribe of troglodytes, or dwellers in caves, whose territories, in Mount Seir, the children of Esau first shared, and eventually took possession of by force of arms (Dent. ii. 12); the Edomites, the Moabites, and the Ammonites. Of the three last, all nearly allied by blood to Israel, we shall afterwards have occasion to speak. It is not improbable that several of the Arab peoples now named may, in the course of their history, have been found within the land of the Canaanite (Ewald, *Hist. of Isr.*, i. 249). Thus, it would seem, the Amalekites, who were of the same race with the Phœnicians, had on their way from their original home on the Persian Gulf, and before finally resolving to pitch their tents further south, for some time occupied the whole land of Ephraim, in the very centre of Palestine. (Reland, *Palest.* i. 78 sq.; Ersch and Gruber's *Encycl.* s. v. "Amalek;" Winer, *Bibl. Realw.* i. 51.) In the time of the Judges there was still in Ephraim a place named the "mount of the Amalekites" (Judg. xii. 15). At the date of the Exodus, however, all these peoples were clearly distinguished from the nations of Canaan.

THE OLD TESTAMENT FULFILLED IN THE NEW.—II.

SACRED SEASONS:—THE PASSOVER (*continued*).

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WITH the Paschal Supper considered by us in our last paper, the peculiar services which marked the opening of the sacred year of the Jews were by no means concluded. No sooner was that supper over, than the Feast of Unleavened Bread, lasting seven days, began. The special characteristic of all these days was that, during their continuance, the eating of leavened bread, or even the having any leaven in the house, was most strictly prohibited: "Unleavened bread shall be eaten seven days; and there shall no leavened bread be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee in all thy quarters" (Exod. xiii. 7). But while all the seven days were alike in this respect, the first, the second, and the seventh days were more than ordinarily sacred. The first, that immediately following the Passover, was a day of holy convocation. No work, except what was necessary in preparing food, was permitted to be done; and the whole day was spent, partly in religious meetings, partly in going up to the Temple with free-will offerings. These offerings might be taken from the herd as well as from the flock, and, like all free-will offerings, they belonged to the great division of the thank or peace offerings of Israel. The blood was sprinkled on the altar; the fat, as the choicest portion of the victim, was burned before God; the breast was waved, and the shoulder heaved in token of dedication to the Almighty, after which these parts became the property of the priests; and the rest of the animal was eaten by the offerer and his friends at the sanctuary on that and the following day. What remained to the third day was burned (Lev. vii. 16—18).

The solemnities of the second day were not less marked and interesting. It was the day of the offering of the first-fruits of harvest, an offering taken from the standing barley, the only grain approaching ripeness at this season of the year, and before the presenting of which no part of the harvest might be reaped. The offering consisted of an omer (Lev. xxiii. 10, marginal reading) of barley, which, according to Josephus, was dried, beaten small, and carefully sifted from the bran.¹ It was then taken to the altar and waved before the Lord; and, a handful having been cast into the altar fire, the remainder was given to the priests, to be eaten by them in the sanctuary. Along with this there was offered a lamb of the first year for a burnt-offering, together with certain quantities of flour and oil and wine for its accompanying meat and drink offerings. We notice these particulars now, because, in ascertaining the meaning of these festivals as a whole, we shall afterwards have occasion to refer to them.

The services of the seventh day resembled those of the first already spoken of, and with it the feast was brought to a close.

Before inquiring into the meaning or fulfilment of this festival, we must examine for a moment its relation to the Paschal Supper. Was it a simple continuation of this feast, a mere intensifying of the ideas expressed in it by means of the sacred number of seven days? or was it a feast standing upon a footing of its own, connected indeed, as was no other festival of the year by proximity of time, with the Passover, but neither more thoroughly identified with it, nor more dependent upon it than were the Feasts of Pentecost and Tabernacles? There are passages of Scripture that seem to favour the former view. Thus in Exod. xii. 15, in immediate connection with the institution of the Passover, it is added, "Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses: for whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day, that soul shall be cut off from Israel." (Compare also ver. 18.) But on the other hand, it is worthy of notice that, in those passages of the Old Testament where the great feasts of the Lord are expressly enumerated, the name Passover is not employed. Thus in Exod. xxiii. 14 the command is given, "Three times thou shalt keep a feast to me in the year," immediately after which the feasts themselves are mentioned, the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the Feast of Harvest, and the Feast of Ingathering; and the same remark applies to Exod. xxxiv. 18, 22. In Lev. xxiii. the Passover appears to be expressly distinguished from the Feasts, for at ver. 4 it is said, "These are the feasts of the Lord, even holy convocations, which ye shall proclaim in their seasons;" and then follows at ver. 5 the mention of the Passover, which is not, however, called a feast, which we know was not a holy convocation, and which seems rather to occupy an introductory and independent place. Once more, the distinction between the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread is brought out in Numb. xxviii. 16, 17. "And in the fourteenth day of the first month is the Passover of the Lord, and in the fifteenth day of this month is the feast; seven days shall unleavened bread be eaten." Either, therefore, we must suppose that the Passover, if it was a part of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, was the subordinate part which did not give its name to the whole, or that, however closely connected by time with the feast which followed it, it was itself a separate and independent rite. That it was not subordinate the whole teaching of the Old Testament compels us to believe, to say nothing of the fact that it is only the supposition of its being the main element of the feast which would explain the expansion of one historical day into a commemorative seven days.

¹ Josephus, *Antiq.*, iii. 10, § 5.

We are constrained, therefore, to conclude that the Feast of Unleavened Bread was not a simple expansion of the Passover, and that the ideas of the two services did not completely correspond with one another.

Into the true relation of the Passover to the great feasts in general we shall afterwards inquire. In the meantime we take the Feast of Unleavened Bread as an independent festival. What were the objects which it served, and the lessons which it taught?

It has often been imagined that it was a simple memorial of the difficulties and trials amidst which the march of Israel out of Egypt was begun, when such was the haste with which the people departed that they had no time to leaven their bread before they went (Exod. xii. 33, 34, 39). That such was the purpose of the feast seems to find countenance in the language of Deut. xvi. 3, where the unleavened bread used in it is called "the bread of affliction," and where the injunction to eat bread of that kind for seven days is associated with the people's hurried departure from the land of bondage. Nor, looked at even in this light alone, would the feast so celebrated have been without deep and important meaning. It would have reminded Israel of the pains and sorrows which had accompanied its entrance upon freedom; would have moderated those feelings of exultation with which it was ever prone to regard itself in comparison with all other nations; and, amidst the joy of the holy season, would have called upon it to mix trembling with its mirth. When, however, we consider the feast more attentively, it is hardly possible to rest in the supposition that this was its main, far less its only, import. Thus it is to be noticed that, in the leading passage bearing on the matter, the injunction to eat unleavened bread is associated with an entirely different reason than the haste of the exodus: "And thou shalt show thy son in that day, saying, This is done because of that which the Lord did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt. And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, *that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth*" (Exod. xiii. 8, 9). Then, again, the haste of Israel's departure was only a subordinate and not a leading characteristic of the manner in which its bonds were broken. It was "the strong hand of the Lord" which especially distinguished that memorable time—not the want, but the fulness—not the weakness, but the triumph with which the captivity was at length brought to an end. Add to which that the command to banish all leaven out of the house, rather than that to abstain from the use of leavened bread, was after all the main feature of the feast. Here was a far more expressive part of the ritual than the not mingling leaven with the dough, and a part which must have drawn the attention to leaven as something to be avoided rather than to be desired.

It is in other considerations, therefore, that the meaning of the ritual is to be sought; nor is it difficult to determine what these are. In the arrangements of the Mosaic economy, leaven was always the symbol of corruption, and its use in any offering laid upon the

altar of God was prohibited with the utmost strictness (Lev. ii. 11).¹ To avoid it or remove it was the symbolical expression of avoiding or removing sin. It follows that a command to use unleavened bread, especially for the covenant number of seven days, could indicate only that with the exodus of Israel a new era of the people's existence had commenced, that the old leaven of corruption, the corruption of the old life, had been laid aside, and that an unleavened life, a life of dedication to God and holiness, had been begun.

It is not indeed necessary to put out of view all reference even to the "haste" with which Israel went up out of Egypt, for the outward deliverance afforded was closely connected with the more spiritual aspects of the people's new condition. It was in the light of the former that the glory of the latter was most strikingly exhibited. Nay, the bondage in Egypt had had its main source of trial to the people in a spiritual rather than a temporal point of view. It was not merely that their lives had been made bitter by the yoke of the oppressor, but that, under oppression, they could not attain to a completeness of dedication to the Almighty, for which freedom and independence were required. That had been the hardest feature of their lot, the affliction with which they were most of all afflicted. Not the service in the brick-kilns, considered as a pain and burden to the body, had been the leading characteristic of their bygone misery, but that service as hindering the accomplishment of their divine mission to the world. Nor had it hindered this only by positively preventing the worship of Jehovah, but by leading them to become indifferent to Him, to form ties in a land which they ought always to have regarded as a strange one, to satisfy themselves, at least so far, with the "leeks, and the onions, and the garlic" which were supplied to them, rather than to maintain the attitude of aspiration and of hope. The recalling, therefore, of that restraint, or rather not so much of the restraint itself as of the effect produced by it upon them, was the dark background on which the fact of their deliverance found relief; and the putting away of leaven during the festival which commemorated their entrance upon a delivered state involved a reference to the sacrifices which had to be made, and the trials which had to be overcome in the obtaining of that deliverance.

Still it is evident that we are to seek the real meaning of this feast in the spiritual and inward, rather than in the material and outward aspects of the Jewish nation. Its unleavened bread eaten for seven days was no mere memorial of worldly suffering; it represented the separation of Israel as God's elect people from worldliness and sin; it symbolised their vocation as that of a holy nation whose chains had been broken, not that it might taste the sweets of freedom for their own sake, but that in freedom it might realise its high mission of being a witness to the world for God. The people separated themselves from evil. They put

¹ The words of Lev. vii. 13, and the offering of the two leavened loaves at Pentecost, are no exception to this rule, for in neither case was the offering spoken of laid upon the altar.

off the old man and put on the new. They realised the holiness of their calling, and, devoting themselves to it, they began the year. Such was the leading import of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and such the main lesson which, celebrated as it was from generation to generation, it was intended to convey to Israel.

Another part of the services of the season remains to be considered, that of the second day of the feast, when, as already mentioned, the first sheaf of harvest was dedicated to God. It has been urged that the presentation of this sheaf is a proof that the whole feast was primarily agricultural in its character. But such an idea is at once negated by the fact that the Feast of Unleavened Bread is frequently spoken of in the Old Testament without allusion to this peculiar service, which is, indeed, only once referred to (Lev. xxiii. 9—14), as well as by the further fact, that the service itself was connected with the second, not the first day of the feast. However important, then, the offering was, it was the subordinate and not the central offering of the time. That it consisted of the fruits of harvest arose simply from the circumstance that agriculture was the pursuit by which Israel as a nation was peculiarly distinguished, and that in the abundant produce of its fields the superintending care of its covenant God peculiarly appeared. The land spoken of to it in the promise was not "as the land of Egypt whence it came out, but a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven," and where, would Israel only continue faithful to the covenant, God would give it "the rain in his due season, the first rain and the latter rain, that they might gather in their corn, and their wine, and their oil" (Deut. xi. 11, 13, 14). The blessing of the whole nation was summed up by Moses in the words, "The fountain of Jacob shall be upon a land of corn and wine" (Deut. xxxiii. 28). A time of prosperity was one when "corn and wine increased" (Ps. iv. 7). When the Almighty would arise to vindicate his people's cause, He declared that it would be by sending them "corn, and wine, and oil" (Joel ii. 19); and a drought "upon the land, and upon the mountains, and upon the corn, and upon the new wine, and upon the oil," was the expression of His judgments (Haggai i. 11). Figures like these at once suggest the reason why the first-fruits, dedicated in the beginning of the year, should have been taken from the standing and now ripening corn, rather than from any other of the possessions of the people. Israel was an agricultural and not a commercial nation. An abundant harvest was the highest token of God's watchful love; and more, therefore, than any other offering could have done, did the presentation of the first sheaf express the nation's conviction that it owed to God all its worldly substance, and that it was bound to dedicate the first and the best of that substance to Him again. The first week of the new year was the first-fruits of the whole year to follow; the first sheaf of barley the first-fruits, not of the barley only, but of the whole corn-harvest about to be cut down. The offering of the first sheaf thus stood in a close and beautiful relation

to the whole services of which it formed part. It expressed the thankful dedication to the Almighty of all those outward gifts, so far as they related to the sustenance of life, which He had in his mercy bestowed on Israel. It was an act in which the devotion and self-surrender implied in the festival as a whole was transferred by the grateful worshippers from themselves to what they possessed. By eating the unleavened bread they said, "We are not our own;" and now they added the declaration, "We have nothing that we can call our own." "First they gave themselves unto the Lord," and then the substance which through his bounty they had received.

It remains for us to ask wherein under the Christian dispensation the Feast of Unleavened Bread is fulfilled. That it is fulfilled first of all in the Lord Jesus Christ himself, there can hardly be a moment's doubt. He was "holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners;" "He did no sin, and in his mouth there was found no guile;" "He counted it his meat to do his Father's will, and to finish his work;" He was the Father's servant, the "sent of God," opening his ear to hear every intimation of his will, and yielding himself up to Him in a life of perpetual obedience to his commandments and submission to his appointments. Not only this: He was also the "first-fruits," the "first begotten from the dead," the first sheaf of the glorious harvest of the resurrection, when crucified in weakness He was raised by the power of God on the morning when Israel laid its first-fruits of harvest on the altar.

But what is fulfilled in Christ, must be fulfilled also in the members of his body, for they are one with him. How then is Unleavened Bread fulfilled in them? The Apostle Paul has left us in no doubt upon the point. "Christ our Passover," he says, "is sacrificed for us: therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" (1 Cor. v. 7, 8). We have already had occasion to remark that the Paschal Supper is fulfilled in no single ordinance of the Christian Church, but in the whole life of the followers of Jesus. We must make the same remark here. By the "feast" spoken of in these words, St. Paul does not mean any rite of Christianity, such as the sacrament of the Supper. He means the Christian life, and his reasoning is of the following kind. Our Paschal Lamb, he would say, is not slain for us only once a year, nor only in an annual Paschal supper do we appropriate Him in faith, "eating his flesh and drinking his blood," and then waiting until the next year in the hope that all the privileges of the season may then again be ours. "Christ has appeared once in the end of the world to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." His offering ascends continually in sweet memorial before God. The thought of his sufferings and death is ever present to the mind of the Father. In Him the Father is always well pleased. Not once a year only, but from year to year, from generation to generation, to the very end of time, that one sacrifice avails; and not less at this moment than on the

solemn day when he bowed his head and gave up the ghost, is the Redeemer of the world the propitiation for our every sin, and our strength under every weakness.

Therefore if their Lamb may thus be said to be always slain for the followers of Jesus, if they always eat his flesh and drink his blood, the effect of this will appear in their keeping a constant Feast of Unleavened Bread. Over their whole life the light of this high festival will be thrown. As every day they feel themselves to be anew delivered, as every day they are visited by renewed experiences of the love of God, as every day the promises of the everlasting covenant are anew brought home to them, so they will arise every day in new strength to cultivate increasing measures of that holiness which alone becomes the land of rest and refreshing for which they look. This is their eating of unleavened bread. The old leaven of sin is expelled from their hearts and homes, and they serve God continually with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. Nay, more. As Christ is himself the "first-fruits," so are they "a kind of first-fruits of his creatures" (James i.

18). It is a resurrection life they lead. Crucified with their Lord, buried with him, they are also risen with him, that "like as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, they also should walk in newness of life." "The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has made them free from the law of sin and death;" and as "Christ raised from the dead dieth no more, death has no more dominion over him," so "sin has no more dominion over them, for they are not under the law, but under grace." Even now, too, they "have eternal life, and no man shall pluck them out of their Father's hand." With themselves also they yield all that belongs to them to that Redeemer who has purchased them with his own precious blood. They dedicate to him what they have as well as what they are. They own that all that they possess is his, and "what shall we render unto the Lord for all his benefits?" is the constant language of their souls.

Such is, or ought to be, the fulfilment in the followers of Jesus of Israel's Passover and first great annual feast.

THE CHERUBIM AND SERAPHIM.—II.

BY THE REV. S. CLARK, M.A., RECTOR OF EATON BISHOP.

III.

THE mythologies of most nations bear witness to the aptness of the mind of man to form symbols of higher conditions of existence, possessed of greater and more varied gifts and powers, by different combinations of the parts of animals. The sphinxes of the Egyptians, the winged bulls of the Assyrians, and the monsters of Greek mythology, are instances familiar enough. The reason of this tendency is obvious. Each kind of animal has organs adapted to its limited mode of life, which are denied to others. It follows that by the combination of what is peculiar to each one of several kinds, an illustration is obtained of existence more or less set free from the limitations of existing material natures. The word "cherub" might have been applied by the Hebrews to any such combinations which bore to themselves a religious significance.

Many writers have sought to derive the cherubim of the Hebrews from the winged men or the sphinxes of Egypt.¹ Others have traced their resemblance to some of the sculptured figures of Nineveh. From both these sources points of resemblance are collected which are curious and interesting. The external likeness of some of the Egyptian arks, surmounted by their two-winged human figures, to the ark of the covenant, has often been noticed. But as regards the cherubim, as they are brought before us in Scripture, it seems gratuitous to ascribe them to any particular foreign origin. The four cherubic animal forms—man, the ox, the lion, and

the eagle—are common to the symbolical combinations of the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and other nations; and it seems that they are of more frequent occurrence than any other forms. It appears at least as likely that the selection was suggested to different nations by the natural fitness of the creatures for the purpose in view, as that it was derived by one nation from another. We may be sure that the minds of the legislator and the prophet were so directed as to select those symbols which were best adapted to convey spiritual truth to the minds of the people, whether they had become acquainted with them by witnessing their use among other nations, or by observation and reflection upon natural objects.

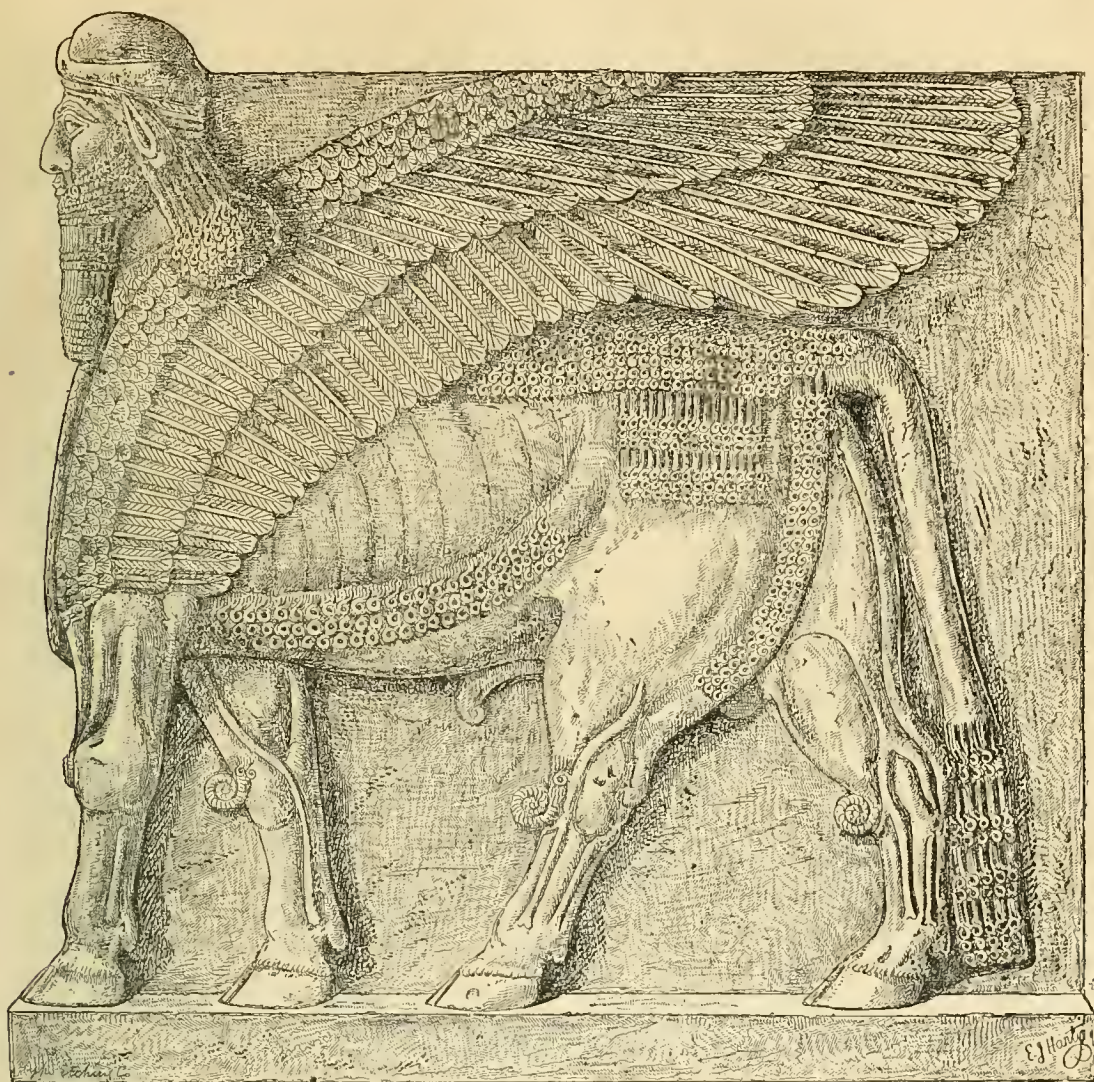
IV.

The question which next claims our attention is, what was the specific meaning of the cherub? We may first observe that according to the narrow view of the second commandment taken by the Jews, the existence of the golden images upon the mercy-seat must have been a breach of the law, whatever meaning may have been ascribed to them. Some of the rabbinites have sheltered their prejudices under the maxim that the Lord might command a breach of his own law.² Josephus, had he been consistent, would have held this view, since he so understood the commandment as to charge Solomon as a transgressor for placing the figures of oxen under the brazen sea.³ It has been supposed, on

² Wogues on Exod. xxv. 18.

¹ Spencer, lib. iv., c. iv., § 3; Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 156; Smith, *The Pentateuch*, p. 292.

³ *Ant.*, viii. 7, § 5. It is difficult to assign to anything but blinding prejudice his statement that the veil had no living creatures (*ζῶα*) upon it (*Ant.* iii. 6, § 4; see Exod. xxvi. 31).



WINGED BULL OF ASSYRIAN MONUMENTS. (BRITISH MUSEUM.)

just ground, that this scruple in the mind of the nation checked the advance of the imitative arts. The mass of the people in later times failed to see that the second commandment, while it forbids the worship of images, does not prohibit the representation of any creature as an ornament, or as a symbolical means of instruction, if it was not to be worshipped.

But no intelligent Israelite could make the mistake of looking upon the cherubim as objects of worship. To him the one object of all worship was Jehovah, of whom he was always reminded as dwelling "between the cherubim," but as quite distinct from them. As the golden images could not be representations of Him whom none could behold and live (Exod. xxxiii. 20); neither is it likely that they were, as many have

imagined,¹ symbols of His attributes. The strange variations in their forms seem at once to forbid us to regard them, with Maimonides and many modern interpreters, as figures of angels in the ordinary sense; or, with many of the fathers and schoolmen in general, as images of beings of a particular order in the heavenly hierarchy.² No one of these explanations seems to bring into harmony the several conditions which are involved in the description of the cherubim by Ezekiel and St. John, in the occupations assigned to them, and

¹ Philo, *Vit. Mos.* iii. 8; Grotius, in Exod. xxv. 18, et in Heb. ix. 5; Rosenmüller, in Gen. iii. 24.

² August., *Enarr.* in Ps. lxxix. 2; Aquinas, *Summa i., Quæst.* 63, Art. 7, &c. Clemens rejects this notion (*Stromat.*, lib. v., c. vi., § 37).

in the position of the golden figures on the mercy-seat.

But all that is said of the cherubim in the Bible seems to be explained, if we take them, in each of the different forms in which they appear, as representing in a symbol the highest mode of created existence, "LIFE, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*,"¹ life in its essence, moving without constraint, in accordance with the law of its existence, ever watching and working in the service of the Lord, and in manifesting forth his glory throughout the universe (Ezek. i. 12, 14, 20; Rev. iv. 8). The use of the name *living creatures* by Ezekiel and St. John, and especially the designating the power which moved the wheels as "the spirit of the living creature" (Ezek. i. 20, 21; x. 17; cf. ver. 20), seems to give strong support to this interpretation of the symbol. It is with those of his creatures who love this divine life that the Lord makes his abode; through them He reveals himself, through them He carries out his divine purposes.

The parts of different animals which go to make up the figure of the cherub may plainly be taken as types of the characteristic excellence of each of the great classes of animated creatures popularly regarded. Man would, of course, represent intellect; the lion, power over other creatures; the ox, slow strength; the eagle, aspiration. The cherub being in this way a representation of the highest faculties of created beings, becomes an impersonated symbol of the creation according to its perfect idea. As all things, inanimate as well as animate, are engaged in the service and glorification of the Creator, the cherub might be taken as setting forth all nature, as well as all spiritual creatures, working out the Divine will.² The chorus of praise to which the four *living creatures* in the Apocalypse (v. 13, 14) said "Amen," was sung by *every created thing* (*πάν κτίσμα*) "which is in heaven and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them." Hence there is a portion of the truth in those explanations of the symbolical figure which connect it with the mere material creation, though the mode of interpretation on which they are based is too gross and exclusive.³

Kurtz strenuously rejects any such explanation as that which has been given, on the ground that it cannot be reconciled with Gen. iii. 24. He regards that passage as a statement that when Adam and Eve were expelled from Eden, cherubim were placed there in person, as human guards might have been, to prevent their re-admission. He conceives the cherubim to have taken

the place of man in his original seat, and to have to occupy it until the time when man will be permitted to return to it.⁴ It would seem that he must imagine the garden of Eden, once inhabited by our first parents, to be still in existence in a material sense, and to be in possession of the cherubim. But taking the other view, that the cherub is the symbol of the Divine life working in manifold ways in all the creatures of God, there seems to be no difficulty in understanding that the cherubim and the flaming sword "placed at the east of the garden of Eden" express the operation of the spiritual law by which it is impossible for man to be restored to that state of primitive innocence in which he lived before sin and death came into the world, though he may become a new creature in Christ, and so be brought to higher conditions of holiness.

A comparison of these cherubim of Genesis with those of the mercy-seat may suggest that, while the latter bore witness to Jehovah's redeeming mercy, the former testified to His condemnation of the first sin. The most perfect finite intelligence seems thus to be figured as yielding assent to the Divine law.

There is a remarkable passage in Ezekiel (xxviii. 13—17) which seems to bear on the question before us. The king of Tyre, having been entrusted with vast treasures and possessions, is spoken of as placed "in Eden the garden of God," and to have been set as "the anointed cherub that covereth." There seem here to be allusions both to the cherubim placed in trust for God at the gate of Eden (Gen. iii. 24), and to "the cherubim of glory shadowing the mercy-seat" (Exod. xxv. 20; Heb. ix. 5), set to watch over the covenant, the treasure of God's people. The similarity of the cherub's functions, according to the language of the prophet, with that of the griffins fabled to guard the gold-mines of the northern mountains,⁵ is probably a mere coincidence, though it curiously connects itself with the radical identity which Fürst and others have endeavoured to establish between the words *cherub* and *griffin* (see p. 347). But it would certainly seem that the metaphorical application of the word *cherub* to the king of Tyre was suggested to the mind of the prophet, not by the idea of a recognised angelic being, but by the imagery supplied by the golden cherubim of the mercy-seat along with the passage of Genesis.

V.

The attempts which have been made to discover the origin of the word *cherub* are very numerous, and not one of them can be considered satisfactory. The following are some of those which appear to be most worthy of notice.

Gesenius is inclined to derive it from a Semitic root found in Ethiopic, signifying "to consecrate," because the cherub was the keeper of that which was consecrated. By some the word is supposed to have been formed by metathesis, the Hebrew word *recluv* being changed into *cheruv*; it would thus mean a *steed* or a *chariot* (cf. Ps.

¹ Bahr, *Symbolik*, i. 341. The section on the cherubim is, perhaps, one of the most satisfactory parts of Bahr's book. The explanation here given of the meaning of the symbol substantially agrees with his. He has been followed by Hengstenberg (*Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 156, and Note on Rev. iv. 6) and others. Cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* v., c. vi., § 37.

² Ps. ciii. 20, 21, 22; civ. 3, 4; cxlviii. 1—10; Rev. iv. 11. Cf. Clem. Rom. 1 *Epist. ad Cor.* c. xx.; Hooker, bk. i., c. iii., § 2.

³ Philo imagines the cherubim on the ark to symbolise the spheres (*De Cherub.*, c. vii.), though he gives a different explanation elsewhere (*Vit. Mos.* iii. 8). Some of the rabbins more aptly take the four cherubic animals, as the heads of the animal tribes, to represent the material creation as placed under the throne of the Divine Majesty (Schöttgen in *Apoc.* iv. 6).

⁴ *History of the Old Covenant*, vol. i., p. 81, Clark's translation.

⁵ Herod. iii. 16; iv. 13. Ctesias, *Indica*, c. xii.

xviii. 10; civ. 3).¹ It has been ascribed to a root found in Persian, signifying to "seize" or "catch," which appears to be common to the Aryan languages, being found in the Greek γρῖψ, in *griffin*, *grip*, *gripe*, and other words in European languages. The cherub is thus identified with the griffin (see note 4, p. 295) (Eich-

horn, Fürst, Keil). It has been identified by Hydo (*De Rel. Vet. Pers.*, p. 62) with a word of the same sound, but differently spelt, which means "one who is near," i.e., to God, and is thus taken to denote the spirits nearest to God's throne. Some who assume the ox to be the normal cherubic type, would derive it from the Chaldee verb signifying "to plough," the ox being the ploughing animal (Kimchi, Cocceius).

¹ Carpzov., Gussetius, Rödiger.

SCRIPTURE BIOGRAPHIES.—XXI.

THE PATRIARCHS :—JOSEPH (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. J. P. NORRIS, M.A., CANON OF BRISTOL.

JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN IN EGYPT.

NOW little the outside world knows of the real joys and sorrows of its public men! We see some statesman projecting a grand policy, carrying it to successful issues, crowned with the praise and gratitude of his country; and we little dream that all this while some one domestic anxiety has been costing him more real effort, more expenditure of vital force, than all the accumulated responsibilities of a nation's cares. So, we may well believe, it was in Joseph's case.

In the midst of his schemes for the alleviation of Egypt's misery, and the reorganisation of her social system, there was the recollection of his childhood's home, overshadowed by the great love of his father, and sweetened by the tender affection of the younger brother whom he yearned to see again; and deeper down in his heart's solitude there were thoughts in which none of those around him could sympathise—thoughts of God's covenant with his family, and of that mysterious Promise which the Israelite bore like a sacred burden entailed upon his race.

That revelations of God's will were vouchsafed to Joseph is clear; but whether or no God had at this time revealed to him the part that Egypt was to have in the development of the Divine purposes we are not told. Often and often he must have called to mind those words of God to Abraham, "Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred years; and also that nation whom they shall serve will I judge, and afterward they shall come out with great substance." Was Egypt to be the land of that predestined exile? The thought must have occurred to him, and gathered probability in his mind, as he reflected on the many wonderful providences of his own career in Egypt; and if it were indeed to be so, how this thought must have deepened his interest in all that concerned Egypt! The native Egyptians, he well knew, detested all foreigners, and most of all shepherd races. But the reigning dynasty was not Egyptian, but itself of shepherd race. To secure the favour of the Pharaohs might well seem to him, in this train of thought, the best service he could render to Israel's cause. Still he would

remember how Isaac, his grandfather, had been strictly forbidden by God to go down to Egypt.¹

Pondering these things, we may well believe, he was content to leave the more distant future to God. God would make known his will when the time came.² Meantime, one thing must have been clear to him—he could make use of his present position to keep his family from starving, whether they were here or there. And hence, perhaps, his anxiety to keep the foreign trade open (as we have seen) when the famine came.

How anxiously he must have scanned the faces of the merchants from Canaan, as they were announced! He would be sure to recognise his brethren, though they could hardly recognise him; for they parted when they were already men, and he but a lad; and since then his Egyptian habits and costume had changed him much. And then the thought would quickly follow—What of Benjamin? would he be with them? was he yet alive? or had he shared his own fate—a slave in some foreign land, or worse—sacrificed to their fratricidal jealousy of Rachel's children? He well knew the dark passions of those sons of Leah, Bilhah, and Zilpah, in former years: were they still poisoning the peace of the family, or were they schooled and subdued by the discipline of life?

Anxious thoughts were these, troubling his mind in a way that they who looked at his viceregal state with mingled envy and admiration little dreamed.

It must have been in the second year of the famine, when home stores were beginning to be exhausted, that the ten merchants from Canaan were announced, in whom his quick glance recognised those for whom he was watching. Benjamin was not with them.

His conduct³ towards them must be shaped by what he shall learn of their character—whether it be the same as of old, or altered for the better. Nor need his plan for testing them hinder or delay the relief from famine which they sought.

Therefore "he made himself strange to them, and spake roughly unto them, and he said unto them"—

¹ Gen. xxvi. 2.

² Gen. xlii. 3.

³ The view of Joseph's conduct towards his brethren here taken is that of Chrysostom, whose 64th Homily on Genesis cannot fail to interest those to whom it is accessible.

through his interpreter, for he purposely spoke in the Egyptian language—"Whence come ye? And they said, From the land of Canaan to buy food."

The profound obeisance of his brethren when they entered his apartment seems to have recalled to his mind, with almost startling vividness, the dream of his boyhood—how the sheaves of his brethren in the corn-field of Shechem had bowed down to his sheaf. The dream, then, was from God, and in this fulfilment of its prophecy he plainly discerns the hand of God. Thus encouraged to go forward in the plan which he had formed for testing them, he charges them with being spies, come ostensibly to buy corn, but really to plan a raid on the country, weakened as it is by famine. He may have known the predatory habits of Simeon and Levi,¹ and from the curious account of the murderous incursion of the men of Gath into Goshen, not many years afterwards, given in 1 Chron. vii. 21, such raids upon Egypt would seem to have occurred.²

His suspicions, therefore, were not groundless. His brethren protested innocence, and explained that they were not confederates, but brethren, "sons of one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold, the youngest is this day with our father, and one is not."³ The absence of Benjamin seems to have awakened further suspicions. This excuse, that he had stayed behind with his father, might it not be as false as that other excuse, which twenty years before he may well have overheard as he lay in the pit of Shechem, "Let us say, Some evil beast hath devoured him?" Here, then, is an opening for testing their trustworthiness; he will ascertain the truth about Benjamin.

"Send one of you, and let him fetch your brother, and ye shall be kept in prison, that your words may be proved, whether there be any truth in you."

On the third day he so far relents as to allow all of them to depart except one, whom he binds before their eyes and detains as a hostage. He tells the rest that they are free to depart with corn for their father and for their families, only engaging to return and redeem Simeon by bringing Benjamin.

Very touching is what follows—the conscience-stricken self-accusation of these rough men, confessing one to another, in their Hebrew tongue, that all this trouble was a judgment upon them for their cruelty to Joseph: "We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us;" and Reuben's reproach, "Spake I not unto you

saying, Do not sin against the child, and ye would not hear? therefore, behold, also his blood is required."⁴

And still more touching is the effect on Joseph, who overheard and understood all, though they knew it not, turning aside to hide his tears. For he was longing to believe that God's grace had reached their hearts, and these expressions of remorse awakened a hope within him that it was so.

Concerned as we are with Joseph only, and endeavouring to place ourselves in his position, we must pass over all that happened on their return home—the father's grief, and protracted unwillingness to part with Benjamin. From Judah's words, "Except we had lingered, surely now we had returned this second time," it is clear that many months elapsed before their return with Benjamin, Judah being surety for his safe return to the bereaved patriarch.

Troubled as they had been by the discovery of their money in their sacks on their return home, and now, on their second arrival in Egypt, alarmed by their immediate summons into Joseph's presence, they sought to propitiate the steward of Joseph's house. But the steward had evidently been instructed by his master to receive them with marked courtesy and kindness, if Benjamin was with them. Again they bowed themselves in Joseph's presence, not ten now, but eleven, in complete fulfilment of the dream.

And when Joseph "lifted up his eyes and saw his brother Benjamin, *his mother's son*" (how affecting is this simple addition!), he said, "Is this your younger brother of whom ye spake unto me? And he said, God be gracious unto thee, my son! And Joseph made haste, for his bowels did yearn upon his brother: and he sought where to weep; and he entered into his chamber, and wept there."

Then follows the midday meal, Joseph washing his face and returning to them, and "refraining himself," for he was not yet altogether satisfied.

They had spoken the truth about Benjamin and kept faith with Joseph, and so far all was reassuring; but, though they had spared Benjamin so far, Joseph had no proof that they had any affection for him; and their old jealousy of Rachel's sons might, for aught he knew, yet linger in their breasts. How can he bring this to the test?

At the feast he sent a fivefold portion to Benjamin, and, doubtless, watched anxiously the countenances of the rest, to mark any symptoms of jealousy; and, that their natural feelings might show themselves the more readily, he took pains to set them at their ease, and bade them pass round the wine freely. Still he was not altogether satisfied; possibly his presence constrained them. He devised a plan, therefore, which could not fail to draw forth any malice against Benjamin that might yet be lingering in their breasts. This was not easy; the trial must be far away from Joseph's restraining presence; and yet some one must be by to protect Benjamin, if necessary.

That same night—they were to depart at daybreak—

¹ See the marginal rendering of xlix. 6: "In their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they houghed (i.e., hamstrung) oxen."

² Herodotus, too (iii. 5), mentions how open to such incursions Egypt was on its north-east frontier.

³ "One is not," so they spoke of Joseph. Chrysostom views this as a deliberate falsehood, and so do others after him. But surely it is simpler to take it not as the repetition of their old lie, but as the natural expression of what had come to be their belief. For twenty years they had heard nothing of him, and concluded that he was dead. Those who call it a wilful falsehood forget that Reuben, further on, speaking in all soberness, implies that they really thought him dead: "Therefore, behold, also his blood is required."

⁴ See the last note.

he instructed his faithful steward to secrete Joseph's own highly-valued silver cup¹ in Benjamin's sack, and so soon as they should be some way upon the road to follow after, and overtake them, and charge them with the theft. He was to search their sacks, beginning with that of the eldest; thus he would be able to report to Joseph any outbreak of temper on the appearance of the cup in Benjamin's possession.

The plan succeeded perfectly, and the result must have been more reassuring than Joseph had ventured to expect; for, when they were brought back into Joseph's presence, and charged with the theft, so far were they from showing any vindictive feeling against Benjamin, or even desire to exculpate themselves by throwing the blame on him, that they took every pains to screen him; Judah going so far as to intercede earnestly with Joseph in his behalf; picturing most affectingly the grief that this would cause to their aged father, whose "life was bound up in the lad's life," and even praying that he himself might become Joseph's bondman in Benjamin's stead.

This was abundantly enough; Joseph had ascertained what a change time had wrought in the characters of his brethren; they might now be trusted and taken into his confidence, in working out whatever further purposes God's providence might suggest to him for the welfare of his father and his race.

The scene that followed can only be told in the words of the inspired narrative.

"Then Joseph could not refrain himself before all them that stood by him; and he cried, Cause every man to go out from me. And there stood no man with him, while Joseph made himself known unto his brethren. And he wept aloud: and the Egyptians and the house of Pharaoh heard. And Joseph said unto his brethren, I am Joseph; doth my father yet live? And his brethren could not answer him; for they were troubled at his presence. And Joseph said unto his brethren, Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I am Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt. Now therefore be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves, that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to preserve life. For these two years hath the famine been in the land: and yet there are five years, in the which there shall neither be earing² nor harvest. And God

¹ More than enough has been written on this cup, which the steward described as the cup "in which my lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth," and on the subsequent passage, where Joseph himself says, "Wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?" Commentators have used all their ingenuity to screen Joseph from the imputation of having really practised arts of divination. But is it not better to allow Holy Scripture to speak for itself? It is clearly implied that, in adopting Egyptian customs, he had adopted among others their custom of divination. Every nation has its popular superstitions; they linger even in Christian countries. In Egypt they were wont to guess at the future from the appearance of a bright piece of metal dropped into a cup of water—a custom not confined to Egypt, and alluded to by Pliny, Strabo, St. Augustine (*De Div.* vii. 35) and others. There is no need whatever to suppose that Joseph ever allowed such methods of divination (whether he used them seriously or not) to connect themselves in his mind with the clear revelations which the God of his fathers vouchsafed to him.

² The old English word for "ploughing," connected with the Latin *arare*.

sent me before you to preserve you a posterity in the earth, and to save your lives by a great deliverance."

This important passage entirely justifies us in believing that Joseph all through his Egyptian administration was conscious of a Divine mission connecting itself in his mind with the promise made to his fathers. It was not for Egypt's welfare only, much less for his own personal aggrandisement, that he laboured, but that he might help to carry forward, and bequeath to others after him, the mysterious destiny of his race, in which his father had taught him to believe.

Whether Egypt was to be the land of the predicted sojourn for his family, or no, is not yet revealed to him. For the present one thing only is clear, that for the remaining five years it will be well for his father and his family to come down with all their substance into Egypt. Further than these five years he does not seem to have laid his plans (*xlv. 11*); the rest he leaves to God. Rejoicing that he may now safely trust his brethren's loyalty to their father, he plans munificently for their comfort on the journey, Pharaoh approving all, and only too glad thus to repay some of the heavy obligation under which he lay to Joseph. In the wagons which Joseph had provided the patriarch and all his household travel, an immense company, doubtless including hundreds of attendants, adopted into the number of God's people and circumcised according to the Divine command,³ besides the "three-score and six souls that came out of his loins" (*xlvi. 26*).

Resting on the journey at Beer-sheba, a place hallowed by the most sacred memories, Jacob "offered sacrifices unto the God of his father Isaac" on the altar built by Abraham (*xxi. 33*), praying doubtless for some revelation of God's will. And the revelation came. Egypt was the land of sojourn of which God had darkly spoken to Abraham. But the sojourn of his seed there, as God had declared to Abraham, was to have its limit: "Fear not to go down into Egypt; for I will make of thee a great nation: I will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will surely bring thee up again."

The term of the sojourn Jacob already knew: it was to be 430 years from the date of God's promise to Abraham.⁴

Joseph's anxiety now was to secure to his people a *separate* settlement in Egypt, where they would not be mingled with the idolatrous Egyptians. But for his paramount influence with the king this would have been impossible; and at any other epoch of Egypt's history not even Joseph could have effected it. One may say with much confidence that, with their strong natural antipathy to foreigners, no *native* king could have been easily persuaded to grant the concession of territory that Joseph asked for. But according to the view here adopted, the reigning Pharaoh was not of Egyptian but of Shepherd race. It will be seen at once how singularly this favoured Joseph's purpose. Not only was the king free from the national prejudice,

³ Gen. xvii. 12, 13.

⁴ See the discussion of this question in the introduction to the *Life of Moses*, pp. 124, 132.

but in this national prejudice Joseph found his best argument for a *separate* allotment of land to his people.

Hence the care with which he instructed his brethren to describe themselves as *shepherds* when introduced to Pharaoh :—"When Pharaoh shall call you, and shall say, What is your occupation? ye shall say, Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we and also our fathers; that ye may dwell [apart] in the land of Goshen; for every *shepherd* is an abomination unto the Egyptians." These last words—otherwise so difficult—become clear at once on the supposition that Pharaoh was himself of shepherd race.

Goshen seems to have been the plain that lies on the modern traveller's right hand as he passes through the Suez Canal, between the Canal and the Delta, now anything but fertile, but in Joseph's time, owing to its numerous watercourses, "the best of the land" (xlvii. 6)—a rich pastoral tract.

The court, and Joseph therefore, resided probably in the newly-fortified town of Avaris, called also Tanis, or Zoan. Joseph would, therefore, have his family within easy reach. Pharaoh's reception of the aged patriarch is graphically told, bending his royal head to receive the old man's blessing, and delighting to honour the father of one to whom he was so deeply indebted.

Seventeen years Jacob lived in Goshen, a peaceful close to his long pilgrimage, soothed by daily intercourse with the two sons of the wife whom he had loved. "And the time drew nigh that Israel must die: and he called his son Joseph, and said unto him, If now I have found grace in thy sight"—how touching is the reverence of the father for the son!—"put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh (*i.e.*, swear), and deal kindly and truly with me; bury me not, I pray thee, in Egypt; but I will lie with my fathers, and thou shalt carry me out of Egypt, and bury me in their burying-place. And he said, I will do as thou hast said. And he said, Swear unto me. And he swore unto him. And Israel bowed himself upon the bed's head." For so the word was pointed by the Masorites; pointed otherwise the same word might mean "upon his staff," and so the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews read it, quoting from the Greek translation. Whichever way it be, an attitude of prayer is intended. And then he called for Joseph's two sons, and crossing his arms, placed the right hand on the younger, Ephraim, and the left hand on the elder, Manasseh, giving the chief blessing to the younger son.

It may clearly be inferred from the narrative that Jacob had transferred to Joseph and his seed the rights of primogeniture, bequeathing to him his small patrimony, that corn-field of Shechem, which Jacob had purchased from the sons of Hamor, and afterwards rescued from the Amorite "with his sword and with his bow"—the scene of Joseph's affliction, the scene also of that prophetic dream which had been so wonderfully fulfilled.

"And he blessed Joseph, and said, God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God

which fed me all my life long unto this day, the Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads."

How wonderfully the dying father summed up the whole career of Joseph in his last words :—

"The Archers have sorely grieved him,
And shot at him, and hated him;
But his bow abode in strength,
And the arms of his hands were made strong
By the hands of the mighty One of Jacob;
From thence (*i.e.*, from God) is the shepherd, the
stone of Israel."

We cannot surely be wrong in seeing in these last words of the patriarch how clearly in his prophetic mind he connected his hope of the promised Seed with the career of this son on whom God's grace had so mysteriously rested.

Of all the problems of Old Testament interpretation the question of its typology is one of the most difficult—one, certainly, requiring the greatest caution in its treatment, lest we be tempted to press too far merely fanciful resemblances. It is, perhaps, a safe rule to mistrust all types that are not sanctioned in the New Testament. And in the case of Joseph, any such *direct* sanction, it must be confessed, is wanting.

Still the careful student of St. Stephen's speech can hardly fail to see that he had One greater than Joseph in his mind, when he reminded his hearers how their fathers, "moved with envy, sold Joseph into Egypt; but God was with him, and delivered him out of all his afflictions, and gave him favour and wisdom in the sight of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and he made him governor over Egypt, and all his house." Even so had they, too, moved with envy, delivered Jesus into the hands of Gentiles; even so had God been with Him, and highly exalted Him, and given Him a name that was above every name; and even so, though his own nation might reject Him, yet in Him should the Gentiles trust.

"Joseph" (Bishop Pearson says), "who was ordained to save his brethren from death, who would have slain him, did represent the Son of God, who was slain by us, and yet dying saved us; and his being in the dungeon typified Christ's death; his being taken out from thence represented his resurrection, as his elevation to the power of Egypt, next to Pharaoh, signified the session of Christ at the right hand of his Father."

But to pursue this further belongs not to the scope of this biography. Enough to have indicated how all through his career the guiding hand of Providence was clearly working out the Messianic purpose.

And Joseph's faith in this great destiny never wavered. Fifty-four years he survived his father; but they are blank to us: we only know this one fact, that his faith in God's restoration of his people to the land of Promise never failed him. "God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones from hence."

In that fateful corn-field of Shechem—the loveliest spot in Palestine, as all travellers witness—a later generation entombed his bones, near to that well of his father where One whom he had dimly foreseen rested in the after time, and spoke of the day when his God should be the God of the whole earth.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE FROM COINS, MEDALS, AND INSCRIPTIONS.—X.

BY THE REV. CANON RAWLINSON, M.A., CAMOEN PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

XVI.

THE inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar, which are numerous, illustrate Holy Scripture less, perhaps, than might have been expected, but still throw light on certain points. Unfortunately they are in no case directly historical, being wholly connected with his buildings and dedications, and being, therefore, almost entirely architectural or devotional. Should historical inscriptions of the great Babylonian monarch ever be discovered—either in the course of the researches which are now in progress in Mesopotamia under the direction of Mr. George Smith, or by the efforts of any other explorer—a large amount of Scriptural illustration might be looked for with confidence. At present, in the entire absence of purely historical material, we are only able to gather from the accounts left of Nebuchadnezzar's buildings and dedications a few illustrations on points of secondary interest.

We are told in the Book of Daniel (i. 2) that Nebuchadnezzar, after taking Jerusalem, carried the sacred vessels of the Jewish Temple "into the land of Shinar, to the house of *his god*, and brought the vessels into the treasure-house of *his god*;" and again, that he used the words, "Daniel, whose name is Belteshazzar, according to the name of *my god*" (iv. 8). From these passages it appears that Nebuchadnezzar, although a polytheist,¹ was a special devotee of some one deity, whom he regarded as "his god" in a peculiar way. Now the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar exactly agree with this. They exhibit him as acknowledging all the numerous divinities of the Babylonian pantheon; but they also show him to have been in a very special way the votary of one god, Merodach, or Bel-Merodach.² Merodach is "his lord," "his great lord," "the joy of his heart;" whatever he does is done "by the grace of Merodach;" to Merodach he looks for protection, favour, security. The great temple at Babylon, which he entirely rebuilds, he dedicates to Merodach, whom he perhaps first identifies with Bel, the primeval god of the Babylonians. This special devotion to one particular deity is peculiar, so far as we know, to Nebuchadnezzar, among the Babylonian monarchs; and thus

Scripture, in this little trait incidentally introduced, touches a point of individual character, curious in itself, and suitable only to the king to whom it ascribes it.

Again, Daniel tells us that Nebuchadnezzar on one occasion, while walking upon the roof of his royal palace³ at Babylon, exclaimed, "Is not this great Babylon that *I have built*?" Here is something which at first sight seems a difficulty, since it is certain, and Scripture itself witnesses (Gen. x. 10; 2 Kings xx. 12;

Isa. xiii. 19; &c.), that Babylon was built many centuries before Nebuchadnezzar. But what is meant, no doubt, is, that this great monarch so entirely renovated the town that he might, and did, claim to have "built" (*i.e.*, rebuilt) it. So Solomon "built" Tadmor, or Palmyra (1 Kings ix. 18); and Rehoboam "built" Bethlehem, and Tekoa, and Beth-zur, and Shoco, and Gath (2 Chron. xi. 6—8); and Mesha "built" Aroer and Beth-Bamoth and Bezer;⁴ and Augustus Cæsar "built" Rome, finding it brick and leaving it marble.⁵ Thus understood, the passage is pointedly borne out by Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions. Not only does the monarch claim in various lengthy documents to have renovated the walls, the palace, and the various temples of the city, but there is the most unmistakable evidence that his claim to have rebuilt the whole city is just. Of the ancient bricks dug up on the site of Babylon, at least nine-tenths bear the name and titles of this monarch. It is clear that his renovation of the place must

have amounted to an almost complete rebuilding of it.⁶ "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" was thus a most natural exclamation in the mouth of this king, though it would have been wholly unfit in the mouth of any other Babylonian monarch mentioned in Scripture.

It has been argued, and it is (we venture to think) still reasonable to argue, that one inscription of Nebuchadnezzar's contains a reference to that mysterious



BABYLONIAN GOD, PROBABLY BEL-MERODACH. FROM A FRIEZE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

³ The marginal rendering "upon the palace" is to be preferred to the "in" of the text (Dan. iv. 29).

⁴ "Moabite Stone," lines 26 to 30 (see BIBLE EDUCATOR, Vol. I., p. 125).

⁵ Suetonius, *Vit. Octav.*, §. 29. Compare Plin. *H. N.* vi. 27, where Susa, one of the most ancient cities of the East, is said to have been built (*i.e.*, rebuilt) by Darius Hystaspis.

⁶ See the remarks of Sir H. Rawlinson in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xii., p. 477. The ordinary inscription on the bricks runs thus:—"Nabu-kuduri-uzur, king of Babylon, builder of Beth-Saggata and Beth-Zida, eldest son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon."

¹ See Dan. iv. 8 ("in whom is the spirit of the holy gods"), and also vs. 9 and 18.

² On the identity of Merodach with Bel, or at any rate with one aspect of Bel, see Sir H. Rawlinson's remarks in the author's *Herodotus* (vol. i., pp. 515—517, second edition).

malady wherewith he was afflicted towards the close of his reign, and the consequent suspension during some years of all his great works. The passage is mutilated, and therefore to some extent ambiguous;¹ various explanations have been given of it; but on the whole it seems simplest to understand it as stating that late in Nebuchadnezzar's reign there was a space of at least four years, during which the various works in which the monarch was ordinarily engaged ceased, and he remained wholly inactive. The reason for the inaction is not stated; but so abnormal a condition of things implies some strange and rare cause, and (to say the least) harmonises remarkably with the narrative of Daniel (iv. 31-36), according to which the great king was incapacitated from business by a strange form of mental malady, until "seven times"² had passed over him.

[The writer having been requested by the Editor to add a few remarks explanatory of the "ordinary inscription of Nebuchadnezzar," ventures to append the following brief account of it, which, he trusts, will not be regarded as out of place.

The first line contains the name of Nebuchadnezzar, expressed by seven characters. The first of these, which resembles a star, is the determinative for "god," indicating that a god is about to be mentioned. The second is a monogram representing the well-known god, Nebo (Isa. xlv. 1). Then follows the word *Kuduri*, expressed in full by four characters; after

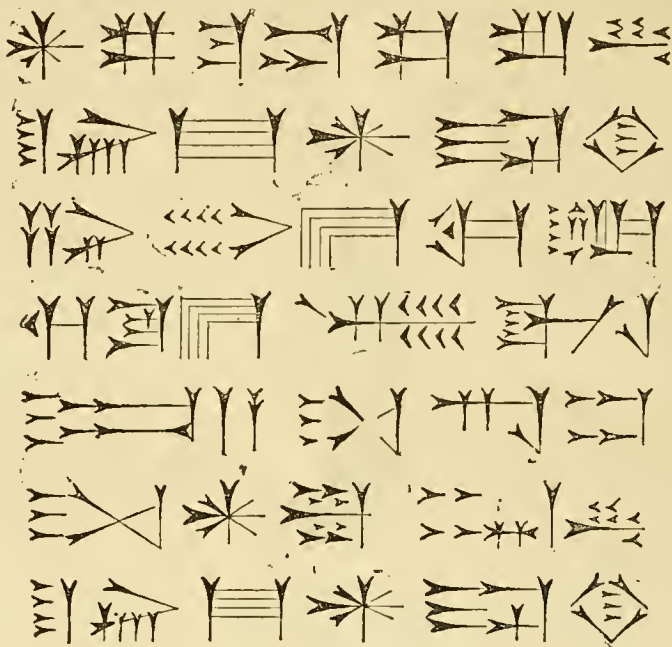
which a single character, the last in the line, represents the word *uzur*, the last element in the royal appellation.

Line 2 commences with the monogram for "king" in a somewhat primitive form, though one that is less complicated than the form used on the most ancient Chaldean bricks. The other four characters express the name "Babil," i.e. Babylon. The first is the monogram for *bab*, "a gate," and is plainly a picture of a gate, the two vertical wedges representing the posts, and the four horizontal bars the gate itself; the second, like a star, is, as already explained, the determinative for a god; the third is the monogram of the god *Il* or *Ra*; and the fourth is a determinative indicating that what

has gone before is the name of a place.

Line 3 contains seven characters, of which the first two and the last two are awkwardly crowded together. It is read as *zanin Beth-Saggata*; the middle character, which occurs again in the next line, being the determinative for a building of any kind, the first three reading *zanin*, and the last three *Saggata*.

Line 4 begins with a complicated character, representing the conjunction "and," followed by the determinative for a building (= *Beth*), and then by two complicated characters, read as *zi* and *da*. (*Beth-Zida* and *Beth-Saggata* are



ORDINARY INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR ON THE BRICKS OF BABYLON.

probably two great Babylonian temples.)

Line 5 opens with the monogram for "son" (*pallu* or *pal* in Babylonian), after which comes the relative pronoun *sa*, "who;" and then two characters, which are read as *ri* and *ish*, forming the word *rish*, "head, eldest" (comp. Heb. רִישׁ).

Line 6 begins with *sa*, the relative pronoun. This is followed by the determinative for "god" (see lines 1 and 2). Then we have one of the many monograms of the god "Nebo," followed by the monogram for "son," (= *pallu*), and that by the monogram for *uzur*. These three characters form the word *Nebo-pall-uzur*, or *Nabopalasar*, the well-known father of Nebuchadnezzar.

Line 7 is a repetition of line 2, giving to Nabopalasar the same title of "King of Babylon," which had been previously given to Nebuchadnezzar. The whole inscription thus reads in the original:—"Nabu-kuduri-uzur, melek Babil, zanin Bit-Sagata va Bit-Zida, pallu sa rish sa Nabu-pall-uzur, melek Babil."]

¹ The translation of Sir H. Rawlinson, made in 1858, runs as follows:—"For four years, the seat of my kingdom in the city . . . which . . . did not rejoice my heart; in all my dominions I did not build a high place of power; the precious treasures of my kingdom I did not lay up; in Babylon buildings for myself and the honour of my kingdom I did not lay out; in the worship of Merodach, my lord, the joy of my heart, in Babylon, the city of his sovereignty and the seat of my empire, I did not sing his praises, and I did not furnish his altars [with victims]; nor did I clear out the canals" (see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii., p. 586, first edition). Negative clauses are most unusual in an Oriental inscription; and I must confess that it seems to me that all attempts to escape from the force of this long series of negatives are strained, and that the sense of an absolute abstention from his usual employments for four years is Nebuchadnezzar's real meaning.

² "Seven times" may or may not be "seven years." Possibly winters and summers may be counted as "times;" in which case there would be a very close agreement between "seven times" and "four years."

THE POETRY OF THE BIBLE.—III.

BY THE REV. A. S. AGLEN, M.A., INCUMBENT OF ST. NINIAN'S, ALYTH, N.B.

IT has already been remarked that the chief end of poetry is to unite beauty and truth, and to animate them with sympathy with all created things, with Nature in all her manifestations, with "the works of man, and face of human life." Amid literature possessed of this power, the highest rank has been claimed for the Bible. But there are certain other attributes common to all poetry, and it will be well to point them out to the student before proceeding to those features which are peculiar to the poetry of the Bible and distinguish it from all others.

In every age those exalted thoughts which form its richest possession, and which give purity and strength to national life, find in poetry their most natural and powerful as well as their most permanent expression. It matters not how the great truths were first received, or on what intelligence they were first flashed; it is the poet who gives them enduring shape, and whose glowing words extend them in every direction till they acquire sufficient hold on the popular mind to influence national life. How pre-eminently true this is of Hebrew poetry will appear at every turn of this inquiry. We shall find that from the very earliest times the lyric power, possessed so richly by the Israelites, was called into the aid of those religious truths which were the foundation of the nation's greatness, and, when all other glory had departed, the faith and hope which contained the promise of a greater future were kept alive only in the poetry of the Temple. Prophetic inspiration would have laboured in vain at its great task of strengthening, as the national conscience, the perception of moral good and evil, had not poetry lent to the truths which the seer delivered a more attractive form,¹ and kept them alive and sustained them in its harmonious verse. The prophet and the poet were thus

"Twin labourers and heirs of the same hopes."

The need which prophecy felt for this alliance is nowhere better exhibited than in the words put into the mouth of the first of the prophetic order. The latest inspiration of Moses found utterance in a song which he introduces in these words:² "And it shall come to pass, when many evils and troubles are befallen them, that this song shall testify against them as a witness; for it shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed" (Deut. xxxi. 21).

Another characteristic of great poetry is shared in a remarkable degree by the poetry of the Bible. It is at

once intensely national and most universal. As in reading Shakspeare we are divided between admiration at the glow of his patriotism, and wonder at his world-wide sympathies and almost infinite knowledge of the human heart; as when we descend with Dante into his Hell, or climb the steep of his Purgatory, we seem to have left all the transitory distinctions of the world behind, and yet at every step are reminded of Italy and Florence; so the Bible generally, but more especially in its poetry, impresses us at once with its twofold character of fidelity to local truth, and adaptation to the wants of the farthest times and widest circumstances.

When we come to the examination of the materials which supply the Hebrew bards with their copious imagery, we shall see how accurately their verse reflects the natural features of Palestine and the surrounding countries; how rich it is in allusions to the Israelite's daily life as he watched his sheep on the lonely hills, tended his vineyard, or ploughed his fields; and how it is penetrated by the recollection of the past, which afforded images in which to dress present feelings and future hopes. "The writers were Hebrews of the Hebrews, drawing their inspiration from the mountains and rivers of Palestine, which they have immortalised in their poetic figures, and even while uttering the sublimest and most universal truths, never forgetting their own nationality in its narrowest and intensest form." Israel, as a people, have shown a strange capacity for adapting themselves to foreign life without surrendering their own peculiarities of habit and feeling, and their literature is equally cosmopolitan and equally faithful to its native East. Where is there any collection of songs so widely known, so deeply loved, as the Psalms; those "hymns read, meditated, sung, in every hour of day and night, in every winding of the vale of tears?"³ They are at home everywhere, and yet, in a most touching and beautiful way, they reflect every slightest feature of the country that gave them birth, and every phase of the life from which they sprang. Hebrew poetry, while it retains its ancient tone, always seems alive with a fresh and modern spirit. It never seems to get out of date, like so much other literature in many ways great and noble. If new worlds could be discovered, with their unworked mines of new ideas, the coming races would, there cannot be a doubt, turn to the Psalms and Prophets, and to the Gospels, with the same deep love, and the same sense of perceiving in them an inexhaustible wealth of moral truth and strength, which has been felt in turn by Asia, Europe, and America.

This comprehensive power of Biblical poetry shows itself in another way. It is the privilege of poetry to

¹ Ewald, *Dichter des A. B.*, vol. i. It is interesting to compare the similar preference given by Milton to poetry over preaching as a moral power. It is "of power beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune."—*Reason of Church Government*, Book ii.

² Cf. Reed's *Lectures on English Literature*, Lecture ii.

³ *Dogme de la Pénitence*, by Girbet, quoted by Dean Stanley, *Jewish History*, Second Series, p. 152.

pervade human life and influence it in every direction. While it cannot rise to its noblest height unless it becomes the interpreter of the most exalted truths, it must not disdain the lowly interests of common life. It can only achieve its moral conquests by throwing a glory over what would else be commonplace, and transfusing with its own light the prose of existence. One of the longest and most artistic of the Hebrew poetic works, and some of the shorter lyrics, are full of graceful but faithful pictures of homely scenes and humble occupations.¹ The parables of our Lord seldom travel away from this region. The corn-field, the vineyard, the market-place, the cottage-home, furnish Him with his most beautiful and powerful symbols of spiritual truth. It is this familiarity with their life which helps to make the Bible so interesting to the poor. Until literature became cheap, the Scriptures, it may truly be said, supplied the only food for the imagination of the working man. They not only furnished him with the divine consolations of religion, but formed his stock of poetry and romance, and gave a bright colour to the monotony of his life.

Every opportunity will be taken of pointing out the superiority of the Bible in these general characteristics of poetic excellence as we go along. To discover these, indeed, should claim the highest place in this study. It is valuable to know the style in which the Hebrew poets wrote, to understand the structure of their verse, and feel the charm of its melody; it must increase the influence the Bible will have over us, if we learn to estimate "its true eyesight and vision for all things, material as well as spiritual," and its intense sympathy with Nature in all her forms; but it is of far more moment that we should be able to appreciate the way in which the poets of Israel fulfilled their high task to their nation and the world, and how they obtained that ascendancy over the human soul in which no other literature, ancient or modern, can compare, and "by their far vision, the power by which they have stamped themselves on the belief and heart, the hopes and fears, the days and nights of humanity,"² have gained and maintained, for three thousand years, their superiority over everything else in the thoughts and words of man.

The earliest poetic efforts of every people have taken a *lyric*³ form. The name is strictly appropriate, for it denotes the intimate connection which poetry has with music in the dawn of a nation's life. Among the Hebrews this connection was never broken. The most ancient fragment of Semitic song which has survived, "the earliest known specimen of poetry on record," the song of Lamech to his wives (Gen. iv. 23), gives an interesting indication that verse was coeval in its origin

with that of musical instruments, for one of Lamech's sons was Jubal, "the father of such as handle the harp or organ." The triumphal ode of Moses (Exod. xv.) was accompanied by the timbrels and dances of Miriam and her band of women. David was at once musician and poet, and sang his own psalms to the sound of the harp or guitar (see page 73); and in the magnificent Temple ritual established by him, the two kindred arts rank of equal importance, so that in after times he was recalled both as "the inventor of instruments of music" (Amos vi. 5), and as "one who with his whole heart sang songs" (Eccles. xlviii. 8). This combination of song and music was not forgotten in the restoration under Ezra. When the foundations of the second Temple were laid, "they set the priests in their apparel with trumpets, and the Levites the sons of Asaph with cymbals, to praise the Lord, after the ordinance of David, king of Israel" (Ezra iii. 10). The harpers, whom the seer of Patmos heard "harping with their harps" to accompany the "new song" of the redeemed in the New Jerusalem, conclude the witness of the Bible to the strictly *lyrical* or musical intention of its poetry (Rev. xiv. 2, 3).

But even when read, lyric poetry carries the impression that it is the natural dress in which the earliest poetic efforts of a people must clothe itself; for, as the great German scholar Ewald has most admirably described it, it is "the daughter of the moment, of swift rising powerful feelings, of deep stirrings and fiery emotions of the soul."⁴ Or, as Bishop Lowth hardly less admirably calls it, "the offspring of the most vivid and most agreeable passions of the mind—of love, joy, and admiration."⁵ This kind of poetry will, therefore, in the history of every people, precede those more elaborate and artistic forms which can only be developed when a nation has acquired a halting-place of prosperity and repose. It belongs especially to the youthful period of a race, when the national life is struggling to find its perfect expression, and is full of impulse and earnest hope. But any after-time of great excitement will call the latent power into action again, for lyric song is of a thoroughly national character. In the vicissitudes of Jewish history it had its period of decline but it never became wholly silent, and indeed was felt to be so perfectly in accordance with the genius of the language and people, that the development into other forms, which poetry has made in almost all other races, was checked among the Hebrews.

The Semitic nations, it has been constantly said, have left nothing approaching an *epic* poem. This statement will have to be modified, at least as far as the Babylonian Semites are concerned, if the remarkable legend of vast antiquity discovered by Mr. George Smith on the Nineveh tablets in the British Museum proves, on further investigation, to be in a metrical form, for it would then rank as a Semitic epic poem on

¹ Canticles, Psalm civ., cxxvi., &c. See Ewald, *Dichter des A. B.*, vol. i.

² G. Gillilan.

³ From Greek *λύρα*, "a stringed instrument." See Fig. 21, p. 73. Cf., in the earliest history of our own country, the combination of poet and musician in the minstrel or gleeman.

⁴ Ewald, *Dichter des A. B.*, quoted in Smith's *Bib. Dic.*, article "Hebrew Poetry."

⁵ *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry*, Lect. xxv.

the Flood. But it is undoubted, that nothing which could properly be classed as epic has survived amid the literature of those Semitic tribes to which the Hebrews belonged.

The term *epic*,¹ it is true, is somewhat loosely used. Even Aristotle, in his treatise on Poetry, applies it to such compositions as the dialogues of Plato, and Milton² has called the Book of Job epic. But its usual signification is a narrative poem of a high and heroic kind of considerable length, and admitting of a long series of events and the actions of numerous personages, but engaged chiefly with the fortunes and turning on the destinies of one man or one nation. Unlike lyric poetry, it is not born amid action and excitement, but requires the backward glance of memory over the situations it records, and is rather the production of settled times and periods of repose. It is, therefore, the species of composition which arises after the heroic age of a people is passed,³ and delights to choose its characters from it. From this arose the term *heroic poem*, and the designation of the metre employed in this style of composition by the Greeks and Romans. Examples of the heroic epic are found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer, and in the *Æneid* of Virgil. Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* and Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* bear the same relation to the age of European chivalry that the great classic epics bear to the mythic periods of Greece and Rome; and in the history of the Christian Church a somewhat similar place is filled by the immortal works of Dante and Milton. We find nothing in Hebrew literature occupying the same place, but, as it has been beautifully said, "this defect is to a great extent supplied by the ivy-like tenacity with which the growth of the Hebrew lyric winds itself round and round the more than epical trunk of the Hebrew history."⁴

The reason of this absence has often been asked. Perhaps the simplest explanation lies in the Hebrew's constant realisation of the active and intimate providence of Jehovah, and the intensity of his religious awe. Narrative poetry did not give the Hebrew poet sufficient scope for the ever-rising emotions of praise, or trust, or hope in the mercies of God. The dramatic form was more in accordance with his genius, as we see from the attempt at it in the Book of Job. He must always be bursting out in a torrent of personal experience or feeling, like the invocation at the end of Deborah's song (Judg. v.), or the ascriptions of praise which form the burden of some of the historical Psalms (Ps. evii., xxxvi.). Perhaps the following passage from M. Renan's introduction to the translation of the Book of Job gives the best account of the character of the poetic genius of the Hebrews:—"The imagination of the Semitic races has never passed out of the narrow circle traced round it by its exclusive pre-occupation with the

Divine grandeur. God and man in the presence of one another in the bosom of the desert—that is the abridgment, or, as we say now, the form of all their poetry. The Semites are unacquainted with those kinds of poesy which are based on the development of an action, the epic, the drama, and those kinds of speculation which are based on an experimental or rational method, philosophy and science. Their poetry is the song, their philosophy is the proverb."

With regard to the drama, M. Renan's words are so far correct, as we understand by dramatic poetry only what has actually been represented on the stage, or is suitable for representation. The Hebrews possessed undoubted dramatic power. This is shown by the frequent employment of rapid interchange of question and answer so common in the prophetic poetry, and by many of the Psalms, which are evidently constructed on a principle to admit of different parts being taken by priest or Levite, or choir. The admixture of a dramatic element in lyric poetry is not peculiar to the Hebrews. Examples of it may be found in several of the bucolics of Theocritus and Virgil, in some of the satires of Horace, and in two of his odes. English poetry furnishes other examples in sufficient numbers.⁵ But the two instances we will quote here—one from the Book of Psalms and the other from Isaiah—not only surpass any poems of the kind supplied by ancient or modern verse in sublimity and in the splendour of the imagery, but excel them also in dramatic effect.

The following grand choral hymn (Ps. xxiv.) was, in all probability, composed and sung on the occasion of the removal of the ark from the house of Obededom to the city of David on Mount Zion.⁶ It thus possesses the true lyric element which has been already described; it is the offspring of the moment. "We may suppose the whole congregation, as they wound in festal procession up the sacred hill, to have begun the solemn strain." It is then caught up in rapid interchange of question and answer, a dialogue in music carried on between members of the advancing company. This forms the first part. In the second the speakers are changed. The host, nearing the gates, bursts forth with the magnificent choral hymn, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates," &c. A voice from within twice demands, "Who is this King of Glory?" and twice the answer is chanted back with full acclaim, "Jehovah—he is the King of Glory!"

3.

The whole Congregation sings.

1. "Jehovah's is the earth and the fulness thereof;
The world and they that dwell therein.
2. For He hath founded it upon the seas,
And upon streams doth He make it fast."

First Speaker.

3. "Who shall ascend into the mountain of Jehovah?
And who shall stand in His holy place?"

¹ ἔπος, ἐποποιία, from ἔπος, "a word," or "story."

² *The Reason of Church Government.*

³ Ewald, *Dichter des A. B.*

⁴ Stanley, *Jewish Church*, Second series, p. 146.

⁵ See, for instance, a pastoral of Sir T. Carew, a small poem of Herrick's, called *The Kiss*, a *Dialogue*, Wordsworth's *Laodamia*, and many pieces of Robert Browning.

⁶ Perowne, *Psalms*, vol. i.

Second Speaker.

4. "He that is clean of hands and pure of heart,
Who hath not lifted up his soul to vanity,
Neither hath sworn deceitfully.
5. He shall receive a blessing from Jehovah,
And righteousness from the God of his salvation.
6. Such are they that worship Him,
That seek Thy face (O God of) Jacob!"

II.

The Host sings.

7. "Lift up your heads, O ye gates,
And be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors,
That the King of Glory may come in."

Voice from within.

8. "Who is, then, the King of Glory?"

Answer from without.

"Jehovah, strong and mighty;
Jehovah, mighty in battle!"

The Host sings again.

9. "Lift up your heads, O ye gates,
Yea, lift them up, ye everlasting doors,
That the King of Glory may come in!"

Voice from within.

10. "Who is, then, that King of Glory?"

Answer from without.

"Jehovah of Hosts,
He is the King of Glory!"

In the remarkable passage, Isa. lxiii. 1—6, the Redeemer of Israel coming to vengeance is introduced conversing with a chorus of his people.¹

Cho. "Who is this that cometh from Edom?
With garments deeply dyed from Bozrah?
This, that is magnificent in his apparel;
Marching on in the greatness of his strength?"

Red. "I who publish righteousness, and am mighty to save."

Cho. "Wherefore is thine apparel red?
And thy garments as of one that treadeth the wine-vat?"

Red. "I have trodden the vat alone;
And of the peoples there was not a man with me,
And I trod them in mine anger;
And I trampled them in my indignation;
And their life-blood was sprinkled on my garments;
And I have stained all mine apparel.
For the day of vengeance was in my heart;
And the day of my redeemed was come."

¹ Lowth, *Lectures on Hebrew Poetry*, Lect. xxx.

And I looked, and there was none to help;
And I was astonished that there was no one to uphold;
Therefore mine own arm wrought salvation for me,
And mine indignation itself sustained me,
And I trod down the peoples in my anger;
And I crushed them in my indignation;
And I spilted their life-blood on the ground."

These instances are enough to show that dramatic poetry was not foreign to the genius of Hebrew literature. Two works have survived which have been claimed as regular dramas; one of them, according to one scholar, actually prepared for the stage. These—Job and the Song of Solomon—will claim a fuller treatment hereafter. It may be remarked here, that Milton has described the Apocalypse as "the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a seven-fold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies."²

Besides the purely lyrical, there was only one distinct form of poetry which reached among the Hebrews a high state of development. The name gnomic,³ or proverbial or didactic, is given to it. It is peculiarly Semitic, and represents the nearest approach made by that race to anything like philosophic thought. There are extant many examples of it, amid which the Proverbs of Solomon hold the first rank in the canon. Two considerable works in the Apocrypha belong to this class, and a number of the later Psalms.

But two other forms of poetic composition grew out of the lyric, the elegiac and prophetic. Under the latter it is convenient to class most of the prophetic books. One great elegy has survived, and many shorter poems of the same nature scattered through the prophets.

It will be convenient to treat each of these kinds of composition separately, but the student must first be made acquainted with the Hebrew poetical terms, the general features of the history of the Biblical poetry, and the peculiar structure of its verse.

² Milton, *Reason of Church Government*.

³ Greek γνῶμη, "a means of knowing."

THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE BIBLE.—II.

PALESTINE:—(1) ITS PRIMITIVE INHABITANTS (*continued*).

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II.

THE various nations of Canaan, however otherwise distinguished from each other, seem to have had a common language; and that language the same tongue, essentially, which, down at least to the Captivity, continued to be spoken in the same country by the Israelites themselves. In other words, "the language of Canaan" (Isa. xix. 18) was Hebrew.

(1.) One difficulty in connection with the general fact now stated—namely, that it appears to attribute a Semitic origin to peoples most of whom (or rather, all of them) were, according to the Bible, descended from

Hamitic races—is found to arise from a misnomer. Later researches have proved, that the family of languages to which Eichhorn first gave the name Semitic, was not confined to the nations which traced their lineage to Shem, a large part, if not the majority, of Hamitic nations speaking Semitic tongues (Lenormant, *Manual*, i. 71; Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 528, sq.; Max Müller, *Science of Languages*, i. 262, 265). This point established, the rest of the problem is of easy solution.

The hypothesis in which there may be said to be a general concurrence among scholars is, that the Hebrew dialect was the mother tongue of the Canaanites—or of that people, whoever they may have been, who were

the aborigines of Canaan—and was imposed by them on all later settlers in the country, including Abraham and his descendants. In the case of the patriarchs, the process would be the easier, that though not the mother speech, Hebrew has intimate relations with the mother speech of Chaldea, from which their family had been derived. Nor must it be forgotten that a corresponding change of language, in the history of the Jews, took place at the time of the Babylonish Captivity. In Babylon the Jews adopted the Aramaic dialect of their conquerors, and they continued to use Aramaic as their mother tongue from the Captivity till about the tenth century after Christ. (Lightfoot, *Works*, xii. 279; Max Müller, *Science of Lang.*, p. 263.)

Whatever the explanation, the fact appears to be ascertained that, in the words of Isaiah already quoted, Hebrew was "the language of Canaan," i.e., literally the national dialect of the Canaanites. A presumption in favour of this view arises from the general relations of the patriarchs, and afterwards the Israelites, to the primitive inhabitants of the land. When Israel went down to Egypt, they "heard a language that they understood not" (Ps. lxxxi. 5), and were with "a people of a strange language" (Ps. cxiv. 1), so that they could not speak with the Egyptians except through an interpreter (Gen. xlii. 23). Of the Syrians, in like manner, we are told, that the Jews "understood not their language" (Isa. xxxvi. 11). And when an invasion of the Babylonians was predicted, that nation was described to them as "a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say" (Jer. v. 15). Now we find no hint that any difficulty was experienced by the patriarchs, or their descendants, in freely interchanging their thoughts with the Canaanite races. It is, however, in the history of one of these races themselves, the only one of which we have much knowledge, that the positive evidence of the identity of the Canaanite with the Hebrew tongue is to be found.

Reference is of course made to the Phœnicians. The literature of this ancient people of Canaan, at least in its original form, has, it is true, wholly perished; and we have not, therefore, the same means of ascertaining what their language was, as in the case of some other extinct peoples. But data are not altogether wanting. In the first place, the inscriptions found on extant Phœnician coins, seals, and stone tablets—copies of many of which are published in the *Monumenta* of Gesenius, and more recent works—may be mentioned. Some of these are bilingual, as in the following example from Athens (Gesenius, *Mon.* 113; Kenrick, 171):

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ
ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΣΙΔΩΝΙΟΣ

מִנְחַת הָרַב בְּהוֹם לְעִנְתָּנִית בֶּן
עֲרֵשְׁשֵׁשׁ הַצִּנְרִי

["A tablet of memory among the living to Abd-Tanith (Artemidorus), son of Abd-Schemesch (Heliolorus) the Sidonian."]"]

or trilingual, and on that account the more valuable. One of the most important of the lapidary inscriptions

is from a tablet discovered at Marseilles in 1845. The stone was dug out of the ruins of a house near the site of an ancient temple of Diana in that city. It consists of twelve lines, or ninety-nine words, and contains "a tariff of the prices to be paid for various animals offered in sacrifice to Baal, set up by the authority of the suffetes of Carthage in his temple at Marseilles," where the Carthaginians had a commercial settlement (Kenrick, p. 160 sq.). In the late Mr. Deutsch's admirable paper on "Phœnicia," in *Chambers' Cyclopædia*, will be found two of the more recent acquisitions to this class of materials on the subject of the language of Sidonia. It may be added that though some of the coins belong to Phœnicia proper, the more important inscriptions are derived from the colonies of that country, and that the Punic of their foreign settlements is believed to differ in some respects from the mother tongue (Gesenius, *Monumenta*, 337). A second source of our knowledge of the language is to be found in the Phœnician words which occur in the Bible, in the commentaries of Augustine and other early fathers, and in Greek and Roman authors. These include the names of persons, the names of Phœnician deities, the names of towns, geographical names—most of them significant!—and a variety of other vocables, of which full lists are given in the work of Gesenius already referred to. With regard to the Phœnician names in the Bible, it has sometimes been conjectured that these may possibly represent Hebrew equivalents, and not the original forms of the words in question. This, however, it has been shown (see *Dict. of Bible*, s. v. "Phœnicia"), is contrary to the habitual practice of the Biblical writers in the case of foreign names.

As to Phœnician words to be found in Greek and Latin authors, some allowance must be made for corruptions arising from the difficulty of reproducing the sounds of the Phœnician letters in those of a different language. A special contribution to the vocabulary of the same people from ancient literature must be separately noticed. In one of the plays (the *Penulus*) of Plautus, the Latin poet, a Carthaginian, Hanno, is one of the principal characters, and is introduced as speaking in his native Punic. Though originally written in Roman letters, and suffering not only from this cause, but from the ignorance of transcribers, the principal passage, which consists of sixteen lines, has, through the critical labours of scholars like Bochart, Gesenius, and Movers, yielded more than 100 Phœnician words; and as a whole, the play has rendered important service to the investigations now referred to.

The result of these investigations must be very briefly told. The recognition of the essential identity between the language of Tyre and Sidon, and of the Hebrew, is as old as the times of Augustine and Jerome, both of whom flourished at a period when Phœnician was still a living language, the former, too, being himself a native

¹ As "Baal," master, or lord; "Tyre," a rock; "Sidon," a fish, or fishing; "Carthage," new town; "Hannibal," the grace of Baal; "Hasdrubal," the man whose help is in Baal.

of a Phœnician colony. Valuable as their testimony to the effect just stated is, it would certainly have been more important if, as Bochart (p. 847) remarks, either Jerome had known more Punic, or Augustine more Hebrew. Even with such materials as they had at their disposal, modern scholars have arrived at conclusions which, while not less decided, are much more trustworthy than those of either of these fathers. It has been ascertained that of the 99 Phœnician words in the Marseilles inscription, no fewer than 74 are Hebrew; that the Latinised Phœnician of the *Penulus* of Plautus is, with all its corruptions, for the most part intelligible, and alone capable of translation, when read as Hebrew; that the same rule holds in the case of Phœnician names and other words in the Bible, and in Greek and Roman literature; and that, while in the comparatively modern examples of Phœnician, which constitute the chief part of the remains of the language in our possession, variations from the old Hebrew may be expected, and do occur, yet upon the whole, in the opinion of so high an authority as Gesenius, it must be held, that whether we have regard to its roots, or to the manner of the formation and inflection of its words, the Phœnician language for the most part, and almost in all respects, agrees with the Hebrew.¹

(2. Of the *civil institutions* and *forms of government* which were found among the Canaanites, we hardly know anything. Philistia was governed by a confederation of five "lords," each of whom had special authority in one of the five great cities, with their surrounding villages. In Gibeon there were "elders" of the city to whom the chief power seems to have been delegated. The most of the little principalities into which the country was divided had a king. In remote times (Josh. xi. 10) the king of Hazor was the head of all the nations of Canaan.

(3.) Our knowledge of the *religion* of these peoples is derived almost exclusively from the Bible; for although much light is thrown on the mythology and forms of worship of the Phœnicians in Greek and Roman literature, nearly all the information thus obtained applies to times very considerably later than those now in question.

Like that of all the Syro-Arabic races (the Hebrews alone excepted), the religions of the nations of Canaan appear, with various distinctions in form, to have had one common type. Among the Hebrews a Supreme Power above nature, an invisible, self-existent Being, the Creator of all things, and the universal Father, was acknowledged as the one living and true God. With the Canaanites, as with all the other races of Western Asia, Nature-worship, or the deification of the powers of Nature itself, the worship of the Divine *in* Nature, not above or apart from Nature, may be described as the predominant characteristic of their system of religion. It is a system which, as has been abundantly proved by history, is susceptible of development either

on the one hand into a comparatively pure mysticism, or, on the other, into the grossest forms of a corrupt and debasing superstition. In either case, however, it involves the rejection of a belief in the existence of God, and the substitution, in the words of St. Paul, of "the worship of the creature" for the "worship of the Creator" (Rom. i. 25).

The supreme objects of this worship, according to the mythology of these peoples, were Baal and Ashteroth: the former, sometimes called *Baal-Samen* (in the *Penulus* of Plautus, *Balsamen*), "the Lord of Heaven" (Bochart, 784); the latter—whose name is derived from the same root as our "star" (Movers, i. 607)—"the Queen of Heaven" (Jer. xlv. 17), and generally supposed to represent, in the one case, the sun, and in the other, the moon (Movers, i. 178—184; 608). The conception of a supreme active, and a supreme passive, or a generative and productive power in nature, was afterwards, if not already, connected with the belief in these deities in Phœnicia. It may be added that substantially the same pre-eminence was given to Baal and Ashteroth, either under these or equivalent names—as Bel, Belus, Molech, Chemos, Melear, and Tanais, Ishtar, Baaltis, Mylitta, among the other peoples of the wide range of country already indicated.

Besides Baal and Ashteroth, there was eventually introduced into the worship of the Sidonian Canaanites an indefinite number of subordinate deities representing the planets and stars, the phenomena of nature, its qualities and attributes, the seasons, human passions and emotions, even trades and professions; altars being raised to the planets Mars, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn; to the air, the earth, plants, forests, trees, mountains; to the year and months, day and night, age and youth; to the gods of the husbandman, of the vine-dresser, and the fisherman (see *Chambers' Cyclop.* s. v. "Phœnicia"). Nor are such subordinate objects of worship unrecognised in Scripture as already to some extent acknowledged by the Canaanites generally. Thus the whole "host of heaven" are referred to in many places as receiving divine honours (Deut. xvii. 3; 2 Kings xvii. 16; xxi. 3; xxiii. 4; Jer. xix. 13). Some of these *dii minores* appear in the character of local gods—e.g., Dagon, the fish-god of the Philistines, and Baalzebub, the fly-god of Ekron. Hercules, the god of Tyre, according to Herodotus (ii. 44), had there a temple which was coeval with the foundation of the city.

As to their forms of worship, we know that they had temples (2 Kings x. 21; xi. 18), altars (Judg. vi. 25), priests (1 Sam. vi. 2), with their vestments (2 Kings x. 22), burnt sacrifices (1 Kings xviii. 26), incense (Jer. xlv. 17), libations (*ibid.*), prayers and invocations (1 Kings xviii. 25, 26).

That idolatry in the sense of image-worship was prevalent, appears everywhere. Moses, forewarning the Israelites against the spiritual dangers to which they would be exposed "in the land whither ye go in to possess it," reminded them that they saw no "simili-

¹ "Omnino hoc tenendum est, pleraque atque prout omnia cum Hebræis convenire, sive radices spectas sive verborum et formarum et flectendorum rationem." (*Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 335.)

tude" (*semel*, likeness or semblance) when the Lord spoke to them on Horeb, and said, "Take heed . . . lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of any male or female, the likeness of any beast, . . . of any fowl . . . of anything that creepeth on the ground . . . of any fish" (Deut. iv. 15, &c.). We have not evidence of the actual occurrence among the Canaanites, at this time, of image-worship in the whole of these forms. But as to the general fact, there would be sufficient proof, if only in the frequent references to "statues of Baal" (2 Kings iii. 2; x. 26, 27), in connection with the worship of that god, and in a remarkable passage in the history of Jacob. When Jacob was about to change his encampment from Shechem to Bethel, and set up there an altar to God, he "said to his household and all that were with him, Put away the strange gods [or the gods of the foreigner, that is, doubtless, of the men of Shechem] that are among you. . . . And (it is added) they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which were in their hand. . . . And Jacob hid them in the oak that was by Shechem" (Gen. xxxv. 2—4). Baal was usually represented by a conical stone column (Movers, i. 673), as Ashleroth also sometimes was (Rawlinson, *Herod.* ii. 451), though this goddess assumed many shapes, among others an image crowned with a crescent moon. Dagon's statue was the head and body of a man, terminating in the tail of a fish. The idols were of wood and stone, often of gold and silver—like the "graven images" and "molten images," for the manufacture of which the mother of Micah gave into the hands of the founder 200 shekels of silver (Judg. xvii. 4)—and were decked in brodered garments (Ezek. xvi. 18).

Many like facts may be gleaned from the Biblical notices of the idolatrous usages of the Israelites—usages which, we know, were almost in every case borrowed from "the Amorites, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel" (1 Kings xxi. 26). The Sidonians are said by Herodotus and others of the ancients (see Bochart, 701) to have had the images of their gods on the prows of their ships, a fashion afterwards adopted by the Greeks and Romans with many more of the Phœnician superstitions. The Philistines carried theirs with them into battle (2 Sam. v. 21); and this fact

perhaps explains the conduct of the Israelites in bringing up the ark of the covenant into their own camp, from Shiloh, before a battle with that people, which, in its disastrous results, proved of how little avail to them was the presence of any mere symbol of the Godhead (1 Sam. iv. 3).

Some of the most shocking and hideous of the superstitions of heathenism in other parts of the world were found among them. Human sacrifices formed one of their characteristic religious observances, and especially the sacrifice of their own children. There can be no doubt that a rite of this nature is intended in the frequent allusions in Scripture to a practice of these nations described as "causing their children to pass through the fire," whether to "Molech," or to "Baal" (Lev. xviii. 21; 2 Chron. xxviii. 3, &c.). In one passage the practice is referred to in terms too specific to be explained away: "They have filled this place with the blood of innocents; they have built the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt-offerings unto Baal" (Jer. xix. 4, 5). The same revolting form of idol worship was continued even among the Phœnicians in times comparatively recent. According to Porphyry, "the Phœnician history of Sanchoniatho was full of instances in which that people, when suffering under great calamity, . . . chose by public vote one of those most dear to them, and sacrificed him to Saturn." Kenrick, after quoting this passage, adds: "We trace this practice in the Phœnician colonies in Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, and Sardinia . . . and above all in Carthage itself. . . . Here, after the victory of Agathocles, two hundred noble youths are said (Lanctantius, *Inst.*) to have been slaughtered. But it was also a part of the established ritual of the Carthaginians, and every year a youthful victim was chosen by lot. . . . The most acceptable offering of all was an only child" (*Phœn.* 316). The trial of the faith of Abraham, in the command to slay Isaac, illustrates, as it receives peculiar significance from, this feature of the religious observances of the people among whom he then lived. And the cruelty of some of their rites was equalled by the impurity of others. We need not go further than to the Bible for proof that, in the worship of Astarte, the grossest licentiousness was practised in the name of religion (Numb. xxv. 1, &c.; Deut. xxiii. 18; 2 Kings xxiii. 7).

EASTERN GEOGRAPHY OF THE BIBLE.—VI.

BY THE REV. H. W. PHILLOTT, M.A., RECTOR OF STAUNTON-ON-WYE, AND PRÆLECTOR OF HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

MESOPOTAMIA.

BEFORE we reach Babylon, the most important of the Chaldean cities, it may be well to notice the other Scripture names of the early period connected with Southern Chaldea. These, it will be remembered, are chiefly two, ELLASAR and UR. Ellasar is mentioned in Gen. xiv. 1,

as being under the rule of Arioch, one of the confederated kings who made war upon Sodom.

Ellasar has also been thought to correspond with Larissa, an important city mentioned by Xenophon; but Larissa must have been farther to the north than any probable site of Ellasar. The place whose ancient name, as revealed by the inscriptions on bricks found



MOSQUE OF ORFA.

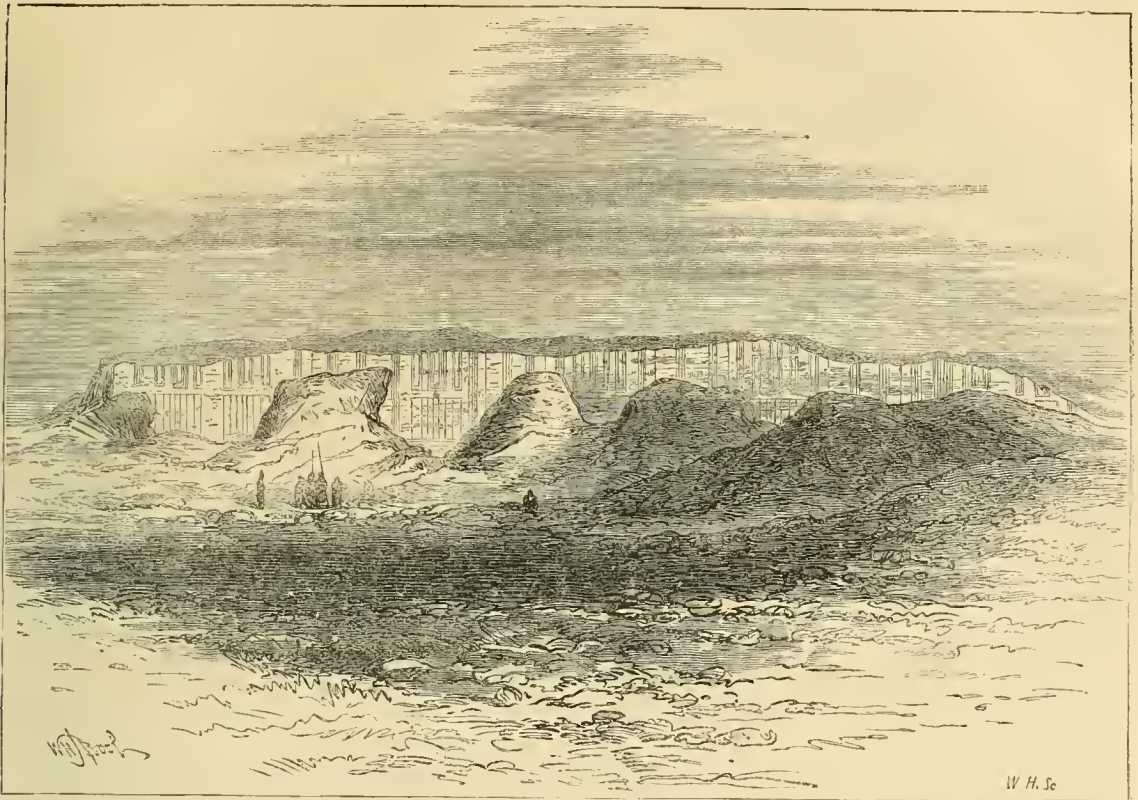
there, seems to answer to it most nearly, is SENKEREH, a place about fifteen miles south-east of Warka, between it and Mugheir, containing extensive remains, and which appears to have been built, or rather rebuilt, by Nebuchadnezzar.

The word Senkerah appears, as we have previously stated, to be closely connected with Shinar, the name of the great Chaldean plain, from which the invaders of Sodom set forth on their foray. Like Warka, Senkerah is a city of tents, and appears to have fallen early into decay. (Berosus, p. 55; Xen. *Anab.* iii. 4, 7; Ptol. v. 20, 4; Plin. vi. 129; Loftus, pp. 248—251.)

The other name, UR OF THE CHALDEES (Gen. xi. 27, 28), whatever its true import may be, is associated with

the early history of Abraham, and on that account possesses a special interest for us. Until lately the word was generally assumed to denote a Chaldean city, which was in all probability Orfa, a town in Northern Mesopotamia, in about lat. $37^{\circ} 10'$, long. $38^{\circ} 55'$, which is also regarded as the site of Edessa mentioned above. (Nieb. ii. 331.) But as there are good grounds for thinking that another view of the subject has a stronger claim on our attention, we will endeavour to present our readers with a brief statement of the different opinions which have been held on the question, in order to assist them in forming their own judgment.

The word *Ur*, in Hebrew, signifies "fire," or "light," and we shall remember how it occurs in this sense in



WARKA.

the mysterious word *Urim*, in connection with the high priest's garments (Exod. xxviii. 30; 1 Sam. xxviii. 6). In one passage of Scripture (Neh. ix. 7), the Latin Vulgate has rendered *Ur* by *ignis*, "fire," as, in fact, the word stands in that passage in the Roman Catholic translation, commonly called the Douai Version.

From this meaning of the word *Ur* the notion arose that Abraham in leaving Chaldea was, in fact, escaping from the idolatrous fire-worship prevailing there. This idea, which has been already noticed above (Vol. I., p. 75), was enlarged by Jews and Mohammedans into the further story, that having destroyed some of Terah's idols, Abraham, by order of the council, or, according to another version, by that of Nimrod, was cast into a furnace, from which he was delivered by an angel. This is said to have taken place at Cutha, a place about twelve miles north-east of Babylon, whose name we shall remember as one of the places from which people were sent by the king of Assyria, probably Esarhaddon, to re-people Samaria after the conquest of Israel by Shalmaneser (2 Kings xvii. 24). It is represented now-a-days by Tiggaba, and we shall have occasion to speak of it again hereafter. (Rich. *Mem. on Bab.*, p. 28; Rawlinson, *Herod.*, i. 632; Ainsworth, *Res.*, p. 165.)

Another interpretation of the word *Ur* has arisen from the rendering by the Greek Septuagint, "region"

(*χώρα*), which agrees, we are told, with a Sanscrit word of the same meaning. This has much to recommend it, when we remember that Abraham was, at any rate, in his later days, a dweller in tents, and not in walled towns. It would then appear that he came forth not so much from a particular place as from the country in general of the Chaldeans. (Gesenius, *Lex.*, p. 55; Ainsworth, *Res.*, p. 152; Oppert, *Expédition en Mesop.*, i. 259; Loftus, p. 162.)

What, then, is to be said in favour of Orfa as the true *Ur* of the Chaldees? 1. The similarity in name. 2. The long-standing tradition among both Jews and Mohammedans that Abraham dwelt there. It may be mentioned also that a tradition exists that the residence of Job was near Orfa; and a tank and well are shown, on the road to Diarbekir, which are associated with his name. This perhaps adds a little, though only a little, weight to the argument in favour of Orfa. (Chesney, *Euphrates*, i. 77, 79; Niebuhr, *Voy.*, ii. 330, 333.) 3. The saying of Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 2) about the forefathers of the Hebrews who dwelt "on the other side of the flood," i.e. the river Euphrates, which points to a situation so far agreeing with that of Orfa. 4. The Roman historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote in the fourth century A.D., seems to mention a place called *Ur*, near Nisibis, which answers fairly to that of Orfa.

(Amm. Marc. xxv. 8). 5. Pliny, so often quoted already, mentions Nisibis as being in the country of the Arabs called *Orei* and *Mardani*, of which words the former may be thought to denote the country of Orfa under the name Ur, and the latter that of Mardin, two towns about seventy or eighty miles distant from each other in the region which he calls Mesopotamia (Pliny, vi. 117).

On the other hand, it may be said—1. That the expression “beyond the flood” refers both to Haran and to Orfa, and thus does not necessarily denote the original dwelling-place of Abraham. 2. That Ammianus Marcellinus wrote not *Ur* but *Adur*, and that the editors of his work have erroneously separated the preposition *ad*, “to,” from the word *ur*. 3. That the term “Chaldea” applies properly to the lower part of the Mesopotamian valley, and not to the upper, though in later writers the term Mesopotamia is applied to the lower part also. (See Acts vii. 2; Pliny, vi. 117.) This is shown (a) by the passage in Judith v. 6, 7, which says that the Hebrew nation came out of Chaldea to dwell in Mesopotamia. (b) By Josephus, who says that Terah, father of Abraham, left Chaldea in grief for the loss of his son Haran, and went to dwell at Charan in Mesopotamia (Joseph., *Antiq.*, i. 6, 5). 4. Orfa and Haran are only twenty miles distant from each other, whereas the whole history, including St. Stephen’s account, points to a migration of an important character, and not to a mere journey of one or two days only within the same district (Ainsworth, *Res.*, p. 153).

These considerations, especially the last, seem to invalidate, if not overthrow, the identity of Ur with Orfa. If we are still to regard Ur as the name of a place, and not, as the writer of the present article is strongly inclined to think, the name of a country, what shall we select as its modern equivalent? To this question we may reply that, so far as our information goes, the ruined city called by the Arabs Mugheir, “mother of bitumen,” appears to possess the strongest

claim upon our acceptance. 1. The inscriptions which connect the name of Uruk with the cities of Niffar, Warka, Senkerch, and Mugheir, constantly speak of the last of these places as the city of Ur or Hur. This word appears to contain the essential part of the word *Hurki*, the moon-god, of whose worship, in early Chaldean times, this city was a principal seat. This notion is confirmed by the indirect testimony of Eupolemus, a Jewish writer of about 150 B.C., who says that Abraham was born in *Camarina*, a city of Babylonia, which some call *Uria*, i.e. a city of the Chaldeans. Now the word *Camarina* appears to be a Greek name, derived from an Arabic word, *kamar*, which means “the moon.” Thus in the two words *Uria* and *Camarina*, as the reader will see, the name of the place and its meaning appear to be brought together; and thus, if any single place is to be regarded as the site of Ur of the Chaldees, perhaps Mugheir has the strongest claim to be selected for that purpose. (Loftus, p. 131; Rawlinson, *Herod.*, i. 614, 615.)

Mugheir was visited by the old Italian traveller Pietro della Valle, early in the seventeenth century, on his way from Basrah to Aleppo, without any notion of its connection with Abraham, or, in fact, any knowledge concerning it. He describes it as a mound of ruins, near which he was compelled by circumstances to encamp, and which in consequence of this he was enabled to examine with care. He says that he had no idea what place he was surveying, but that the ruins consisted of large, well-burnt bricks, stamped and inscribed with characters unknown to him, but which appeared to be very ancient. “I carried away,” he says, “one of the bricks, and noticed that they were joined together in the building not with mortar, but with bitumen, with which these plains abound, so that the Arabs call the hill of ruins *Mugejer*, i.e. ‘the pitchy.’”¹ (P. della V., ii. 844, 862.)

¹ A representation of Mugheir may be seen at Vol. I., page 41 of THE BIBLE EDUCATOR.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE GOSPELS.—VI.

THE MESSIANIC PROPHECIES OF THE EARLY CHAPTERS OF ST. MATTHEW.

BY THE REV. C. J. ELLIOTT, M.A., VICAR OF WINKFIELD, BERKS.

“When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt: and was there until the death of Herod: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt have I called my son.”—ST. MATT. ii. 14, 15.

THE prophecy to which reference is here made is found in Hos. xi. 1: “When Israel was a child (or young), then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt.” Notwithstanding the assertion of Rosenmüller, in his commentary on the passage, that no doubt can be entertained by any one that St. Matthew quotes from Hos.

xi. 1, it was supposed by Eusebius (*Demonst. Evangel.*, iv. 1) that the quotation is from Numb. xxiv. 8, “God brought him out of Egypt.” Independently, however, of the *a priori* improbability that the words of the unrighteous prophet would be thus cited by the Evangelist, it suffices to reply that the words quoted occur in Hos. xi. 1, and do not occur in Numb. xxiv. 8. The remark of Dr. Alexander, that the passage is not to be found in the Old Testament at all, but must have been a tradition handed down amongst the Jews, is altogether indefensible, and seems to have arisen out of an inability

to receive the truth of the saying of St. Augustine that "in the Old Testament the New Testament *lies concealed*; in the New, the Old *lies revealed*."¹

The historical allusion of the words of the prophet is to Exod. iv. 22, 23: "And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the Lord, Israel is my son, even my first-born: and I say unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me." The spiritual relationship in which Israel stood to the Lord appears to be denoted in these words, not only because *Jehovah*, not *Elohim*, is the name of Deity here employed, but also because the relation of God to man as his Creator does not seem to be represented in Holy Scripture under that of a father to a son. It must be observed, further, that the very same word which is used in the LXX. in this place with reference to Israel, as contrasted with the heathen nations afterwards to be admitted into the covenant, viz., *πρωτότοκος*, is that which is applied to Christ, not only as the "first-born son" of the Virgin Mary, but also as "the first-born among many brethren" (Rom. viii. 29), and "the first-begotten of the dead" (Rev. i. 5).

The formula of quotation here employed, as in i. 22, though sufficiently clear in the Greek, is ambiguous in the English version, not, as it should seem, owing to the error of the translators, but to the transitional state of the English language at the time at which their work was accomplished. "Where in common language we now say 'by' and 'through' (i.e., 'by means of'), respectively, our translators"—as it has been observed by Professor Lightfoot—"following the diction of their age, generally use 'of' and 'by,' respectively—'of' denoting the agent (*ὁπρό*), and 'by' the instrument or means (*διὰ*)."² Applying this remark to the passage in question, and also to other quotations which occur in the early chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, we shall perceive that an important truth is conveyed in the formulae by which they are preceded, viz., that whilst the prophet is represented only as the instrument employed in the communication, the "primary motive agency" is reserved to God himself; "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord *through* (or by means of) the prophet."

This distinction between the Divine origin of the revelation, and the earthen channel of its communication, serves also to remove any difficulty which exists as regards the sense in which this and other prophecies are said to have received their accomplishment in cases in which they appear, at first sight, to be used solely in the way of accommodation. It may be readily admitted in this, as in other instances, that the prophet was unconscious of the full import of his own utterance, and that the words which St. Matthew declares to have been prophetic were regarded by Hosea only as historical. In any case, "this citation shows," as the late Dean Alford has observed, "the almost universal application in the

New Testament of the prophetic writings to the expected Messiah as the general antitype of all the events of the typical dispensation." The Holy Spirit here declares by the pen of St. Matthew what was in His own mind when the prophet was moved to give utterance to these words, and, as Bishop Wordsworth unanswerably asks, "Who shall venture to say that he knows the mind of the Spirit better than the Spirit himself?" The more closely, however, the words are scrutinised, the more fully will the truth asserted by St. Matthew be recognised—that the words of the prophet, which had their historical basis in the exodus of the typical Israel, received their complete and ultimate accomplishment in the person of the true Israel. For (1) the national Israel was chosen out of, and kept aloof from the other nations of the earth, because in it was contained the well-beloved Son of God, that true Israel in whom alone God is perfectly glorified (Isa. xlix. 3); and (2) it was by reason of "the holy seed," which was "the substance thereof," that the shell which contained it was, in a marvellous manner, preserved from destruction beneath the iron yoke of bondage in Egypt, and was miraculously brought up out of it when the time appointed in the Divine counsels was accomplished, and when the promise made to the seed of Abraham was about to receive its primary fulfilment in the entrance into Canaan, and the apportionment of the land under the typical Joshua.

When these considerations are allowed their due weight in connection with the important facts (1) that the contents of the Book of Hosea are pre-eminently of a typical character; (2) that Hosea not only prophesied contemporaneously with the great Evangelical prophet Isaiah, but himself delivered other undoubtedly Messianic prophecies (cf. i. 11; iii. 5; xiii. 14); and (3) that throughout his prophecies he not only recognises the typical character of the earlier history of the chosen people, but, further, that the deliverance out of Egypt lies, as Hengstenberg has observed, "at the foundation of the descriptions of the second great deliverance;" we shall no longer find any insuperable difficulty in believing that—however inadequately comprehended by the prophet himself, and by those to whom his prophecies were directly addressed—in no other than its Messianic interpretation can the prophecy of Hos. xi. 1 be deemed to have received its ultimate accomplishment, "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt."

It will serve to bring out into clearer light the pervading principle of Messianic interpretation, as received and enforced by the inspired Evangelists, if it is observed farther, that in the message of the angel to Joseph, directing his return into the land of Israel on the death of Herod, "For they are dead which sought the young child's life" (ii. 20), there is an almost verbal reproduction of the command given to Moses to return into the land of Egypt, "Go, return into Egypt; for all the men are dead which sought thy life" (Exod. iv. 19).

¹ See Morrison's *Commentary* on St. Matt. ii. 15. 1870.

² On a *Fresh Revision of the English New Testament*. Second Ed. 1872. Pp. 118, 119.

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.—XII.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

CAMEL AND DROMEDARY (*concluded*).

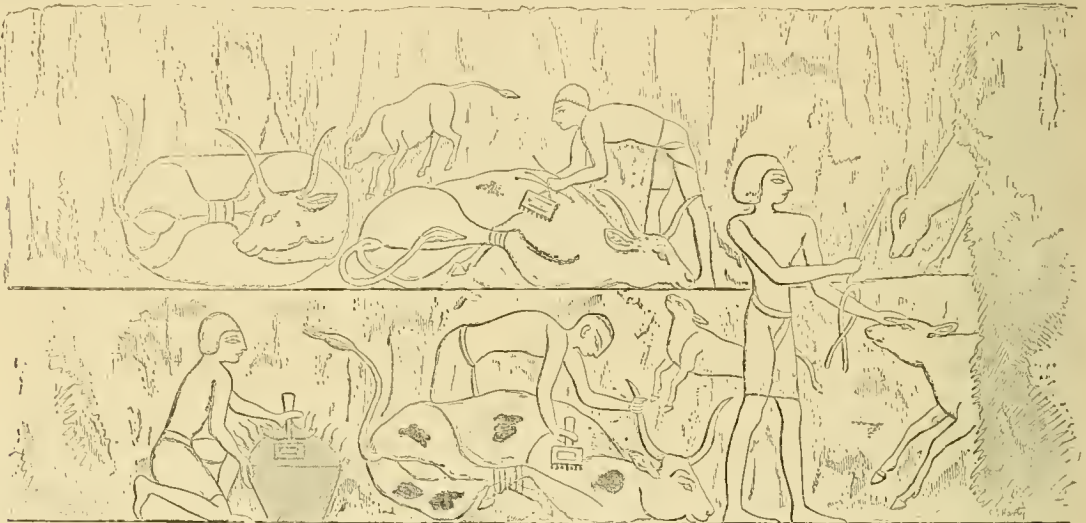
THE milk of the camel is much esteemed, and is excellent, its goodness being acknowledged from the time of Aristotle to this day. When fresh it is "rich and strong, but not very sweet. It is usually curdled and drunk sour, in which state it is both nourishing and refreshing, and to many a travelling Arab supplies both food and drink. Butter and cheese are made from it, the new milk being churned for the former by being poured into a leathern bottle and then

dromedary"—in reference to the scarcity of good men.

"I have filled them with wine, but they take pleasure in camels' milk"—spoken, probably, of those who prefer inferior things to good ones.

"The camel ruminates from its stomach"—said of a cook who prepares food for himself with much culinary art.

"Fruit is found in a well, and on a camel's back"—*i.e.* The man who draws from the well, mounts his camel and waters his land, finds produce.



ANCIENT EGYPTIANS MARKING CATTLE WITH A HOT IRON.

beaten with a stick. The cheese is usually eaten fresh, and is very salt" (*Nat. Hist. Bib.*, p. 66). We read in the history of Jacob that he presented his brother Esau with thirty milch camels, the Jews doubtless using the milk, though they avoided the flesh.

John the Baptist wore a garment made of camel's hair (Matt. iii. 4; Mark i. 6), and some have supposed that Elijah "was clad in a dress of the same stuff." In answer to the question that Abazia put to the messengers whom he had sent to Baal-zebub, "What manner of man was he which came up to meet you?" they said, "He was a hairy man (*ba'al scar*), and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins" (2 Kings i. 7, 8). Expositors are generally agreed that the expression "hairy man" has not reference to the hair of the body, but to some hairy garment of camel's or goat's skin.

The camel is the subject amongst Eastern nations of many proverbial expressions. We give a few. The Arabs say—

"Men are like camels: not one in a hundred is a

Amongst the Jews may be mentioned—

"There are many old camels which carry the skins of young ones"—*i.e.* to the market, to be sold.

"In Media the camel dances in a wine-cask"—spoken of travellers who deal in the marvellous.

"The camel went to seek for horns, and lost his ears"—spoken in reference to the comparative small size of the camel's ears—of a man who seeking an apparent advantage has lost a real one. Talmudical writers apply this proverb to Balaam, who, coveting the rewards and honours of Balak, lost the gift of prophecy.

On two occasions Jesus employed proverbs relating to the camel: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God" (Matt. xix. 24); "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel" (Matt. xxiii. 24). We have no doubt that the camel is denoted in both passages. In the first the objection has been made that the metaphor of an animal passing through a needle's eye is a bad one, and that the Greek word *καμηλος* ought

to be read as *κάμιλος* (a cable), and then the metaphor is exact. To this it must be said that there appears to be no such Greek word as *κάμιλος* (a cable); it occurs in no Greek author; Suidas and the Scholiast on *The Wasps of Aristophanes* (1035) are the only authorities for the existence of such a word; so we must reject this hypothesis. Another suggested explanation is that there is a small gate at Hebron through which a camel, when deprived of its load, can, with difficulty, be dragged (Kitto's *Cyclop. Bibl. Lit.*), and that this is called "The Needle's Eye." This, which at first sight seems a plausible interpretation, was, we believe, first suggested by Lord Nugent, in his *Lands Classical and*

x. 25) has appeared to some to be a strained metaphor; whereas that of the entrance gate, low and narrow, through which the sumpter-camel cannot be made to pass unless with great difficulty, and stripped of all the incumbrance of his load, his trappings and his merchandise, may seem to illustrate more clearly the foregoing verse, 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God!'"

Notwithstanding the plausibility of the above explanation, there can be little doubt that the literal meaning is the true one. Lightfoot and others have shown that such expressions as camels or other large animals going through needles' eyes are common as proverbs in the



AN ETHIOPIAN PRINCESS DRAWN BY SPOTTED OXEN IN A CAR; DRIVER AND ATTENDANT.

Sacred. "Entering Hebron," he says, "we were proceeding through a double gateway, such as is seen in so many of the old Eastern cities, even in some of the modern—one wide-arched road, and another narrow one by the side, through the latter of which persons on foot generally pass to avoid the chance of being jostled or crushed by the beasts of burden coming through the main gateway. We met a caravan of loaded camels thronging this passage. The drivers cried out to my two companions and myself, desiring us to betake ourselves for safety to the gate with the smaller arch, calling it *Es Summ el Kayût* (The Hole or Eye of the Needle). If, as on inquiry since I am inclined to believe, this name is applied not to this gate in Hebron only, but generally in cities where there is a footway entrance by the side of the larger one, it may perhaps give an easy and simple solution of what in the text (Mark

East, to denote anything unusual or impossible. In a discourse about dreams, to intimate that they do not exhibit things of which the mind had no previous conception, it is said, "They do not show a golden palm-tree, or an elephant passing through the eye of a needle." Again, to one who had related something very absurd or incredible, it was said, "Perhaps thou art one of the *Pumbeditha* (a Jewish school at Babylon), who can make an elephant go through the eye of a needle." So, too, in the Koran, "Until the camel shall enter the needle's eye," *ear* in Arabic (Lightfoot, *Hore Heb.*; Kitto's *Pictorial Bible*). That the disciples understood the words of the Saviour in their literal sense seems clear from their expression of astonishment, "Who then can be saved?" The whole purport of our Lord's words is simply that a rich man, who has many temptations to trust in riches, cannot

enter the kingdom of heaven without Divine grace and assistance, a statement which few will be inclined to dispute. With respect to the other proverbial expression, "Straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel," it should be noted that the Greek words (διολίζοντες τὸν κύνωπα) would be better rendered, "Straining out a gnat," that is, straining wine lest little creatures as gnats should be swallowed. The versions of Tyndale, Cranmer, and Geneva all exhibit "out." The late Dean Alford remarks on this passage: "The straining the gnat is not a mere proverbial saying. The Jews (as do now the Buddhists in Ceylon and Hindostan) strained their wine, &c., carefully, that they might not violate Lev. xi. 20, 23, 41, 42. and, it might be said, Lev. xvii. 10—14). 'The strain at a gnat' in our present Authorised Version for 'strain out a gnat' of the earlier English versions seems not to have been a mistake, as sometimes supposed, but a deliberate alteration, mean-

draught purposes, when they were generally yoked in pairs. "And they brought their offering before the Lord, six covered wagons, and twelve oxen" (Numb. vii. 3). "Now therefore make a new cart, and take two miledi kine, on which there hath come no yoke, and tie the kine to the cart" (1 Sam. vi. 7). Sometimes cattle were used as beasts of burden: "They brought bread on asses, and on camels, and on mules, and on oxen" (1 Chron. xii. 40); their flesh was eaten, they supplied butter and milk, and were much used in the sacrifices.

There are several Hebrew words used to express the different sexes or ages of cattle: thus we have *bākār*, a collective name for "cattle for the plough," "a herd;" the early use and importance of this animal in ploughing appears in this name, being derived from *bākar*, "to cleave," "to plough," like the Latin *armentum*, which is a shortened form of *aramentum*, from *aro*,



OXEN TREADING OUT CORN.

1. Raking up the ears to the centre. 2. Man driving oxen. 3. Winnowing with wooden shovels. Wilkinson.

ing, 'Strain [out the wine] at [the occurrence of] a gnat.'" Whether the alteration were by mistake or deliberation, it was certainly one for the worse.

CATTLE, DOMESTIC AND WILD.

We now come to the *Pecora* division of the "even-toed" *Ungulates*, and shall have to consider cattle, sheep, goats, and antelopes, so far as they have, directly or indirectly, a Biblical interest. There was no animal that was held in higher esteem by the Jews than the ox; upon this useful animal devolved all the ordinary operations of farming. Oxen were used for ploughing (Deut. xxii. 10; 1 Sam. xiv. 14). "Elisha the son of Shaphat was ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen before him, and he with the twelfth," when "Elijah passed by him, and cast his mantle upon him" (1 Kings xix. 19). The oxen belonging to Job were ploughing when the Sabceans fell upon them, and took them away (Job i. 14, 15). Oxen trod out the corn, and there was a special command not to "muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn" (Deut. xxv. 4). The prophet Hosea says, "Ephraim is an heifer that is taught, and loveth to tread out the corn" (x. 11). Oxen were employed for

"I plough." Sometimes, but rarely, *bākār* denotes a single animal. With other words we have *eglah bākār*, "a heifer;" *par ben bākār*, "a young bull," literally "a bull, the son of the herd." *Shōr* denotes one head of cattle, without respect to age or sex: "Now that which was prepared for me daily was one ox" (*shōr echād*) (see Neh. v. 18). The Chaldee form of the word *tōr* occurs in Ezra vi. 9, 17; vii. 17; Dan. iv. 25. Some authorities consider this word to be the origin of the Greek *ταῦρος*, the Latin *taurus*, the German *stier*, the Anglo-Saxon *steor*, and the English *steer*. Plutarch says, ὅτι οἱ Φοίνικες τὴν βοῦν καλοῦσι ("The Phœnicians call a heifer *Thōr*"). The similarity in appearance between the Semitic word and the Greek, &c., is merely accidental, and not real; and there can be no doubt that the etymology of the Greek *ταῦρος*, the English *steer*, is to be sought, not in the Semitic, but in the Aryan family of languages. It is confessed that the English *cow* is identical with the Sanskrit *go*, and there can be little doubt that the Greek *ταῦρος*, &c., is to be referred to the Sanskrit *sthaurin* or *sthūrin* (a packhorse, strong horse, beast of burden), from *sthaura* Sanskrit, *staora* Zend. (strength). The

Greek ταύρος would thus mean "the strong animal," appropriately so called. We may compare with this the old High German *stur* (large), *stüri* (strong). The idea of strength as applied to bulls appears in the Hebrew form, *abbirim*, i.e., "strong ones." A young bull and a young heifer are denoted by the Hebrew words *par* and *pārāh*. The plural form occurs in the expression, "So will we render the calves (*pārīm*) of our lips" (Hos. xiv. 2), that is, "Our prayers and confessions to God will supply the place of sacrificial bulls." This passage, however, has been variously translated. The Septuagint version has, "We will pay with the fruit (*peri*) of our lips," i.e., with the confession of sin; similarly, Mr. Sharpe renders, "So will we give in return the fruit of our lips" (*Hebrew Scriptures Translated*, iii., p. 393). Leeser translates, "And let us repay the steers of sacrifice with the prayer of our lips." Benisch has, "And we will pay the bulls vowed with our lips" (*Jewish School and Family Bible*, iii., p. 289). The late Dr. Rowland Williams translates the words, "So will we render fruit from our lips;" and compares Heb. xiii. 15, "Let us offer the sacrifice of praise . . . the fruit of our lips." Maurer understands the words to mean, "That we may offer our lips (i.e., words of penitence and prayers) as sacrifice instead of bulls;" similarly Rosenmüller. The "fruit of our lips" is very good sense, and intelligible without any explanation; but there seems no authority for reading *peri* (fruit), instead of *pārīm* (bulls), the ordinary plural of *par*. The Hebrew *peri* (fruit) has a plural form, פֵּרִים (*pērīm*), but no plural form occurs in the Hebrew Bible. Fürst gives the two forms, *pērōth* and *pērīm*, but says they occur only in modern Hebrew. There can be little doubt that "we will pay as young oxen our lips," i.e., "present the prayers of our lips as thank-offerings," is the true meaning. Besides the words above mentioned, we meet with *égel* and *eglāh* to denote "a calf," "a young cow," of any age between a very young calf and an animal three years old. The word is used of one employed in ploughing (Judg. xiv. 18); of one giving milk (Isa. vii. 21, 22); of one used in treading out corn (Hos. x. 11); and of one three years old (Gen. xv. 9). The idea of leaping and bounding is apparently implied in the word; thus, in Ps. xxix. 6, "He maketh them to skip like a calf" (*égel*). The *égel* was sometimes an animal untrained to the yoke: "Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised, as an *égel* (young bull) unaccustomed to the yoke" (Jer. xxxi. 18). In Ps. lxxviii. 30, the word is used of people delighting in war: "Rebuke the beast of the reed, the multitude of the bulls (*adath abirim*), with the calves of the people (*be'eglei ammim*);" a prayer of Israel that God would make their enemies submit to them. The words are, it would seem, a symbolical description of Egypt, the crocodile being probably denoted by "the beast of the reed" (see marginal reading, which is the correct one). The bulls (*abirim*), literally "strong ones," are perhaps the princes and leaders of the nations; the calves of the people are the nations themselves. Fürst conjectures from these

passages we have cited that the root of the Hebrew name *égel* is *agal*, "to leap," "to go quickly."

The ancient Jews generally pastured their cattle at large in the open country, or in the wooded districts, and hence the animals would roam about on the hills and plains for a great part of the year, many of them in a half-wild state, and often dangerous. Hence we have the laws with regard to "goring." "If an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die: then the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten. But if the ox were wont to push with his horn in times past, and it hath been testified to his owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and his owner also shall be put to death" (Exod. xxi. 28, 29). The Psalmist complains of the trouble his enemies cause him, and compares them to wild bulls. "Many bulls have compassed me: the strong ones of Bashan have beset me round" (Ps. xxii. 12)—words which very graphically describe half wild cattle gathering together in a circle around some object which excites their suspicion or alarm. At this day the bulls of Palestine frequently become rather wild; the cattle in Gilead and in the wilderness, Dr. Tristram tells us, will vigorously defend themselves against the attacks of wolves, hyenas, and other wild beasts, by forming themselves into a circle, with the cows and calves behind them. Though as a general rule the cattle were pastured in the plains, forests, and hills of the country, they were sometimes stall fed. "Ten fat oxen (*asārāh bākār berīm*), and twenty oxen out of the pastures" (*ve'esrīm bākār re'i*) (1 Kings iv. 23 [*Heb.* v. 3]). The passage in Prov. xv. 17 is more explicit: "Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox (*shōr ābūs*) and hatred therewith." Compare also Prov. xiv. 4: "Where no oxen are, the crib (*abūs*) is clean;" and perhaps Amos, who was himself a herdsman, is more exact still, for the Hebrew word for "stall" which he uses shows that the cattle were "tied up" and fed. Speaking of the wantonness and self-indulgence of the people of Israel, the prophet says (vi. 4), "They lie upon beds of ivory . . . and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall" (מַרְבֵּק, *marbék*), the word *marbék* being derived from the root *rābak*, "to fasten" or "tie up." See also Mal. iv. 2 [*Heb.* iii. 20]: "Ye shall go forth and grow up as calves of the stall" (*marbék*). Compare, too, 1 Sam. xxviii. 24, "The woman had a calf of the stall" (A. V., "fat calf"); and Jer. xlvi. 21, "Her hired men are like bullocks of the stall" (marginal reading).

The ancient Egyptians kept large herds of cattle of different breeds, of which three principal distinctions are most deserving of notice, the short, the long-horned cattle, and the Indian or humped ox. According to Sir G. Wilkinson, "the two last, no longer natives of Egypt, are common in Abyssinia and Upper Ethiopia" (*Ancient Egyptians*, iii., p. 53). The long-horned as well as the short-horned cattle of Egypt are probably only a variety of the common ox or *Bos Taurus*, of which species Dr. Gray gives about forty synonyms. It is the white mrs of Colonel Hamilton

Smith, the Chillingham bull of Gray, the wild or white forest cow and bull of Low, the wild cattle of Bewick, the *Bos domesticus* or *B. Taurus* of Linnæus, the steer and ochs of the Germans, the bœuf of the French. It is the parent of all the numerous breeds of cattle known to graziers as the English short-horn, the Lancashire long-horn, the polled Suffolk, the West Highland, Zetland, Kerry, Alderney, and Fifeshire cow. If we look at the animals of foreign rearing, *Bos Taurus* is the parent of the Holstein or Dutch bull, the Polish, Hungarian, Swiss, Alpine, Syrian, and Moldavian cattle, the beautiful Italian bull, the Spanish bull, the Egyptian long and short-horned cattle, the curious *Bos Taurus Abyssinicus* of Gmelin, the laur of Africa, the cattle of Brazil and Chili, and the Falkland Isles wild cattle. The zebu of the Egyptian monuments is by some supposed to be rather the Dante or *Bos Dante* than the *Bos Indicus*. Long, in his *Egypt*, says that this animal agrees better with the humped cattle on the ancient Egyptian tombs than with the zebu. Probably this is only a variety of the *Bos Indicus*, which has a wide geographical range, being spread over the whole of Southern Asia, and the eastern coast of Africa, from Abyssinia to the Cape of Good Hope. There is another variety of cattle depicted on the monuments at Thebes, and represented drawing a car or plaustrum, in which is seated an Ethiopian princess driven by a charioteer and accompanied by an attendant (see page 365). This is the *Bos Taurus Abyssinicus* of Gmelin; the animals are "white and black in clouds, low in the legs, with the horns hanging loose, forming small horny hooks nearly of equal thickness to the point, turning freely either way, and hanging against the cheeks" (Hamilton Smith, in *Griffith's Animal Kingdom*, iv. 425). The drawings on the Egyptian monuments exhibit large well-bred animals; those on the marbles and other monuments from Babylon and Nineveh show also fine strong cattle, with horns much thicker and shorter than those of the Egyptian breeds, and the whole animal more robust and powerful.

Of the present cattle of Palestine, Dr. Tristram has given us the latest and fullest account. He writes: "Horned cattle are by no means universally spread over the country. They are only suited to districts where the water is easily accessible, and where fresh pasture can be obtained throughout the year. In the Sinaitic peninsula, even in those parts where there are not only camels, but horses, sheep, and goats, neat cattle are un-

known. Then, in the southern wilderness of Judah, on the downs and bare prairies to the south and east of Beer-sheba, and in all the plain of Philistia, they are very numerous, and their appearance is very striking to the traveller who has been for some time in the hill country of Hebron and the eastern wilderness adjoining the Dead Sea, where they are never seen. These herds, which are rarely used for agriculture, are of very small size, not much larger than the horned Scotch cattle, and resembling them in general appearance, but with much shorter horns. They are shaggy, short-legged, and small in the hams, but deep in the fore-quarters. Their colour is black or brown, sometimes red, but rarely piebald, and very seldom with any white.

"In the maritime plains of Sharon, Acre, and Phœnicia, and in that of Esdraelon, is found a large variety of the same breed, from which the southern cattle have probably degenerated. They are better cared for and are accustomed to the yoke, all the agricultural operations of these districts being performed by them. In all the central districts of Palestine, from Hebron up to the Lebanon, neat cattle are rare, except on such plains as those of Dothan and Shechem. The pastures are few and burnt up in summer, and the agriculture of the terraced hills is not adapted for their use. Goats supply the milk and butter of these regions, and beef and veal are unknown delicacies. In the north of the country, in the richer parts of Galilee, may occasionally be seen very fine cattle of a quite distinct breed, which are there called the Armenian cattle. They are generally light-coloured, recalling the Tuscan ox, and bearing some resemblance to the Hereford breed, but with shorter horns. They seem to belong to the same race which is represented on the Egyptian monuments, and which is still the finest breed on the banks of the Nile. In the richer parts of Northern Syria, and near Damascus, these large cattle are more common. In the wild countries east of Jordan, Southern Bashan, Gilead, and Moab, neat cattle form the principal wealth of the Arabs and of the few settled villagers, until we reach the desert itself. The breed is the same as that of Southern Judea, but of a larger size, and generally black. Their milk and butter is very rich and abundant, for the forests preserve the verdure of the glades throughout the year, so that the milch kine do not go dry as in the south. There is no trace of the Indian humped cattle in Palestine" (*Natural History of the Bible*, pp. 71, 72).

BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.—VI.

JOSHUA.

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THE Book of Joshua is the first in order of those books which are known in the Jewish canon as the former prophets, and are so distinguished from the latter prophets, which correspond to what we understand by that term—namely, the three greater prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets from Hosea to Malachi. Daniel is not counted among the prophets, but among the Hagiographa, or sacred writings of the Bible, which, comprising the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, &c., is the third division of the Old Testament Scriptures. This method of dividing these Scriptures must have been as early as the time of our Lord, to say the least, because he makes mention of it (Luke xxiv. 44). The Book of Joshua contains the history of Israel from the death of Moses to that of Joshua, and records the appointment of Joshua, his arrangements for crossing the Jordan, the passage of that river, the setting up the memorial of the passage in Gilgal, the dismay of the Canaanites, the circumcision of the people who had been born in the wilderness, the keeping of the passover in the plains of Jericho, the cessation of the manna which had fallen for forty years, Joshua's vision, the overthrow of Jericho, the failure at Ai, the punishment of Achan, the destruction of Ai, the blessing and cursing on Ebal and Gerizim, the deceit of the Gibeonites, the battle of Beth-horon, the standing still of the sun and moon, the great battle by the waters of Merom, the destruction of the children of Anak, a list of the defeated kings, the division of the country for the most part by lot, the setting up of the tabernacle in Shiloh, the appointment of additional cities of refuge and of cities for the Levites, the return of the Reubenites, Gadites, and half-tribe of Manasse to their possessions, and the farewell address of Joshua, together with his death and burial. It appears to comprise the history of about five-and-twenty years. The Book of Joshua naturally divides itself into two parts. The first twelve chapters are purely historical, and contain the history of the conquest. The last twelve, though likewise partly historical and recording the distribution of the land, &c., may be more properly termed geographical. Of the date and authorship of the book we know nothing from external sources. Jewish tradition, chiefly perhaps to be distrusted on account of the fatal facility of its hypothesis, has ascribed it to Joshua. Certain broad and general indications as to date are discoverable from the book itself, and we have no other guide, as there can be none better or surer. For example, we are told (xvi. 10) that the children of Ephraim "drove not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer," but in 1 Kings ix. 16 we find that they were exterminated by Pharaoh, king of Egypt, when he gave Gezer as a present to his daughter, Solomon's wife. Joshua, therefore, was

written before this time. Again, in Josh. xv. 63 we are told that Judah did not drive out the Jebusites from Jerusalem, but we know that David succeeded in doing so at the commencement of his reign (2 Sam. v. 5—9). Joshua, therefore, must be earlier than this, unless indeed, which is highly improbable, it was written much later and accommodated to the subsequent history in these particulars. Such a supposition would imply a degree of skilful literary manipulation for a designed purpose which is utterly foreign to the character of the Hebrew records. The mention, moreover, of "great Zidon," which is peculiar to this book, and points to a time when she was still unsurpassed by Tyre, is an indication of antiquity consistent with the ostensible age of the book. It must be borne in mind also that the Book of Joshua is quoted or referred to, and therefore its existence is implied, in Judg. xviii. 31 (cf. Josh. xviii. 1); in 1 Sam. i. 24; iii. 21; Isa. xxviii. 21; and often in the Psalms—*e.g.*, xlv. 2, 3; lxviii. 12—14; lxxviii. 54, 55; xiv. 3, 5; Hab. iii. 8—13. The reader will at once see that the authors of these several books, and of those Psalms which are ascribed to David, must have had the narrative in Joshua before them to write as they did. It was earlier, therefore, than the earliest of these writings—that is to say, certainly prior to the time of David. In like manner we may infer from ix. 27 that the permanent place of Divine worship had not been fixed in the writer's time, but this was determined as early as the reign of David, as we see from 1 Chron. xxii. 1 (cf. xxi. 18 and 2 Sam. xxiv. 18), and the Gibeonites had not been destroyed by Saul (2 Sam. xxi.). There are, moreover, sundry indications of antiquity in the language used which we should not expect to find in a late writer. We may assume, therefore, that the Book of Joshua was written prior to the age of David. It is manifest, however, that the book in its integrity, as we now have it, was not the work of Joshua, because it records his death and burial (xxiv. 29—33); but it does not follow from this that the remainder of the book, or at least a very large portion of it, may not have been written by Joshua, or at least had his superintendence and sanction. The writer was one—as we may fairly infer from chap. v. 1—of those who had made the passage of the Jordan under Joshua, and if not the great captain himself, was probably one of the elders who outlived him. It is certain that those passages which relate the commands given to Joshua, are more naturally ascribed to him than to any one else; such, for instance, as chap. i. 2—9, &c.; especially the incident at chap. v. 13—15 has all the appearance of being recorded by the person to whom it occurred. The phrase so often repeated, "unto this day," may guide us within certain limits to a determination of the date. For example, it shows that the book as we at present

have it was not written quite so early as the events it records. The twelve memorial stones set up "in the midst of Jordan" must have been there some time, and yet they were still there (iv. 9). On the other hand, the origin of the names of Gilgal and Achor was distinctly remembered (v. 9; vii. 26). Rahab was still alive, which shows that the generation existing at the capture of Jericho had not yet passed away (vi. 25). The heaps of Ai and her king were still remaining (viii. 28, 29), as was that also of the five confederate kings (x. 27; cf. xiii. 13; xiv. 14; xv. 63; xvi. 10; xxii. 3, 17; xxiii. 8, 9). The fair inference, therefore, appears to be that the book was the work of some one who had been an eye-witness of the most important events in it, and that he recorded them while some at least of those who were concerned in them still survived. From such a passage, however, as iv. 14, it would appear that Joshua himself was not alive. Still, it is impossible to say how far the original condition of the book was afterwards adapted to later circumstances. Wherever the narrative of the history of Joshua was continued, as at xxiv. 29, it would be natural that additions of this kind should be made from the later point of view, which embraced the entire lifetime of the principal character. It is manifest that the several lists—*e.g.*, of the thirty-one defeated kings, &c.—in Joshua must have been either the original records or else taken from them. The remarkable injunction to make an official survey (xviii. 4—9) no doubt introduces the actual results of it, at least in substance, as they were brought to Joshua; and there can be no question but that these (chaps. xiii.—xxi.) were ever afterwards regarded as containing the authoritative boundaries of the several tribes. In this respect this portion of Joshua is to the subjugation of Canaan what Domesday Book was to the Norman conquest of England, and there is no more reason to doubt the genuineness of the one than of the other; while the occurrence of such assertions as that the writer was an eye-witness of the passage of the Jordan, and that the woman who entertained the spies was still alive when he wrote, would be held conclusive evidence as to date in any ordinary ancient record, unless there were adequate reason to the contrary. We must briefly notice such reasons as there are.

With regard to the structure of the book four opinions have been held. First, that the book is a collection of fragments put together by a reviser. The writers to whom these fragments have been assigned have been respectively three and five and ten, a sufficiently clear proof that the reasons for assigning them have varied according to the subjective view of the critic. Secondly, that the book is uniform and complete, but that it contains sundry glosses and additions. Thirdly, that the first part was the work of one author, but the second of several. And, fourthly, that the whole work is uniform and complete, and the work of one author. Of these various opinions, the second and the fourth alone are entitled to any consideration. But the unity of the book has been denied chiefly on these grounds—first, the occurrence of duplicate narratives; secondly,

the supposed existence of discrepancies; and, thirdly, the apparent difference of style. The alleged duplicate narratives are (1) Joshua's death (xxiii. and xxiv.); (2) the command to appoint twelve men out of each tribe at the passage of the Jordan (iii. 12 and iv. 3); (3) the setting of an ambush for the taking of Ai (viii. 9, 12); (4) the resting of the land from war (xi. 23; xiv. 15); and (5) the granting of Hebron to Caleb (xiv. 13; xv. 13). These are fair specimens of the trivial kind of criticism which would disintegrate Joshua. With respect to the first, it does not appear that the address in chap. xxiv. is a mere repetition of that in chap. xxii. Joshua may very well have assembled the people twice before his death, and on different grounds: the speeches are manifestly different. There is good reason to believe that Joshua and Judges overlap in point of time; and if so, the visit of the angel to Bochim (Judg. ii. 1) may have occurred between chaps. xxiii. and xxiv., and so have occasioned the alteration in tone that is so evident in the latter chapter (see especially vs. 19—23). With respect to the second, it is not clear that iv. 3 is a repetition of iii. 12, for in the former case it is not determined what the twelve men are to do, and their definite appointment in iv. 3 is in consequence of the Divine command which is communicated (iii. 9). With respect to the third, it is entirely gratuitous to understand vs. 9 and 12 to speak of the same incident and not of two subsequent incidents, and there is nothing to show that the narrative is strictly consecutive. Moreover, ver. 4 shows that the action in vs. 9 and 12 was in compliance with the previous general orders. With regard to the statement that the land rested from war, we must be careful to distinguish it from the taking possession of the land, as is in fact done (xviii. 1, 3). This taking possession was completed (xix. 51), just as the subjugation which led the way to it was completed, when the thirty-one kings were destroyed (xii.). We are, indeed, frequently reminded that the land rested from war, in order to show that the Divine promise did not lack fulfilment, and to show that the people, as we are also frequently reminded, were slow to take advantage of it. But such repetitions as these cannot surely be regarded as evidences of diversity of authorship, but only of a simple and inartificial style of writing; besides, they are no less inconsistent with the theory of a common editor than with that of a single author. With regard to the grant made to Caleb, this is indeed twice repeated, but in a different connection; one being that of his personal merits, and the other that of the boundaries of Judah. It does not appear therefore that, on the ground of the alleged repetitions, there is reason to believe in a combination of various authors to account for the existing phenomena of the Book of Joshua.

With regard to the *discrepancies*, those which have been alleged are as follow:—First, the statement already partly alluded to, and so often repeated, that the whole land was conquered and the Canaanites destroyed (xi. 23; xii. 7; xxi. 43; xxii. 4); together with the reverse statement, that there were large por-

tions of the land that were not conquered (xiii. 1; xvii. 13; xviii. 3; xxiii. 5, 12). It must, however, be borne in mind that this is a discrepancy which pervades the whole book, and not one portion of it as against another. Besides, no reviser would feel himself justified in leaving such a blemish as this, if his intention was to relate a story that might have the appearance of being true, and not to record events which were really according to fact, but which, owing to the brevity and simplicity of relating them, had many of the seeming inconsistencies that long series of consecutive events very often have as they occur naturally. Any original writer recording such events might very easily give his own work all the appearance of disagreement and inconsistency, according as he looked at events and circumstances from different points of view, which, being true, he did not think of troubling himself to reconcile. As far as the Divine covenant was concerned, which it was the writer's manifest object to show to be fulfilled, the whole land was subdued, for the occupation was an accomplished fact and the Israelites were never ejected, nor did the aboriginal inhabitants ever recover more than a temporary and partial mastery; but as far as the natural lukewarmness of the nation was concerned, there was yet much and in fact everything to do. In this we see at once a very common picture of constitutional sluggishness, which is willing to rest satisfied with possession on the easiest terms, and likewise a reason for the reiterated injunctions found in Joshua to make effectual the national separation, which was from the first part of the Divine intention with regard to Israel (xviii. 3; xxiii. 7). And thus the history of the occupation of Canaan is found also to foreshadow the purposes of human redemption, inasmuch as though the work of Christ is complete, it yet remains for the full results of that work to be wrought out in man. The ultimate triumph of the Gospel in the entire occupation of man's subdued nature is apparently still far distant.

A second discrepancy is found in xxii. 2; xxiv. 14, 23; but we are wholly unable to decide the interval of time that may have elapsed between the several incidents. Events may have come to light subsequently, of which Joshua was ignorant when he spoke in xxii. 2, not to mention the obvious fact that his words then had a special reference that might have been perfectly consistent with the more general conduct reproved in the last chapter. The latter injunctions of Joshua have been frequently understood (*e.g.*, by Augustine, Calvin, and others) of an incipient and secret alienation of which the great captain's heart warned him, as that of the great lawgiver had done before.

A third alleged discrepancy is the mention of Shechem and the sanctuary of the Lord (xxiv. 26) as though the tabernacle and the ark were there, when according to chap. xviii. 1 they were at Shiloh, and remained there for long afterwards. But we know nothing of the occasion or circumstances of this gathering at Shechem; it is simply said that the people "presented themselves before God," which it is presumed they could have done whether the ark was present or not.

Besides, though its usual and permanent abode may have been at Shiloh, some of the symbols of the Divine presence, if not the ark itself, may have accompanied the representatives of the nation in their progress to a great national gathering such as this. It is obvious that Shechem very early became a place of great national importance, a centre of national life. It is said, moreover (xxiv. 26), that the stone which Joshua set up was "under the oak that was in the sanctuary of the Lord," which may serve to indicate the temporary nature of that sanctuary.

As for the *differences of style*, they are for the most part very trivial, and the inferences drawn from them inconclusive. For example, it is said that one word is used for *tribe* in the historical and another in the geographical parts. But, besides the fact of this usage not being exclusive in either case, we have one word applied to the one half-tribe of Manasseh and another to the other in Josh. xiii. 29, which is surely sufficient to prove that one and the same writer might at will use both—unless, indeed, we prefer the assumption that this particular verse was itself the production of two different authors. It is well that criticism of this nature should be exposed, that the public at large may be enabled to estimate its claims to deference. In the same manner, because words occur in both parts of the book which are affirmed to belong only to one, it is again denied that such sections are integral portions of that part in which they occur. It is clear that there cannot be any permanent or stable principles for criticism of this kind. Ewald, for instance, says that later historians imitated the phraseology of writers who preceded them and frequently altered their language. Here is at once a self-contradictory assertion; and if this was the case, peculiarities of style are no longer characteristic; we cannot depend upon them, and the whole theory is built on sand.

There is evidence from the book itself to show that there was something which was written by Joshua (xxiv. 26). What "these words" are that he wrote is by no means so plain. They may be understood either of the whole book, or only of the words of the covenant then made. The most natural conclusion for us to arrive at, judging from the existing condition of the sacred books and that alone, is that the expression refers to the entire previous work, because we have no evidence to show that anything else was ever added to the Law of Moses, except this identical Book of Joshua, which immediately follows it, and this only in that sense: it was never regarded as an integral portion of the Law. The passages, however, which appear to be inconsistent with the notion of Joshua's writing it are xv. 13—19; xix. 47, which seem to anticipate the narratives in Judg. i. 15, xviii. 1; cf. also Josh. xv. 63 with Judg. i. 21 and 8; Josh. xiii. 2—5 with Judg. iii. 3; Josh. xvi. 10 with Judg. i. 29; Josh. xvii. 11 with Judg. i. 27, 28. This, however, is on the assumption that the narrative in Judges is entirely subsequent to that in Joshua. It appears to be better to understand the narrative in Judges to refer back to a period

prior to the death of Joshua, so that the two books overlap, as has been said. It is generally supposed, moreover, that the later narrative in Judges, from chap. xvii. and onward, refers to events prior to those of the earlier chapters; and in this case it is quite possible that even Joshua himself could allude to the events of Judg. xviii., as is done at Josh. xix. 47. There appears to be little doubt that both these books underwent some modification from one and the same hand. If we suppose the Book of Joshua, as far as the narrative of his death, not to have been by him, there seems to be no sufficient reason why this narrative should not be by the same writer as the rest of the book. The minuteness and accuracy of the details, and the apparent use of contemporary documents, serve to show that the book really is what it pretends to be—a trustworthy record of the subjugation of the land, and an account by an eye-witness of the principal events connected with it.

The Book of Joshua is referred to in the New Testament, in the defence of Stephen (Acts vii. 45), which says that the "fathers . . . brought in . . . the tabernacle of witness . . . with Jesus [that is, Joshua], into the possession of the Gentiles." (Cf. Heb. iv. 8; xi. 31; James ii. 25. It is directly quoted in Heb. xiii. 5; and the way in which it is there quoted is especially valuable, as showing the kind of reverence paid to the ancient Scriptures by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. He regarded the words spoken in Josh. i. 5 as the veritable promise of Almighty God, which could bear relying on, and not merely as words put into His mouth, which might or might not be trusted. It is this endorsement of the Book of Joshua by the writers of the New Testament that is our guarantee for its position in the canon.

We have shown already that subsequent writers in the Old Testament were acquainted with and accepted the narrative in Joshua. It remains now to show the kind of confirmation which is afforded by the Book of Joshua to the earlier books. It is not too much to say that without the narrative in those books, this book could not have existed. The history of Joshua grows out of the earlier history. We enter upon another era when, closing the narrative of the death of Moses, we open the first page of Joshua. The only ostensible reason or motive for the action of Joshua is the command given by Moses, contained in the Law and reiterated by God to him personally. The "book of the Law" as a complete whole is expressly mentioned by name (i. 8), and is prescribed as the only and sufficient rule of conduct. We may almost affirm that it was this very verse that suggested the 1st Psalm, which depicts the blessedness of complying with the injunction here given.

The example of Moses is everywhere felt to be present as a pervading principle; the first independent action of Joshua is an order given to the two tribes and a half to do as Moses had prescribed to them, as they had solemnly pledged themselves to do (Numb. xxxii. 17). The history of the exodus and the wanderings is known even to the harlot Rahab (ii. 10). The

incident in iii. 3 is after the model of that in Numb. x. 33. The reiterated injunction spoken first to the twelve men (iv. 6), and then to all the people (iv. 21), is an echo of the words of Deut. vi. 20. In the 5th chapter there is an allusion to the manna, and to the wanderings, and to the law of the passover. The injunction (vi. 18) as well as the sin of Achan are wholly unintelligible without the commandment (Deut. vii. 26; xiii. 17). In viii. 30 we find Joshua acting in accordance with the commandment of Moses (Deut. xxvii.), and the blessings and the cursings are said to be "written in the book of the law." In chap. ix. 10 we find the events of the exodus known to the Gibeonites. In chaps. x. and xi. what is done is done in obedience to the commandment of the Lord "as he commanded Moses." In chaps. xii., xiii., and xiv. there are allusions to the same history. The same may be said of chaps. xvii. and xviii. Chap. xx. contains the supplemental appointment of the cities of refuge in compliance with the conditions of Numb. xxxv. 13, 14, and the four remaining chapters have each of them references to the foregoing history of the books of Moses. It is morally certain, therefore, that whenever the Book of Joshua was written the books of Moses were already in existence. To suppose that these various allusions to the earlier books were inserted with a view to making those books appear authentic is impossible. The whole framework of Pentateuchal history is presupposed by that of Joshua, which, while it serves to corroborate that history, is itself corroborated by the testimony of subsequent books. It is this peculiar feature of interdependence among the books of the Old Testament, unlike anything to be found elsewhere, that it is wholly impossible to counterfeit, and that therefore stamps the entire narrative with the impress of substantial truth.

The extermination of the Canaanites, of which Joshua is so full, has often been made the subject of severe animadversion and the cause for cavil at the Divine dealings. But we must bear in mind that the extermination of races is an undoubted law of Providence. Where the white man sets his foot, the black man retreats and dwindles. It may be effected by natural causes, but the result is the same. The Almighty has an indefeasible right to the life He has given. It matters not whether He chooses to employ the sword, the famine, or the pestilence, the result is the same. Now, granting an adequate assurance as to the fact that He was about to adopt such a course and was willing to make His purpose known, and we have in the exterminating wars of Joshua nothing more remarkable than the operation of natural laws would be. Of course it might still be questioned whether the will had adequately been revealed, but in the Book of Joshua we have an ostensible declaration of the will, and its genuineness must turn upon the evidence, external and internal, which can be advanced in proof of it. That the internal evidence, as far as it depends on credibility of authorship, does not break down, we may confidently affirm, and may trust that this is the conclusion at which the impartial student also will arrive.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE BIBLE.—III.

PALESTINE :—(1) ITS PRIMITIVE INHABITANTS (*concluded*).

BY THE REV. W. LEE, D.D., ROXBURGH.



VERY few sentences in conclusion as to (3) the state of the primitive races of Palestine before the conquest, in point of general *civilisation*.

What their religious beliefs and forms of worship were, we have just seen. Their moral condition appears to have corresponded too closely with the corrupt creed and superstitious observances to which they had abandoned themselves. The "exceeding wickedness" of Sodom and Gomorrah in the days of Abraham, though possibly neither then nor afterwards universal in the same aggravated forms, appears from Lev. xviii. to have more or less defiled the whole land.

We must not judge of their civilisation upon the whole by what we know of their faith and of their morals. Misled by an exclusive regard to the idolatry and corruption of life which we know prevailed among them—as they have prevailed amongst peoples otherwise the most highly cultivated and civilised—we are perhaps naturally apt to think of these primitive inhabitants of a land from which they were about to be thrust forth by the immediate judgment of God, as if they were savages, hardly removed beyond the aborigines of Australia, in intelligence, knowledge, enterprise, and industry, in an acquaintance with the mechanical arts, and in the possession of those conveniences of life which are common to all but the most barbarous peoples. It need only be said that it is not from the Bible that any such impression is derived. Nor does it tend to vindicate the ways of God to man in reference to the terrible retribution inflicted on the Canaanites, to encourage a view of the civilisation of these nations which, if well founded, would extenuate rather than aggravate their guilt in the sight of God.

As to a portion of the population, already often referred to, and which, it must be admitted, occupied an exceptional position—viz., the Sidonians—there can be no question. We are not certainly to form our estimate of the civilisation and culture of the Phœnicians at the time of the conquest from the eminence in these respects to which they attained in the course of the 2,000 years over which their annals extend. In progress of time they are found to have become the greatest mercantile nation of antiquity. It is needless to quote classical authority for a fact of which no more vivid or impressive representation could be given than is available to every reader of the Bible (see, *e.g.*, Ezek. xxvi., xxvii., xxviii.). They were not less celebrated for their arts and manufactures, especially for their manufacture of the purple dye, and the purple fabrics from which the name Phœnicia is sometimes supposed (Movers, *Phœn.* ii. (1) 2; Gesenius, *Mon.* 388) to be derived, and for their carved work commemorated in the history of the building of Solomon's Temple (2 Chron. ii., iii., iv.),

and in the poems of Homer (*Iliad*, ψ 742; *Od.*, σ' 424), &c. Then, their colonies, like their richly-freighted merchant ships, were, as Bochart says, "in orbem totum"—in Cyprus, Egypt, Cilicia, Pisidia, Caria, Crete, Rhodes, Bithynia, Thrace, Samothracia and other islands in the Ægean Sea, Thebes, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic islands, on the Persian Gulf, at Carthage and elsewhere in North Africa. Their claim, if not to the invention,¹ at least to the introduction into Greece, of alphabetical writing, is admitted by modern scholars. Herodotus, in recording the tradition on this subject, adds that "for many other kinds of useful knowledge" the Greeks were in like manner indebted to the Phœnicians (*Hist.* v. 58). While these after distinctions cannot be attributed to this nation of Canaan in the times with which we are here concerned, it is worth while noting them even in the present connection, as evidence of the native genius of the people. Nor ought it to be forgotten that even at this time they must at least have entered on the career in which they eventually acquired such glory. We learn from Herodotus, in a passage already quoted, that when they first settled on the Mediterranean coast, they "began *at once* to adventure on long voyages, freighting their vessels with the wares of Egypt and Assyria" (Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 122). This statement is so far confirmed in the Bible. Sidon was "a haven of ships" in the time of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 13); and it was in Joshua's days already known as "great Sidon," as Tyre was "the strong city of Tyre" (Josh. xix. 29).

As to the other nations of Canaan, if no such career was before them, and if, even at the time now in question, they were probably greatly outstripped by their neighbours in Sidonia, neither on the other hand were they by any means wholly uncivilised.

It is only by slight indications that we know the condition of these peoples. Even in the incidental notice of their iron war-chariots, we are enabled to see how far they had advanced in the mechanical arts. Money was in use amongst them so early as the days of Abraham, when we find that patriarch purchasing a burial place, from the sons of Heth, for "four

¹ "It has long been a question what people first invented alphabetic writing. Pliny says, 'Ipsa gens Phœnicum in gloriâ magnâ literarum inventionis' (v. 12); and Quintus Curtius gives the honour to the Tyrians; Diodorus to the Syrians; and Berossus, according to Polyhistor, makes Oannes teach it, with every kind of art and science, to the Babylonians (Eusebius, *Chron.* v. 8); all of which point to the same Phœnician origin. And if the Egyptians called themselves the inventors (Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 14), and ascribed them to Menon (as Pliny says, fifteen years before Phoronens, the oldest king of Greece, vii. 56), the claim of real alphabetic writing is certainly in favour of the Phœnicians, to whom also so many people are indebted for it, including the Greeks and Romans, and through them those of modern Europe." (Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herod.*, vol. ii., p. 266.)

hundred shekels of silver, *current money with the merchant*" (Gen. xxiii. 16). The same passage gives evidence that the courtesies and amenities of social intercourse were not unknown to them. That they were not at least *naked* savages we have curious proof in the Book of Joshua (vii. 21; ix. 5). The name of one of their towns, Kirjath-sephir, which may be rendered "the city of books" (the Septuagint translates it πόλις γραμμάτων), has even suggested to Bochart, Keil, Ewald, and others that literature and science had already made some progress in Canaan.

The country generally must have been well cultivated. Fertile as are some parts of the soil of Palestine, we know, even from its present condition, that as a rule it requires the appliances of art to make it productive. And without agricultural skill and labour, it would have been impossible that so large a population as, by the time of the Exodus, was found crowded in its narrow confines—nations "greater and mightier" than the Israelites themselves—should have obtained sustenance. Large towns seem to have been very common. In Bashan, which though on the other side of Jordan, was, long before the conquest,

the settlement of Canaanite races, and afterwards pertained to Israel, there were "three-score cities fenced with high walls, gates, and bars, besides unwalled towns a great many" (Deut. iii. 5). In this region Mr. Porter found the remains of massive stone houses which he believed must be traced back to the Rephaim—some of the houses perfect as if finished only yesterday. "Their walls are from five to eight feet thick, built of large squared blocks of basalt. The roofs are formed of slabs of the same material, hewn like planks, and reaching from wall to wall; the very doors and window shutters are of stone, hung upon pivots projecting above and below" (*Giant Cities of Bashan*, p. 19 sq.). The Israelites indeed were expressly promised that when they should be brought into the land they would find there not only a fruitful soil, but a country already well cultivated and furnished with abundant accommodation, provided for them by the labour and industry of their precursors: "Great and goodly cities which thou buildedst not, and houses full of all good things which thou filledst not, and wells digged which thou diggedst not, vineyards and olive-trees which thou plantedst not" (Deut. vi. 10, 11).

THE PERFUMES OF THE BIBLE.—III.

BY GEORGE C. M. BIRDWOOD, M.D. EDIN., INDIA MUSEUM.

FRANKINCENSE (*continued*).

IN Purchas, *His Pilgrims*" (London, 1627), Nicholas Doventon, the captain of the *Peppercorne*, writes, March, 1612:—"The eight-and-twentieth we anchored in rough ground in seven fathoms, a mile and a half westward from Mount Felix" (Mount Elephant of the ancients, Ras Fieluk of the Arabs). "The nine-and-twentieth, in the morning, the country people brought down to our men to sell, some store of sheep, small goats, with some small frailes of olibanum and gumme arabick, all of which they had at reasonable rates." And Captain John Saris in his voyages, under March 1, 1612, writes:—"In the evening we had ground, standing in along the land to find the bay of Feluke. Here are gummies of several sorts, *very sweet in burning*, also fine mats, well requested at Aden, Mocha, and the Indies; for, ordinarily, the Indian ships touch here, both inward and outward, to buy thereof, and of the gummies." This is the first evidence that I have discovered amongst men of our time of olibanum being obtained in Africa.

Salmasius¹ says that the word olibanum is ὀλίβανος, and not *quasi oleum Libani*, and sums up the statements of Theophrastus, Pliny, and the Arabs, in favour of Arabia being the land of frankincense. Bochart² says that it is not obtained from India or Africa, or Panchaia, or Mount Lebanon, but solely from Arabia—i.e., Saba. The thuriferous region lies between the

Sachilitic gulf and Syagrian promontory, and Cana (Makulla) is the emporium of the trade. Ovington³ and Hamilton⁴ both give olibanum amongst the exports of Arabia. Celsius,⁵ in his famous *Hierobotanicon*, quoting from Fragosus, writes: "It is most true that frankincense does not grow in any part of India, and whatever is conveyed thence to Portugal, is brought out of Arabia, where alone it grows, and is called *levan*. On which account I believe that writers are mistaken who consider that it is called libanum in Greek and olibanum in commerce, from the fact of its growing on Mount Lebanon." Linnæus referred frankincense to an unascertained juniper; scientific botanists after him boldly specified *Juniperus lycia* as the tree, and until 1832 *Juniperus lycia* was generally held to be the frankincense-tree, and spite of the evidence to the contrary, which now rapidly accumulated. Bruce, in the atlas to his *Travels* (Edinburgh, 1805), figures a plant named *angouah*, which, he says, the Abyssinians believe to yield the frankincense, and he adds, "and in reality it produces a gum much resembling it." It is undoubtedly Delile's⁶ *kafal* of the Arabs of Fagogh, and Richard's⁷ *Boswellia papyrifera*, and Endlicher's⁸ *Plössica floribunda*. Bruce's is the first accurate figure as a frankincense-tree.

³ *Voyage to Surat* (1699). London, 1698.

⁴ *Account of the East Indies*, 1688–1723, in Pinkerton's *Travels*.

⁵ Olavi Celsii *Hierobotanicon*, sive de Plantis Sacre Scripturae Dissertationes breves. Amstelodami, 1748.

⁶ F. Caillaud, *Voyage à Méroë*, Paris, 1820.

⁷ *Voyage en Abyssinie pendant 1839–1843*, par M. Théophile Lefebvre, &c.; *Tenanten Floræ Abyssinicae*, auctore Achille Richard. Atlas, tab. 33.

⁸ *Iconographia*, 110, 120; Nov. stirp., n. 47.

¹ *Pliniana Exercitationes et de Homonymis Hyles Jatriæ*. Traj. ad Rhenum, 1689.

² *Geographia Sacra*. Traj. ad Rhenum, 1674; et Lugd. Bat., 1692.

Colebrooke¹ in 1807 proved that an exudation very much like frankincense was yielded by an Indian plant, which Roxburgh named *Boswellia serrata*, now known as *B. thurifera*, Colebrooke, whence it came at last to be again denied that Arabia yielded any frankincense.

Cruttenden, and after him Kempthorne, and Vaughan⁵ vividly describe the trees themselves, whilst Dr. Vaughan⁷ has accurately described all the varieties of olibanum found in and exported from the Somali and Arabian ports. In 1847⁸ Carter published a figure



BOSWELLIA PAPYRIFERA (RICHARD).

Wellstead,² in 1838, and Johnson,³ in 1842-3, and Haines,⁴ and Cruttenden,⁵ all, more or less, fully describe the export of frankincense from the Somali country, from Berbera, from Bunder Khor, Bunder Marayah, and other bunders (*i.e.*, quays or landings).

and description of the frankincense-tree of Arabia, which he identified, but with a query, with Colebrooke's Indian plant, which was, probably, the cause of his discovery being overlooked, and the perpetuation of the error, in spite of his discovery, that *not*

¹ Asiatic Researches, vol. ix. : Calcutta, 1807, and Lerin. Trans. xv.

² Travels in Arabia. London, 1838.

³ Travels in Southern Abyssinia. London, 1842-43.

⁴ Transactions Bombay Geographical Society, i. and xi.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ See Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc., vi. and xiii. ; Harris's Highlands of Ethiopia, 1844; and Pharmaceutical Journal, v., 1845.

⁷ Pharm. Journ. xii., 1853.

⁸ Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Soc., vol. ii.

Africa or Arabia, but only India, produced frankincense. But Carter took one of the plants with him from Arabia to Bombay, and when I was placed in charge of the Agri-Horticultural Society's gardens in Bombay, in 1859, I found the tree which Carter had

large collection of cuttings and dried leaves of several varieties and species, all accurately labelled with their native names, with samples of the kind of frankincense which they respectively yielded. On three cuttings striking, I found that I had three kinds:—



BOSWELLIA THURIFERA (COLLEBROOKE).

brought from Arabia growing there, and labelled by Stocks *Boswellia papyrifera*. Stocks evidently had not seen Endlicher and Richards's descriptions of the Abyssinian plant; but seeing that Carter's plant was not the same as Colebrooke's, had named it as if Endlicher's and Richards'. I therefore asked Colonel (then Captain) Playfair, at Aden, whether he could procure me any cuttings of the African frankincense-trees. He was fortunately able to procure for me a

Yegaar, yielding *Luban Maitre*, an undoubted new species.

Mohr Add, and

Mohr Madow, yielding *Luban Sheheri*, the bulk of the olibanum of commerce.

Mohr Madow was evidently a mere variety of Carter's Arabian plant, and *Mohr Add* a new species, but regarding which further specimens and information are desirable. With the assistance of Mr. Daniel Hanbury

and of Dr. Thomson and Professor Oliver, I described these three plants under the following botanical names:—

- (1.) *Boswellia Frereana*—Yegaar, Playfair.
- (2.) *Boswellia Bhan-Dajiana*—Mohr Add, Playfair.
- (3.) *Boswellia Carterii*, Birdwood:
 Var. 1. *Maghrayt d'Shechaz*, Carter.
 Var. 2. *Mohr Madow*, Playfair.

(5.) *Boswellia papyrifera*, Richards's Abyssinian species.

In conclusion, it will be agreed that Arabia produces frankincense, and in the very region generally indicated by the common opinion of the ancient world, and so accurately limited by Theophrastus. Now that it has been demonstrated by Carter that the libanotophorus region lies



BOSWELLIA CARTERII.

1. *Boswellia Frereana*, Birdwood. 2. *Boswellia Bhan-Dajiana*, Birdwood. 3. *Mohr Madow*, Playfair. 4. *Maghrayt d'Shechaz*, Carter.

And in re-arranging the genus, I included the two known varieties of the Indian plant—Roxburgh's *B. serrata* and *B. glabra*—under Colebrooke's—

- (4.) *Boswellia thurifera*.

The only other plant of the genus as yet described being—

along the coast of Hadramant, the agreement between the statements of the Bible, Herodotus, Theophrastus, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, Ptolemy, the Arabs, Marco Polo, Bochart, and Celsus, is very striking.

It will be agreed, also, as implied in the ancient references to Arabia, and expressly asserted by Diodorus,

Strabo, Arrian, and other ancients, and demonstrated with so great fulness by Cruttenden, Hemphorne, and Vaughan, and the overwhelming evidence of modern travellers generally, beginning with Bruce, that the Somali country also produces frankincense, and, pro-

It is very surprising that so great a weight of evidence in favour of frankincense being produced in Arabia and Africa should ever have been set aside for the idle fancy that India was the source of the olibanum of commerce. The error has proved as inveterate as the fiction that



ANGOUAH (BRUCE).

The fruit shown is the capsule of a *Bombax* species.

bably, the bulk of the olibanum of commerce. The agreement as to the region about Mount Elephant (Ras Fieluk, Jibbel Feel, Cape Felix), between Arrian, Doventon, Saris, Milburn, Cruttenden, Kempthorne, and Vaughan, is indeed quite startling.

It will be agreed, also, that although *Boswellia* *thurifera* (including *B. glabra* of India) and *B. papyrifera* of Abyssinia, are thuriferous species, they are not known to yield any of the olibanum of commerce.

frankincense was yielded by *Juniperus lycia*. Bruce figured the *angouah* of Abyssinia in 1805, Colebrooke the Indian *salai* in 1807, and Carter figured and described the *Maghrayt d'Sheehaz* of Arabia in 1843. Yet in 1832, in Woodville and Hooper's *Medical Botany*; in 1847, in Waterson's *Encyclopædia of Commerce*; in 1857, in Pereira's *Materia Medica*; and in 1866, in Lindley and Moore's *Treasury of Botany*, the fiction is kept up of olibanum being a product of India, the fact

of its being produced by Arabia and Africa being either ignored or denied. Even an authority so great as Tristram, in his *Natural History of the Bible*, London, 1867, writes :—"Frankincense, the fragrant gum of an Indian tree, procured through Arabia, . . . though brought from Sheba, in Arabia, at a very early date, . . . yet we have no reason to believe the frankincense-tree grew in Arabia; at least it cannot be traced there now; and, as in the case of cassia and other spices, the Arabian merchants were not likely to be communicative in the secrets of their monopoly." The Oxford *Encyclopædia* says that olibanum is distilled from the bark of a tree growing on Mount Lebanon.

The frankincense-trees have a general resemblance to the mountain ash when putting forth its spring leaves, especially *Yegaar*. As I first saw this plant in Playfair's garden, at Aden, in September, 1868, I was much struck

by its elegant singularity. The long racemes of green star-like flowers, tipped with the red anthers of the stamens, droop gracefully over the clusters of glossy glaucous leaves, and every part of the plant gives out the most refreshing lemon-like fragrance. It gave me the most lively pleasure to find the flowers, which I had been so long setting, of so charming an originality, and in such a romantic spot; for Playfair's garden is a mere angle¹ in the shadow of two punice rocks² which tower hundreds of feet above it, guarding in their shadows the precious stores of water for the town and garrison; and green leaves, shade, and water make a paradise in the East.

¹ "Et quod

Angulus iste feret piper et thus, ocius ura."

² "The high and barren Cabobarra, whose brazen front so scorches this sulphureously shaded place." (Herbert, *Travels*: Lond. 1677.)

ANIMALS OF THE BIBLE.—XIII.

BY THE REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S., RECTOR OF PRESTON, SALOP.

DOMESTIC CATTLE (*concluded*).

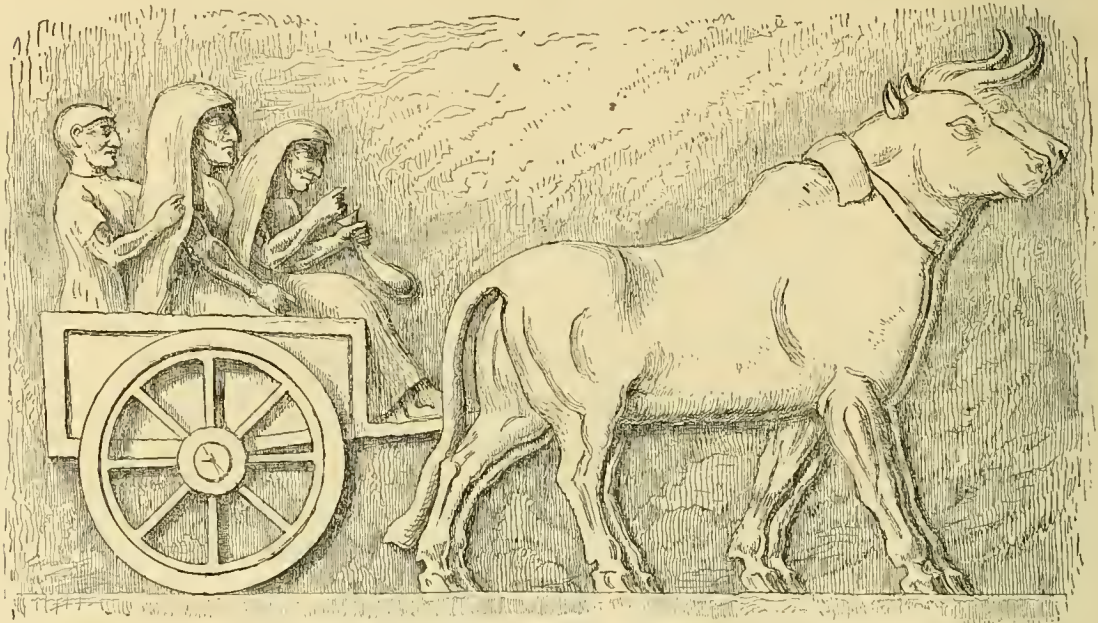
THE buffalo (*Bubalus bubalus*, Gray; *Bos bubalus*, Linn.), so much used as a beast of draught in the East and West, was unknown to the Jews; originally from India, it was introduced into Egypt, Greece, and Italy, as Cuvier says, during the Middle Ages. The ancient Greeks and Romans make no mention of the buffalo. Herodotus, Aristotle, Oppian, Diodorus, Polybius, and Pliny speak of some *Bubalis* (βούβαλος, or βούβαλις), which is clearly no buffalo, but some species of antelope, possibly the *Antelope bubalus* of Linnaeus; βούβαλος is translated "buffalo" in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, as occurring in Polybius, but this historian is speaking of the animals of Libya or North Africa, where in his time the buffalo was unknown; his words are, καὶ μὴν τὸ τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ λεόντων καὶ παρθάλεων πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν, ἔτι δὲ βουβάλων κάλλος καὶ στρουθῶν μεγέθη, τίς οὐχ ἰστόρησεν; (*Hist.* xii. cap. 3) ("Who has not heard of the number and strength of the elephants, lions, and leopards, the beauty of the antelopes, and the size of the ostriches?") No one would talk of the beauty of any species of buffalo. The animal which in the Ghor or Jordan valley takes the place of the ox is the *bhainsa* or tame buffalo of India. It is not known when it was introduced into Palestine. The wild buffalo of India, called the *arnce*, "is fully one-third larger than the largest tame breeds, measuring ten and a half feet from snout to vent, and six or six and a half feet high at the shoulders, and is of such power and vigour as by his charge frequently to prostrate a well-sized elephant" (Hodgson, in *Gray's Catal. Ungulata*, pt. iii., p. 27). The arna, like the domestic buffalo, loves to wallow in swampy and muddy marshes, where it often lies buried up to the head. Mr. Hodgson says, "There is no animal upon which ages of domesticity have made so small an impression as upon the buffalo; the tame being still most

clearly referable to the wild ones at present frequenting all the great swampy jungles of India. In the wilderness, as in the cow-house, there is a marked distinction between the long (*Macrocerus*) and curved-horned (*Spirocerus*) buffaloes" (*Gray's Catalogue*, pt. iii., p. 27). We have a fine pair of the arna's horns in our possession; it belonged to the curved-horned variety, and its possessor must have been a very fine animal. The domestic buffalo of the Jordan valley is described by Dr. Tristram as "a huge ungainly creature, very ill-tempered, and frequently dangerous; always black, and with a rough short coat, which is often bare in places." He adds that its milk is considered richer than that of the cow, but is deficient in quantity.

Amongst the ancient Egyptians the bull was sacred in an especial degree to Osiris, under the form of Apis, the sacred bull of Memphis, or under that of a human figure with a bull's head. The bull and cow were both considered sacred by the Egyptians. "All, however, were not equally sacred, and it was lawful to sacrifice the former and to kill them for the table, provided they were free from certain marks, which the priests were careful to ascertain before they permitted them to be slaughtered. When this had been done, the priest marked the animal by tying a cord of the papyrus stalk round its horns, fastened by a piece of clay, on which he impressed his seal. It was then pronounced clean, and taken to the altar" (*Anc. Egypt.*, ii. 193). This festival in honour of Apis lasted seven days, and was attended by a large concourse of people assembled at Memphis. "The priests then led the sacred bull in solemn procession, every one coming forward from their houses to welcome him as he passed; and Pliny and Solinus affirm that children who smelt his breath were thought to be thereby gifted with the power of predicting future events" (iv., p. 315). The origin of the worship of the bull was said to be its utility in agricul-

ture, of which Clemens considers it the type, as well as of the earth itself; and this was the supposed reason of the bull being chosen as the emblem of Osiris, who was the representative of all that was good or beneficial to man. Though oxen and calves were lawful food, and adapted for sacrifice on the altars of all the gods, cows and heifers were forbidden to be killed, being consecrated, according to Herodotus, to Isis, or rather, as he afterwards shows, and as Strabo, in perfect accordance with the Scriptures, states, to Athor. This was a wise regulation, in order to prevent too great a diminution in the cattle of the country; and the prohibition being ascribed by the priests to some mysterious reason, was naturally looked upon in process of time as a Divine

the occasion." The ox (*taurus*) was the *victimæ maxima* of Virgil (*Geor.*, ii. 146), the *victimæ optimæ et laudatissima deorum placatio* of which Pliny speaks. "In matters relating to cattle," says Varro (*De Re Rust.*, ii. 5), "the ox ought to be held in especial honour, especially in Italy, which is supposed to derive its name from oxen; for in ancient Greece, as Timæus relates, they used to call oxen *italous* (*ιταλούς*), whence, from the abundance, and beauty, and productiveness of these animals in the country, they called it *Italia*. "It cannot be doubted," says Columella, "that the ox ought to be held in higher esteem than other cattle, because it is the most hard-working companion of man (*laboriosissimus hominis socius*) in agriculture" (*De Re Rust.*



CAPTIVE WOMEN IN CART DRAWN BY OXEN. NIMRUD. (ASSYRIAN.)

ordinance, which it would be nothing less than sacrilege to disregard" (*Anc. Egypt.*, v. 195). Mummies of the bull and cow have frequently been met with at Thebes and other places. Specimens may be seen in the Egyptian Department of the British Museum.

From the people's long residence in Egypt, it was likely that the Jews should to some extent be inclined to adopt the religious practices of those amongst whom they sojourned. Accordingly we find that the bull-god of Egypt was set up by Aaron in the wilderness, as a symbol of Jehovah, under the figure of a golden calf (*Exod.* xxxii. 4, 5); so, too, Jeroboam set up two golden calves at Dan and Bethel (*1 Kings* xii. 28).

It was probably on account of the great value of cattle and their pre-eminent importance, that the ox was considered amongst animals the noblest sacrifice, not only by the Jews, but by many other nations, "the value of the victim," as Dr. Kalisch says, "being generally proportionate to the dignity or importance of

vi. Præf.). The Phœnicians and Carthaginians, the Egyptians, as we have seen, and the Persians, paid equal honour to this animal; they offered it on solemn opportunities to their principal deities, to Zeus, to Isis and Osiris, to Baal, and the sun. "It formed the *burnt-offering* of the whole Jewish nation on the days of the new moon and on high festivals (*Numb.* xxviii. 11, 19, 27, &c.), and for inadvertent transgressions (*Numb.* xv. 24); of the chiefs of the people at the consecration of the tabernacle (*Numb.* viii. 12, &c.); of the Levites at their initiation (*Numb.* viii. 12); and of private individuals on all momentous emergencies (*Lev.* i. 3, &c.). It was the *sin-offering* for the whole theocratic community, or for its representative, the high priest (*Lev.* iv. 3, 14); for the priests at the inauguration in their solemn functions (*Exod.* xxix. 14, 36; *Lev.* viii. 14—17); and for the high priest when, on the day of atonement, he implored the pardon of God for his sins and those of his house (*Lev.* xvi. 3, 6, 11); while Aaron, when actually

entering upon his pontifical duties, offered a young calf (עֵגֶל בֶּן בָּקָר, *égel ben bákár*, "a calf, son of the herd"). It was even chosen for *thank-offerings* in cases of peculiar joyfulness" (see Kalisch's *Commentary on Leviticus*, part i., pp. 82, 83). Amongst the early Aryans, in the East, the cow and bull were especially honoured. "An interesting chapter of the *Āitareya-brāhmaṇam* shows us how, next to man, the horse was the supreme sacrifice offered to the gods; how the cow afterward took the place of the horse, the sheep of the cow, the goat of

penetrated the wilds of Western Europe, they found two large kinds of wild oxen, the one called *bison*, the other *urus*; this latter sub-genus has clearly a nearer affinity to the domestic ox than the former, but it is very doubtful whether it is the parent of our domestic race. Professor Owen thinks it more probable that the herds of the newly conquered regions would be derived from the already domesticated cattle of the Roman colonists. He thinks that the taming of the wild species would be a much more difficult and less certain



FEMALE PRISONERS AND CHILD, WITH OXEN, PART OF THE SPOIL. CAMPAIGNS OF ASSUR-NATSIR-PAL (CIRCA B.C. 884). (ASSYRIAN.)

the sheep, and at last vegetable products were substituted for animals." The person who killed a cow must stay a month in penitence, drinking the *pancagavyam*, or five good productions of the power, sleeping in a stable and following the cows, and he had to purify himself by offering another cow. "They die pure who are killed by lightning or in battle for the sake of the cows or the *brāhmans*" (*Zoological Mythology*, vol. i., pp. 44, 45).

The origin of our present breeds of domestic cattle has been a subject which has given rise to much difference of opinion. Cuvier and many other naturalists are inclined to believe that our domestic animals are the degenerate descendants of the great *urus*, once occurring in our own country. When the Romans first

mode of supplying the exigencies of the agriculturist, than the importation of the breeds of oxen already domesticated and in use by the founders of the new colonies. Professor Rütimeyer, on the other hand, considers that the celebrated wild cattle of Tankerville Park are the undoubted, though degenerate, descendants of the great *urus*. Mr. Darwin is of opinion that our domestic cattle are almost certainly the descendants of more than one wild form. Mr. Boyd Dawkins says that we have no evidence in this country of the existence of more than two species of wild ox, the *urus* and the *bison*; and that the smaller varieties have been introduced as domesticated animals. It is impossible to do more than to form conjectures, in the absence of further evidence.

DIFFICULT PASSAGES EXPLAINED.—XI.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES:—ST. JOHN.

BY THE REV. H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., RECTOR OF ST. MARY DE CRYPT, GLOUCESTER, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN
TO THE LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

"Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time."—1 JOHN ii. 18.



NE can imagine the effect of these startling and solemn words in the first great message of John to the churches upon the harassed and persecuted Christian communities, coming as they did from one who had been the Lord's chosen friend on earth. He had been urging them (vs. 10—17), as children dwelling in the light, with his own peculiar and winning earnestness, not to love the world and the things of the world—the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eye, and the pride of life—for was not the world and its lust and its pride ever passing away before their eyes? "Yes," wrote the old apostle, the loved and honoured master, to the churches, "not only is all you see, and perhaps covet—pleasure, glory, honour, wealth—transitory, lasting even to the envied possessors only for a moment; more than this, little children, it is *the world's last age*."

Now the "times of the end"—the question of eschatology in its various aspects—has ever been a most favourite subject of meditation and of discussion in the Christian Church. An undefined hope that *they* might, whilst in the flesh, behold the final catastrophe of the world has influenced some; a desire to fix with precision the day of that catastrophe, though they would never live to see it, has influenced others, at different periods of the Christian dispensation, to force an interpretation of certain mysterious sayings in the Old and New Testaments—an interpretation which experience has subsequently shown to be false. Those who favour such interpretations—often pious although mistaken men—forget, in their blind eagerness to hurry on the final event, their Lord's pointed warning—"Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only" (Matt. xxiv. 36).

One of the most difficult of these inspired sayings respecting the "times of the end" is certainly contained in the difficult verse now before us. We will examine carefully what St. John teaches us on this matter of "the last time."

"Little children" (*παιδιά*), writes St. John, addressing all the members of the churches, old and young, such expressions of love being very common in the writings of the aged apostle, who probably, when he wrote this Epistle, was the father in age as well as in authority of the Christian Church—"Little children, it is the last time: ye have heard that the last time was to be heralded by the appearance of antichrists; there are now many antichrists in the Church."

From whose lips had they heard that the last time would be preceded by such an appearance? 1. Without doubt from St. John himself. He must often, in the

course of his teaching, have referred to what he had heard from the Lord's lips on the subject of antichrist; and now far on in life—perhaps near the close of his long eventful career—he pointed out to his children in the faith the startling fulfilment of his own predictions. 2. They had heard from the famous Paul the same things. Some of them, no doubt, had actually heard these things from his lips, others read in his writings his burning words, when he wrote to the Thessalonian Church of the day of Christ and of the man of sin, the son of perdition, "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped," who was to be revealed before the day of Christ should come (2 Thess. ii. 2—4). 3. They had heard it in the Gospel, for the Lord's own memorable words (Matt. xxiv.), when he spoke of the "times of the end," and of the false Christs and false prophets who should arise, were read and dwelt on in all the churches. But seeing *it was the last time*, because these many *antichrists* were already come, (1) what are we to understand by this *last time*? and (2) who were these many antichrists who were to herald the end?

1. The Old Testament prophets generally spoke of the period of Messiah's reign under the expression "in the last days," literally, "in the end of days." (See Isa. ii. 2; Micah iv. 1; Hos. iii. 5; LXX., ἐν ταῖς ἔσχαταις ἡμέραις.)

The great Jewish commentators have strictly followed this interpretation of the expression of Isaiah and the other prophets, and have even defined it more closely. So Aben-Ezra, writing on Hos. iii. 5, explains "In the latter days," lit. "in the end of days," to signify "the end of the prophecy of the prophets."

So the rabbis came to speak of two great periods of the world's history—"this age" (*αἶὼν οὗτος*), and "the age to come" (*αἶὼν ἐρχόμενος*, or *μέλλον*). The former of these, "this age," including all periods up to Messiah's advent; the latter, "the age to come," including all periods subsequent to the appearance of Messiah. So we read in the Targum of Palestine—the pseudo-Jonathan on Exod. xl., written, probably, in its present form, in the seventh century:—"Thou shalt take the consecration oil and anoint the tabernacle and all that is therein, and shalt sanctify it on account of the crown of the kingdom of the house of Judah, and of the King Messiah, who is to redeem Israel at the end of the days." And again, in the Palestine Targum, on the same chapter of Exodus:—"Thou shalt anoint the laver and its base, and consecrate it on account of Messiah bar Ephraim, . . . by whose hand the house of Israel is to vanquish Gog and his confederates (referring to Ezek. xxxviii. and xxxix.) at the end of the days."

The following words of the Talmud, though they

speak of three divisions or periods, teach precisely the same idea: 6,000 years are mentioned as the duration of the world; 2,000 *tohu* (waste); 2,000 under the law; 2,000 the days of Messiah (*Treatise Sanhedr.*).

Trained in the schools of Jewish thought, St. John, who *knew* Messiah had now come, without hesitation proclaims the truth that the "end of the days," so definitely spoken of by prophets such as Hosea and Isaiah, was already come. In other words, that that season of the world's course alluded to by the Divine writings as "the last days," or "the end of days," had already set in. He only differs from later Jewish writers, like Aben-Ezra and the Targumist above quoted, by his acknowledgment of Jesus Christ as Messiah. The Jewish rabbis rejected Him, and in consequence deferred the setting in of the last period of the world's history—the "last time" of St. John—till a Messiah whom they chose to acknowledge should appear. St. John, it must be observed, sets no arbitrary limit to the period which he calls "the last time." He simply and solemnly tells his children in the faith that the last days spoken of by the Hebrew prophets, which last days were to follow the advent of Messiah, had already begun, and that they were living in them. (Compare Düsterdieck and also Lücke's remarks and references on this passage in their *Commentaries on the Epistle of St. John*.)

2. Who, then, were the many antichrists whose appearing was the special characteristic of this last age? The plain meaning of the word "antichrist" here is, "one opposed to Christ," "Christ's adversary." So Tertullian defines them as rebels against Christ—"Qui antichristi interim et semper nisi Christi rebelles?"¹ They were false teachers—heretics—who taught that Jesus Christ was not come in the flesh (iv. 3); teachers who taught their hearers to deny the Father and the Son (ii. 22). They were false prophets (iv. 1). They were men who *once* had belonged to the company of professing Christians (ii. 19), and had doubtless been instructed in the mysteries of the faith; then turning round, perverting their knowledge of Christianity and its doctrines for their own purposes, had founded schools of heresy and error. Nor are we at a loss even to fix upon some of these early antichrists by name. Simon Magus is mentioned in the 8th chapter of the Acts as commencing that long course of opposition to the truth which has made his name so sorrowfully notorious. St. Paul tells us of one Hymenæus, who made shipwreck concerning the faith, saying the resurrection was past already. Alexander and Philetus are included in the same charges (1 Tim. i. 19, 20; 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18); Diotrephes, alluded to by St. John (3rd Epistle 9 ver.); the Nicolaitanes, a sect whose deeds the Lord hated (Rev. ii. 6, 15).² These men, casually mentioned in the Epistles of St. Paul and St. John, are instances of the many antichrists

whose presence and influence is alluded to by St. John as a sure sign of the "last time." Irenæus, the Bishop of Lyons, who in his youth knew Polycarp, the friend and pupil of St. John, writing in the latter part of the second century, tells us how St. John once, in the city of Ephesus, where he so long resided and taught, meeting in the public baths the famous Cerinthus, one of the earliest masters of the many-sided Gnostic heresy, fled hastily from the building, fearing, he said, lest the very walls of the bath-house might fall when such an enemy of the truth (τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ) as Cerinthus was within (Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, lib. iii., c. iii. 4). The same Irenæus informs us that St. John wrote his Gospel to counteract the errors sown by the false teaching of the Nicolaitanes, and later by Cerinthus, the Gnostic teacher (Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, lib. iii., c. xi. 1). These leading heretics, of whom we read in the New Testament Epistles, and in the writings of such early fathers as Irenæus, against whom St. John and his brother apostles had so fiercely to contend, are among the "many antichrists" of our passage; and their continued presence in every age, their unwearied activity, their restless striving to pull down the ever-rising walls of the city of God, is now, just as it was in the days of St. John the Apostle—a sign of the "last time;" a long age, "last" though it be. Neither John, nor any other inspired writer, whatever men may pretend, gives us the least hint respecting its probable duration. It has already spread over some eighteen centuries and a half, and for aught we know has not yet nearly run its allotted course; yet for all this it is the *final* dispensation, the age of privilege and of danger, the age of the many antichrists, ever tempting with new temptations the faithful from the simple way of truth; and the knowledge that we are living in the last time—that we are standing, as it were, on the threshold of eternity, bids us *now*, as it bade the hearers of St. John the Divine *then*—*watch*.

Nor need men wonder and ask why these things are so; why the last age—the age of Messiah—should be the age of many antichrists. The great flood of light which the message and work of Christ had let in on the world was met by a corresponding rush of darkness. The work of the Redeemer was immediately followed by the work of another—that mysterious enemy who ever labours and toils for the ruin of man. With the wheat sown by God grew up the tares sown by the devil, and tares as well as wheat will continue to grow together till the field of our world is ripe for the golden harvest. St. John knew well that the appearance of these tares amid the wheat of God was a sure sign of that long dispensation he termed the "last time;" but while the presence of the many antichrists reminded him of the "last age" of the world, he is careful to tell us how, at the close of this "last time," or "age," must

¹ Qui pseudo-prophetae sunt, nisi falsi prædicatores? qui pseudo-apostoli, nisi adulteri evangelizatores? qui Antichristi interim et semper, nisi Christi rebelles? (Tertullian, *De Præscrip. Hæreticorum*, cap. iv.)

² The sect of the Nicolaitanes was generally supposed by the early Church to have been founded by Nicolaus, the proselyte of Antioch, one of the seven deacons mentioned in Acts vi. 5. Comp.

for an account of the teaching and life of these early heretics, Irenæus, *Hæc.* i. 26, 3; Clem. Alex., *Stromata*, ii. 20; and Deau Alford's Note on Apoc. ii. 6, where he also discusses and rejects the interpretation which supposes the name of this wicked sect to have been symbolical.

One arise of whom all the preceding antichrists should have been but faint, pallid reflections. Who and what, now, is this antichrist whose coming, we maintain, is still in the unknown, uncertain, and perhaps distant future?

Two points for our guidance here may be laid down as certain.

(a) The antichrist, when he appears, will not be a mere incarnation of Satan, but a man.

(b) The antichrist is still to come.

(a) In opposition to the hypothesis that antichrist signifies an incarnation of Satan, the German commentator Düsterdieck, to whose exhaustive and able work on the Johannine Epistles we have referred frequently, well expands the statement, "Only the Son of God can become incarnate," in the following terms: "The Eternal Word, who in the beginning manifested forth the secret of the Divine love by the creation, sent down by the Father's love for the redemption of the world, can alone become manifest in the flesh" (*in Fleische offenbar werden*).

(b) Antichrist is still to come. Experience of the past should teach expositors of the Divine Word with what extreme caution they should approach this difficult and solemn question. Already have one school of expositors (the interpreters of the Greek Church) definitely pointed out Mahomet as the antichrist of St. Paul and St. John, which strange interpretation was even followed by Calovius:—"Antichristus ille magnus orientalis Mahometus, ejus impie voces notæ sunt—Deum non habere filium, &c." (Compare Dean Alford's *Prolegomena* to Thess. ii. and Düsterdieck's quotations.) Some 800 or 900 years further down the stream of time the Church of the West split into two great divisions; each saw in the leader of the antagonistic sect the antichrist painted by Paul or John.

The Protestant teacher discovered him in the Pope; the profound intellect of Calvin even shrunk not from telling men how all the signs spoken of by the Spirit of God as belonging to antichrist plainly centered in the Pope of Rome—"Omnes notæ, quibus antichristum designat spiritus Dei in Papa clare apparent." The Roman Catholic doctors, on the other hand, discovered Antichrist in Luther! But the great personal Antichrist was to herald immediately the real end. Mahomet has passed away some twelve centuries. His system, as far as Christianity is concerned, has long done its worst. The institutions he first devised are fast yielding to decay. The power of which he laid the foundation is passing away. Luther and his first great adversaries on the chair of St. Peter have slept some three hundred years, and the end still tarries.

One more warning men may well take home lies buried in this great saying of the old man John. It tells us whom we may dare to term antichrists—enemies and rebels against Christ; not men who presume to differ

from us even on grave and solemn points. The Romanist may not term the Protestant, nor the Protestant the Romanist, or either of these the Greek Church, or the great mass of Protestant Dissenters, enemies of Christ, or rebels against Christ—antichrists. This name of shame alone belongs to men who deny that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh; "whoever," as Polycarp says, "does not confess the witness of the cross is of the devil, and whoever perverts the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts, and says there is neither resurrection nor judgment, he is the first-born of Satan." (St. Polycarp *Epistola ad Philippenses*, cap. vii.).

We must not leave this subject without at least touching upon a much-disputed point which is still exciting much controversy. Did the apostles—the inspired writers of the New Testament—themselves in any way mistake the period of our Lord's coming? did they believe that they, or at least their generation, would still be living when the end came, and that their eyes should behold (in this present life) not only the "last time," but the end of the last time? Without examining the various arguments which have been urged in support of the different views taken of this question, we would very briefly suggest that one like St. John—at once an apostle of Christ, a hearer and an intimate friend of the Lord—would, without doubt, found any teaching of his on so momentous a subject as the "times of the end" upon what he had heard from his Lord's own lips. Such a basis of teaching St. John possessed in the 24th chapter of St. Matthew, in which memorable chapter Jesus, while speaking of the closing scene, the judgment of the world, dwelt with peculiar earnestness on another judgment, on a smaller scale, which some of those listening to him should even behold—the fall of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jewish race. But the Lord, looking on far beyond the terrible fall of the beloved city and Temple—far beyond the ruin of the chosen race—told them plainly (ver. 14) that they need not expect the end "until the Gospel had been preached to all nations." Had this been done when St. John wrote his Epistle? Can it be said to have been done in any real sense even now? Then surely, with these emphatic words before him in a Gospel generally current in the churches—emphatic words, too, which he must have heard and never could have forgotten—neither mistake nor error could have existed in St. John's mind respecting the "times of the end;" but we may certainly conclude that he looked forward and saw stretching on through a long vista of eventful centuries that final division of time he called the "last time," or age, in the course of which period successive antichrists, or teachers of evil and falsehood, like the Cerinthus of his own days, should arise, and grow up side by side with the teachers of truth—the tares with the wheat—till the whole world-field should be ripe for the harvest of the Lord.

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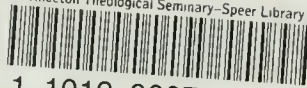
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